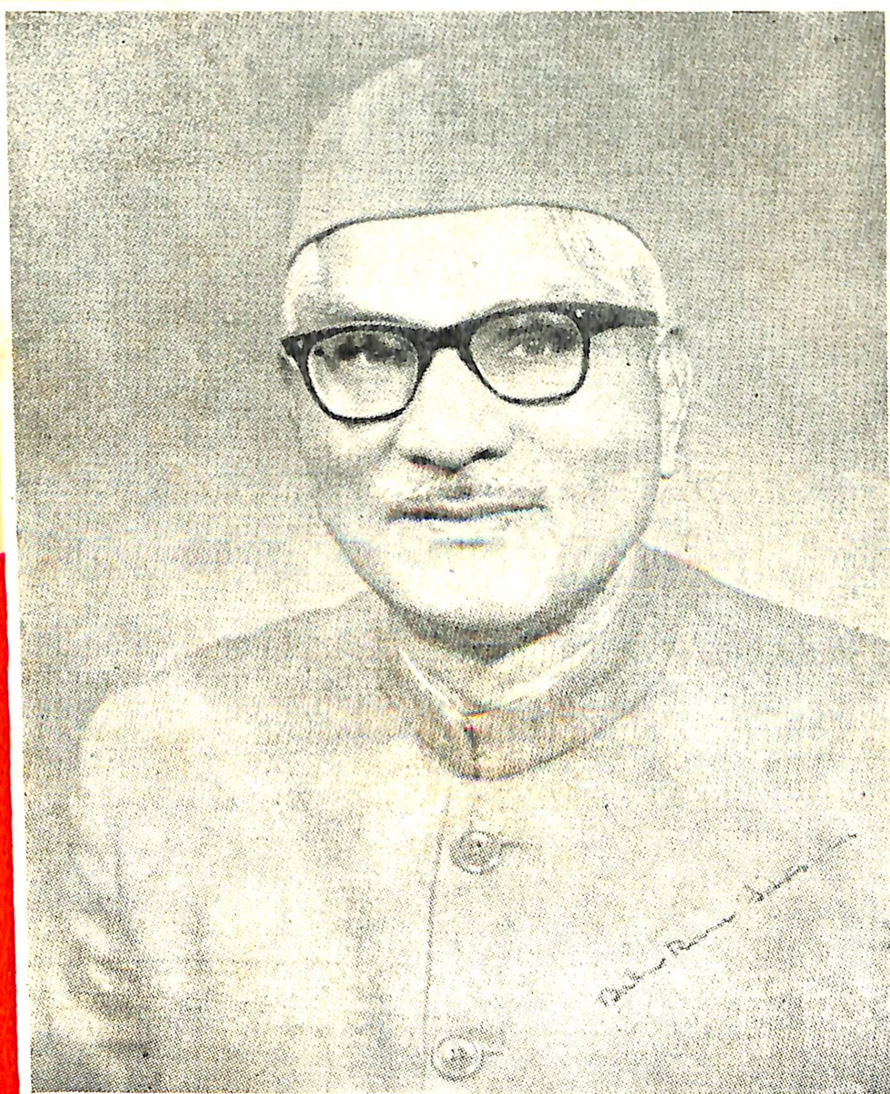
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डा० बाबू राम सक्सेना
(जन्म १२ मई, १८९७)

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सम्पादकीय

अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत परिषद् लखनऊ के कार्यकलाप का एक प्रमुख अंग है संस्कृत तथा भारती विद्या के विद्वानों का सम्मान करना। इस शृङ्खला में परिषद् ने सितम्बर १९६७ में स्व० म० म० डा० गोपीनाथ कविराज के सम्मान में एक अभिनन्दन ग्रन्थ प्रकाशित किया था। 'ऋतम्' के २–६ अङ्कों का एक विशेषाङ्क प्रकाशित करके जूलाई १९७६ में स्व० प्रो० को० अ० सुब्रह्मण्य अय्यर को समर्पित किया गया था। दिसम्बर १९७९ में पेरिस निवासी संस्कृत तथा भारती विद्या के सुप्रसिद्ध विद्वान् स्व० प्रो० लुड्विक स्टर्नबाख़ को उनके ७० वें जन्मदिवस पर एक अभिनन्दन ग्रन्थ भेंट किया गया था। परिषद् द्वारा प्रकाशित 'अजस्रा' नाम्नी त्रैमासिक संस्कृत मञ्जूषा का एक विशेषाङ्क भी स्व० प्रो० अय्यर की स्मृति में जनवरी १९८१ में प्रकाशित किया गया था। जैसा कि 'ऋतम्' के दसवें अङ्क में सूचित किया गया था 'ऋतम्' के ११ से १५ अङ्को को मिलाकर संस्कृत तथा भाषाविज्ञान के विश्वविश्रुत विद्वान् प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय के भूतपूर्व संस्कृत-प्राचार्य तथा प्रयाग और रायपुर विश्वविद्यालयों के भूतपूर्व कुलपति डा० बाबूराम सक्सेना जी के सम्मानार्थ प्रस्तुत विशेषाङ्क प्रकाशित किया जा रहा है।

यह विशेषाङ्क जूलाई १९७९ से जूलाई १९८३ की अवधि तक का है। एतदनन्तर 'ऋतम्' के प्रथम तथा द्वितीय खण्ड प्रतिवर्ष क्रमशः जनवरी और जूलाई में प्रकाशित किये जायेंगे। हमारा प्रयास यह होगा कि विद्वान् लेखकों तथा उदार ग्राहकों के सहयोग से ये खण्ड नियमित रूप से प्रकाशित होते रहें।

परिषद् के उद्देश्यों में एक उद्देश्य संस्कृत, पालि और प्राकृत के हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थों का सङ्ग्रह, सम्पादन और प्रकाशन तथा ऐसे प्रकाशित ग्रन्थों का पुनर्मुद्रण भी है जो अप्राप्य हैं अथवा जिनके आलोचनात्मक सम्पादन की अपेक्षा है। इसी उद्देश्य की पूर्ति में सिल्हण-कृत 'स्वात्मोपलब्धिशतक' नामक अद्यावधि अप्रकाशित लघुग्रन्थ भी प्रस्तुत इस विशेषाङ्क में प्रकाशित किया जा रहा है। इस महत्वपूर्ण ग्रन्थ का सम्पादन तथा अनुवाद करने के लिए मैं विद्वद्वरेण्य डा० सत्यव्रत सिंह जी का आभारी हूं।

मैं सम्पादक-मण्डल के विद्वानों का भी आभारी हूं जिनके मार्ग दर्शन तथा सक्रिय सह-योग के बिना मेरे लिए 'ऋतम्' को प्रकाशित करने का गुरु दायित्व वहन करना सम्भव न

होता । मैं इस सम्पादक-मण्डल की सदस्यता स्वीकार करने के लिए विश्वेश्वरानन्द वैदिक शोध संस्थान के डा० के० वी० शर्मा तथा गङ्गा नाथ झा केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठ के प्रधानाचार्य डा० गया चरण त्रिपाठी का भी अत्यन्त आभारी हूं । मेरे प्रवासकाल में प्रस्तुत विशेषाङ्क के मुद्रण में वहुबिध सहायता करने के लिए मैं इसके सह-सम्पादक डा० अशोक कुमार कालिया तथा अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद्, लखनऊ के प्रशासक डा० काशी प्रसाद श्रीवास्तव का कृतज्ञ हूं । प्रस्तुत शोध-पत्रिका को प्रकाशित करने में भारत शासन के शिक्षा तथा संस्कृति मन्त्रालय तथा उत्तर प्रदेश शासन के सांस्कृतिक कार्य विभाग से प्राप्त होने वाली आर्थिक सहायता के लिए मैं सम्बद्ध अधिकारियों का अधमर्ण हूं ।

प्रस्तुत विशेषाङ्क के मुद्रण में जिस तत्परता से 'पुनार मुद्रक' के स्वामी श्री विश्वमोहन ने कार्य किया है उसके लिए मैं उन्हें हृदय से धन्यवाद देता हूं ।

२२ अगस्त १९८३

जगदम्बा प्रसाद सिनहा

Editorial Preface

One of the most important activities of the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow is to honour distinguished Sanskritists and scholars of Indology. In this connection the Parishad brought out and presented a Felicitation Volume to the late M. M. Dr. Gopinath Kaviraja in Sept. 1967. A special Number of the Ṛtam comprising Vols. II to VI was presented to the late Prof. K. A. S. Iyer to honour and felicitate him in July 1976. A Felicitation Volume was brought out in honour of the late Prof. Ludwik Sternbach of Paris in December 1979 on the occasion of his 70th birthday. A Special Number of the Ajasrā, a Quarterly Sanskrit Magazine of the Parishad was also brought out in memory of the late Prof. K. A. S. Iyer in Jan. 1981. As announced in Vol. X of of the Ṛtam the present Number comprising Vols. XI to XV is being brought out to honour and felicitate Dr. Babu Ram Saksena, an eminent Sanskritist and Linguist of international repute and former Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit and Vice-Chancellor of the Universities of Allahabad and Raipur.

This Special Number covers the period from July 1979 to July 1983. Henceforth the First and Second Numbers of the Ṛtam will be brought out in January and July respectively every year. It will be our earnest endeavour to bring out these Numbers regularly with the kind co-operation of our learned contributors and generous subscribers.

In fulfilment of one of the aims and objects of the Parishad, viz. editing and publishing of Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākṛta manuscripts and such published books as are either rare and out of print or stand in need of a critical edition, a hitherto unpublished work of Silhaṇa, entitled *Svātmopalabdhi* is being published in this Volume. My thanks are due to the great scholar, Dr. Satyavrat Singh for editing and translating this important work.

I am extremely grateful to the learned members of the Advisory Editorial Board, but for whose guidance and active cooperation it would not have been possible for me to shoulder the onerous responsibility of bringing out

the Ṛtam. I am also grateful to Dr. K. V. Sarma, V. V. R. I., Hoshiarpur and Dr. G. C. Tripathi, Principal, Ganganath Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth, Allahabad for kindly accepting the membership of the Advisory Editorial Board of the Ṛtam. My thanks are also due to Dr. A. K. Kalia, Associate Editor of the Ṛtam and Dr. K. P. Srivastava, Administrator of the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow for seeing the present Volume through the Press during my absence from India. I am also thankful to the Ministry of Education and Culture, Government of India and the Department of Cultural Affairs, Government of Uttar Pradesh for the financial assistance generously given for bringing out this Journal.

My thanks are also due to Sri Vishwa Mohan, Proprietor of the Pnar Mudrak for the keen interest he has shown in the printing of this Volume.

August 22, 1983 **J. P. SINHA**

PART I



एक आदर्श दम्पती

डा० बाबू राम सक्सेना तथा श्रीमती सक्सेना

(१८ जून, १९७२ को दाम्पत्य जीवन की स्वर्ण जयन्ती पर लिया गया चित्र)

Professor B. R. Saksena : A Profile

Professor Dr. Babu Ram Saksena was born at Mahewaganj, District Lakhimpur-Kheri (U. P.) on Wednesday, May 12, 1897. His father, Babu Puttulal, Zamindar, Banker and Export-Import Merchant was the Karta of a big joint family with three younger brothers and one sister.

1903-1920: Studied at Primary School, Mahewaganj and Government High School, Lakhimpur and passed the Matriculation Examination in 1914 and topped the list of successful candidates of the School; studied at the Ewing Christian College, Allahabad (1914-16) and passed the Intermediate examination in the 1st Division standing 4th in order of merit and first in Sanskrit in the University of Allahabad; joined Muir Central College in 1916 and passed the B. A. examination in 2nd Division in 1918; passed the M. A. examination of the University of Allahabad in 1920 standing 1st in Sanskrit in the University in order of merit.

1920-1922: Went to Benaras in October 1920 at the invitation of his revered Professor and inspirer, Dr. G. N. Jha, for higher studies. Worked as research student on Sanskrit Alankaras under Principal A. B. Dhruva and studied from Pt. Gopinath Kaviraj, Pt. Ramavatar Sharma and Pt. Damodar Goswami.

In January 1921 began as Research Scholar in Linguistics at the Benaras Hindu University under Prof. R. L. Turner, Professor of Indian Linguistics, on Evolution of Awadhi and was awarded the D. Litt. scholarship by the U. P. Government.

1922. Married on June 18. Wife: Shyam Devi, daughter of Shri Govind Prasad Verma of Narsingarh, M. P. and sister of Smt. Mahadevi Verma, Shri Jagmohan Verma and Shri Manmohan Verma.

1922-1959: Appointed Lecturer in Sanskrit (Oct. 19, 1922) at the reorganised University of Allahabad; Promoted to Readership (March 18, 1933); Appointed Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit and Prakrit Languages (July 21, 1950).

Honorary Principal, K. P. University College (1947-52); Dean, Faculty of Arts (1952-56); Dean, Student Welfare (December 1956—July 1958); retired on September 30, 1959.

1929-30: Worked in the School of Oriental Studies, London University, once again under Prof. Turner, then Professor of Sanskrit and Indian Linguistics at the University; Studied Phonetics (specially Experimental) from Prof. Daniel Jones and Mr. Stephen Jones of the University College of Phonetics and from Mr. A. Lloyd James; Studied Lithuanian from Mr. Jobson; Studied Avestan and Sogdian from Dr. H. W. Bailey; worked, particularly on Instrumental Phonetics, under Professor E. W. Scripture.

1931. Submitted thesis for the degree of Doctor of Literature of the University of Allahabad and was awarded the degree in November, 1931 (4th D. Litt. of the University, 1st was Dr. G. N. Jha); the examiners were Prof. R. L. Turner, Prof. Jules Bloch and Sir George A. Grierson, the Viva-voce examiners being Principal A. C. Woolner and Dr. S. K. Chatterjee.

1959: Revisited Europe as a member of a six member delegation of Educationists and Scientists of India invited by the Federal Government of Germany.

1959-61: Appointed (October 1, 1959) Professor and Head of the Department of Linguistics and Philology and Indo-Aryan Studies, Saugar University and organised the two Departments; and left on November 15, 1961 for Delhi to serve the Government of India.

1961-64: Employed by the Government of India, Ministry of Education, as Vice-Chairman of the Standing Commission for Scientific and Technological Terminology in Hindi and other Indian Languages (upto 31st May, 1964).

1964: Joined the Ravi Shanker University, Raipur, Madhya Pradesh, as first Vice-Chancellor on June 1 for a term of three years.

1968-1970: Was appointed Chairman, Standing Commission for Scientific and Technological Terminology, Government of India, Ministry of Education, New Delhi and retired from that office in May, 1970.

1972-77: Was Vice-Chancellor of the University Of Allahabad, Allahabad.

1973-74: Was Chairman of the Managing Committee of Dr. G. N. Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Allahabad.

Was Visiting Professor at the University of Bhagalpur, Bihar in Nov-December, 1977.

In September, 1977, was awarded by the U. P. Govt. (U. P. Hindi Sansthan) a sum of Rs. 15,000/- and a TAMRA PATRA for his services to Hindi Language.

Founder Member of Linguistic Society of India; Life Member of Societe de Linguistique, Paris; Member of the Linguistic Society of America; Life Member of Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Benaras; President of the Linguistics Section of Oriental Conference at the Session held at Hyderabad in 1941; President of Linguistic Society of India, 1957. Was a member of the Committee appointed by the President of the Constituent Assembly of India in 1948 to recommend a system of Short-hand for Hindi and a Keyboard for Devanagari Typewriters; was a member of the Language Experts' Conference appointed by the President of the Constituent Assembly. Was a member of the Official Language Commission appointed by the President of the Union of India (1955-56).

Was a member of the Board of Scientific and Technical Terminology appointed by the Government of India (1952-60).

Was a Member of the Sahitya Academy (1952-56).

Delivered Lectures on Dakkhini Hindi at the Hindustani Academy, U.P., Allahabad (1945): Ramdin Readership Lectures at the Patna University on Semantics (1946-47) and Lectures on Phonetics at the Shasan Sahitya Parishad, C. P. Nagpur (1955).

Delivered Gandhi Memorial Lectures at Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Bombay in 1973 on Gandhiji's solution of the language problem of India.

Delivered Willson Philological Lectures in 1973-74 at the University of Bombay.

Actively interested in Social Uplift work and active worker of the Arya Samaj since 1925, was President of the U. P. Arya P. Sabha in 1934 and 1939. Was member of the Executive Committee of the All India Seva Samiti, Allahabad; Harijan Sevak Sangh, Allahabad; Honorary General Secretary, Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad (1937-40) and its Working President (1947-48). Actively associated with the Hindustani Academy, U. P. for several years as a member of the Executive Committee.

Wrote the following books—

1. Evolution of Awadhi: Indian Press, Allahabad (1938), pages 562 and i-xviii.

2. Samanya Bhashavijnana (in Hindi): Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad, (1st ed. 1943, 6th ed. 1961), pages 360.

3. Arthavijnana (in Hindi): Ramdin Readership Lectures, Patna University, Patna (1951), pages 183.

4. Dakkhini Hindi (in Hindi) ; Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, 1st ed. 1952, pages 112 plus 33.

5. Sanskrita Vyakarana Praveshika (in Hindi): Ram Narain Lal, Allahabad, (1st ed. 1928), pages 600.

6. Kirtilata (Vidyapati) in Hindi. (A critical edition), Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Kashi (1st edition, 1930).

The following are select articles in chronological order :—

A. IN ENGLISH

1. Lakhimpuri—A Dialect of Modern Awadhi. Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1922, pages 305-47.

2. Noun-declension in the Ramayana of Tulasidas, Indian Antiquary, Vol. II, 1923.

3. The Verb in the Ramayana of Tulasidas, Allahabad University Studies, Vol. II, 1926.

4. Persian Loan words in the Ramayana of Tulasidas: Oriental Conference, 1926.

5. The names of Relatives in Modern Indo-Aryan Lagnuages: Fourth Oriental Conference, Allahabad, 1926, pp. 475-89.

6. The Whispered Vowels in Indo-Aryan; Sixth Oriental Conference, Patna, 1930, pages 675-78.

7. Pali 'bhunaha', B.S.O.S. Vol. III, (1936), pp. 713-14.

8. Prepositional Differences between Sanskrit and Pali, Summary of papers, All India Oriental Conference, 1951, page 176.

9. Certain Verb-compounds of Sanskrit and Some Parallel Formations in Awadhi: Indian Linguistics, Vol. 16 (1955), pp. 204-05.

10. A Note on the Derivation of Hindi Ubar Khabar, B.S.O. (A). S. Vol. XX (1957), p. 507.

11. A Peculiar Use of the Conditional in Spoken Hindi: Indian Linguistics (1958), pp. 322-24.

12. Procedural Aspects in the Department of Scientific Terminology: in 'Trends in Scientific Terminology' (pp. 33-38), published by National Bureau of Education, Publications, Delhi, October 1962.

13. A review of works produced in Sanskrit during 14th, 15th and 16th Centuries A.D. : The Gazetteer of India, Introductory Volumes.

14. 'Grammatical Sketch of Hindi' in the volume containing grammatical sketches of languages enumerated in the Schedule VIII of the Constitution, published by Language Division of the Registrar-General of India, Calcutta.

B. IN HINDI

15. Dhvanivijnana me prayoga : Hindustani, (April, 1931) pp. 211-26.

16. Devanagari lipi aur Hindi Aksaravinyasa : Hindustani, (Jan. 1932).

17. Palibhasa : Hindustani (April 1934), pp. 91-97.

18. Devanagari Lipi me Sudhara : Hindustani, (Oct. 1935), p.p. 415-23.

19. Pali kharaputta Jataka ka Awadhi rupantara : Hindustani (April, 1939), pp. 121-27.

20. Kahamukari ki pracina avastha : Hindustani, (Jan. 1941) pp. 317-20.

21. Bhasavaijnanika adhyayan ki pragati : Bharatiya Sahitya, (July, 1957) pp. 35-43.

22-31. Articles on Awadhi (p. 70) Avahatta (p. 71). Asoki Prakrit (73), Chhattisagarhi (p. 292), Bagheli (p. 508), Baisawari (p. 518), Bharata-Yuropiya (pp. 542-44), Vaidika (chhandasa), (p. 739), Sanskrit (Bhasha) (p. 797-98), Sanskrit (Sahitya) (pp. 798-801). In Hindi Sahitya Kosa, ed. by Dr. Dhirendra Verma published by Gyanamandala, Benaras, (Vikram-samvat 2015).

32. Vaidhabhasa aur Vastavikabhasa : Bharatiya Sahitya (Jan. 1959), pp. 11-23.

33. Hindi me Linga bheda ke dvara suksma arthabheda ka dyotana : Hindi Anusilana, (1960), pp. 151-54.

34. Hindi ksetra ki boliyo aur lokasahitya ka sodhakarya : Bharatiya Sahitya, (Jan. 1961), pp. 25-29.

35. Dhwani Anurupa Vartani ki Samasya : Bhasha, (March 1962), pp. 75-78.

Brief Sketch of Family

Family of Saksena Dusare Kayasthas of U. P. having a recorded genealogy of 200 years. The family's specific name is Adaval. B. R. Saksena had three elder sisters, one elder brother and one younger sister. None of whom is now alive. Elder brother Babu Brahmadin, retired as a District and Sessions Judge of Madhya Bharat. He left four sons and three daughters, all well-placed.

Dr. Saksena has eight children as follows :—

1. Pritilata Adaval (Miss) (Born 20-11-1925). M.A., Shastri, Lecturer in Philosophy, University of Allahabad.

2. Kirtilata Dutt (Mrs.) (Born 30-11-1929) M. A., D. Phil, (was married to Shri Deo Dutt, U.P.C.S. in 1952 who died prematurely in March 1964).

3. Neeti (Mrs.) (Born 27-1-1933) M. A., D. Phil. (married to Captn. K. S. Shrivastava, M. Sc., of the Indian Army).

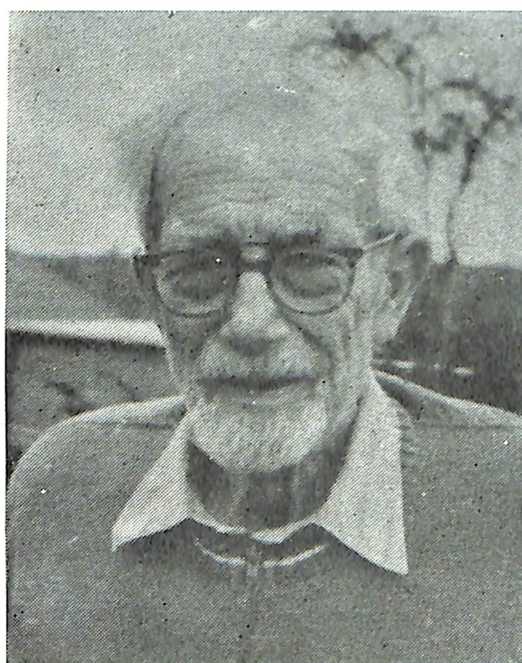
4. Navin Kumar Adaval (Mr.) (Born 28-9-1934) B. E., Principal Government Politechnical Institute, Muzaffar Nagar, U. P. (married to Smt. Shashiprabha, daughter of the late Dr. S. K. Lal, Reader, Benaras Hindu University).

5. Deepti (Mrs.) (Born 13-12-1937) M. A., (Married to Shri Ashok Kumar, B. E., both of whom are now in Canada).

6. Sumati (Mrs.) (Born 29-10-1939) M. A. (Married to Shri Raghubir Chandra Saxena, M. Com., Lecturer, Lucknow University).

7. Prabhati (Mrs.) (Born 29-12-1941) M. Sc. (Married to Shri Anupam Varma, M. Sc., Indian Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi).

8. Shakti (Mrs.) (Born 26-9-1946). (Married to Shri R. N. Gaur Lecturer, Ranchi University.)



प्रो० रॉल्फ टर्नर
विश्वविख्यात भाषाविद् तथा
डा० बाबू राम सक्सेना के गुरु

REMINISCENCES

R. L. Turner

I was delighted to hear that the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow, was contemplating the publication of a volume commemorative of Professor Baburam's scholarship in Indo-Aryan Linguistics. He first came to me at the Hindu University of Benares in its early days in 1920 where I held the Chair in that subject, and as an M. A. in Sanskrit at Allahabad worked at a masterly paper on the dialect of his village of Lakhimpur, which the Asiatic Society of Bengal published in its Journal Volume XVIII 1922 No. 5. This received highest commendation also from scholars in Europe, especially from the master in Indo-Aryan linguistics, Professor Jules Bloch. Saksena followed this with a work on the whole field of the Evolution of Awadhi. This he completed during a year spent with me at the School of Oriental Studies in London University, which, when published, established him as the authority on the history of Awadhi, and gained its author the D. Litt. of Allahabad. Then as a Professor of Sanskrit in Allahabad he played a leading role in the formation of the Linguistic Society of India, to the Journal of which he has through his long life been a regular contributor. Nor in this brief notice can I omit to mention his great services to academic life as Vice-Chancellor of a great Indian University.

Dr. Babu Ram Saksena

(A great scholar, a dear friend and an elder brother)

S. M. Katre

I have great pleasure in recording in this letter my reminiscences about Dr. Baburam Saksena. I first came into contact with him when we were fellow students in the autumn of 1928 at the School of Oriental Studies in the University of London, situated at Finsbury Circus, while attending the seminars of Professor R. L. Turner on the Comparative Grammars of Indo-Aryan and of Indo-European. At that time I was fresh from graduating with Honours in Mathematics from the Presidency College, Madras, and having qualified for continuing my studies in the department of Indo-Aryan after passing the qualifying B. A. (Hons) examination of the London University, requiring three years instead of two for completing the prescribed course for the degree of Ph. D. Dr. Saksena was already a lecturer in the Allahabad University, on study leave, to continue working under Professor Turner for his D. Litt. degree, after having been his first student in India while Professor Turner was teaching in Benaras. Dr. Saksena was staying with his colleague Banarsi Prasad Saksena as a paying guest at the house of Dr. W. Steda in Streatham and we used to meet regularly at the two seminars conducted by Professor Turner. I perceived at that time how straightforward Dr. Saksena was in his every day dealings and how cheerful he was bringing a ray of light in an otherwise gloomy atmosphere. When at the end of the year he left for India I took his place at Dr. Stede's residence and enjoyed the companionship of Dr. Banarsi Prasad until we both left for India at different times in the early thirtees.

It was on my return to India late in 1931 I made contact again with Baburamji. During two visits to U. P., once to Benaras and again to

Allahabad I had the good fortune of spending some time with Baburamji while I stayed as a guest the Baburamji. Again in 1937 when I was invited for the post of Principal of Queen's College I spent some time with Baburamji. From this date on our contacts became more frequent; it was particularly in 1938 when I was invited by the Special Officer appointed by the Government of Bombay in connection with the reopening of the Deccan College as a post-graduate and research Institute for Linguistics, History and experimental psychology to help him build the library and language laboratory resources for newly revived institute that we became really more intimate. For it was in connection with the Phonetics Laboratory I needed expert advice and Baburamji had worked with Professor Scripture while in London. He provided me with some details which he had and suggested my writing to Professor Scripture for more relevant information.

It was during the early fifties that the bond between us became more intimate. When the Rockefeller Foundation approached me during 1952 with a proposal that the Deccan College should prepare a project which would train Indian linguists and some American scholars for specializing in the major Indian literary languages, following the adoption of the new Constitution which provided for the replacement of English as the official language by the mid sixties, and the first phase of this project was a conference of linguists and educationists I found Baburamji as my staunchest supporter. We invited Sir Ralph Turner to preside over this conference and as a result of its deliberations an advisory committee was formed with Sir Ralph as Chairman and Baburamji, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee and Dr. Vishvanath Prasad and myself as members and the Language Project came into existence with full financial support from the Rockefeller Foundation with effect from the autumn of 1954. For the next six years of this assistance Baburamji attended every one of the linguistic schools held in Poona and elsewhere, and participated as a very active member of the advisory committee and the teaching faculty. While these schools were organised in the campus of Deccan College I had the unique privilege of sharing my official residence with Drs. Saksena and Dhirendra Varma and their families, and our relationship became more intimate.Mrs. Saksena became our Bhabhi and Members of her family who came with them formed part of a larger family with my own.

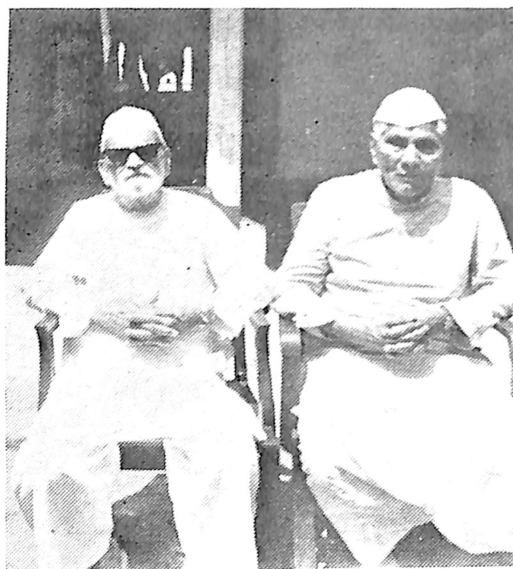
While organizing and running these schools and holding of special conferences like the one where invited Vice-Chancellors of Indian Universities in which we had the Chairmanship of Dr. C. D. Deshmukh, then Chairman of the University Grants Commission, for making Linguistics a central subject

of teaching in the universities Baburamji was a tower of strength. When any crisis developed in the running of the schools it was Baburamji who helped solve them. Even after he retired from active teaching to assume other administrative responsibilities such as Vice-Chancellorships and Chairman ships of Standing Commissions in Delhi I had the unique privilege of meeting and staying with him and seeking his advice and cooperation. While we organized a summer school under the joint auspices of his University in Pachmarhi, M. P. the entire responsibility of supervising the activities was actively conducted by him even though he was the Vice-Chancellor, and it was on this occasion that his friends and admirers presented a Felicitation Volume to him as a special volume of Indian Linguistics, the official journal of the Linguistic Society of India. During the sixties I had frequent opportunities of staying with Baburamji and enjoying the hospitality of his family at his Delhi residence during my visits to the capital for attending meetings at the ministry or UGC. Indeed I became an honorary member of his family. My last visit to him was in 1976 when I travelled to India from USA carrying the ashes of my late wife for immersion at Triveni Sangam; during this stay with him, apart from his assistance in making the necessary arrangements for the ceremony of immersion, I had also the privilege of being invited to give a course of lectures at the Ganganath Jha Research Institute on the current status of Indian Studies in U. S. and Canadian Universities. It was the last time that I had the opportunity of seeing Bhabhi who was ailing at that time, and later I learnt that she had passed away late that year.

During 1978, in October, I had my last personal contact with Baburamji in attending the Golden Jubilee Celebration of the Linguistic Society of India held in Delhi at which we were among several scholars honoured by the Society. My visit was brief as I was then teaching at the California State University at Fullerton as a Distinguished Visiting Professor and had to return soon after the conference in Delhi.

To sum up, Baburamji represents the best of the old Indian of uprighteous behaviour, strong faith, generosity and humility in spite of high positions held and a sense of humour which makes serious knowledge less of a burden. Indian Linguistics and Sanskrit and Hindi have found in him a pillar of strength; he has been one of the sources of inspiration in building the Society of which he was a founder member and has been instrumental in bringing into existence the Central Hindi Institute and the Central Institute of Indian Languages. What little I could achieve in making Indian Linguistics what

it is today in the country owes not a little to the generosity and inspiration of Dr. Baburam Saksena and this would not have been possible but for the blessings of our common Guru Sir Ralph Turner and the staunch and unselfish support of Baburamji. May God grant him life and strength to pursue these goals further and make India once again a leader in linguistic research as in the halcyon days of Pāṇini, Patañjali and Bhartṛhari.



म० प्र० के भूतपूर्व मुख्य मन्त्री
पं० द्वारका प्रसाद मिश्र (बायें) के साथ
डा० बाबू राम सक्सेना (दायें)

मेरे मित्र—डा० बाबू राम सक्सेना

द्वारका प्रसाद मिश्र
(भूतपूर्व मुख्यमन्त्री, मध्यप्रदेश)

आज से लगभग ६१ वर्ष पूर्व जब मैं इलाहाबाद में बी० ए० का विद्यार्थी था तब डा० बाबूराम सक्सेना से मेरा प्रथम परिचय हुआ। सक्सेना जी और स्व०श्री धीरेन्द्र वर्मा ने जो कि घनिष्ठ मित्र थे, उसी वर्ष एम० ए० फाइनल की परीक्षा दी थी। जब परीक्षा-फल निकला तो सक्सेना जी तो उत्तीर्ण हो गये परन्तु वर्मा जी असफल रहे। जब मैंने वर्मा जी से उनकी असफलता का कारण पूछा तो वे बहुत हँसे और बोले कि "पाठ्यक्रम में नायिका-भेद का अध्ययन सम्मिलित था और यह सोच कर कि शायद इसमें मेरी जितनी अरुचि है उतनी ही परीक्षकों को भी होगी मैंने उसका अध्ययन नहीं किया। परन्तु बाबूराम जी ने उसे बड़े चाव से पढ़ा। प्रश्न-पत्र में नायिका-भेद के भी प्रश्न थे अतएव सफलता बाबूराम जी के हाथ लगी और असफलता मेरे हाथ"। यह सुनकर मैं भी खूब हँसा और मैंने उनसे कहा कि मेरे ख्याल से नायिका-भेद के अध्ययन में आपके ही समान सक्सेना जी को भी अरुचि रही होगी परन्तु उन्होंने उसे कर्तव्य समझ कर ही पढ़ा।

बाद को सक्सेना जी से पता चला कि कोर्स साहित्यशास्त्र-प्रधान था जिसमें धीरेन्द्र जी को रुचि नहीं थी। उनकी रुचि तो पुरातत्त्व-शास्त्र में थी। परीक्षा भी बड़ी कठोर थी। ग्यारह में से तीन ही उत्तीर्ण हुए, सक्सेना जी इलाहाबाद से और एक-एक परीक्षार्थी जयपुर और नागपुर से। इन उत्तीर्ण छात्रों में सक्सेना जी का स्थान प्रथम था।

उत्तीर्ण होने के पश्चात् सक्सेना जी कुछ समय के लिए काशी चले गये और जब मैं एम० ए० और कानून पढ़ने के लिए फिर इलाहाबाद गया तब तक वे काशी से लौटकर इलाहाबाद विश्वविद्यालय के संस्कृत विभाग में अध्यापक हो गये थे। अब हम लोगों का परिचय मित्रता में परिणत हुआ और हम दोनों प्रगाढ़ मित्र हो गये।

जब मैं १९३७ से १९३९ तक और फिर सन् १९४६ से १९५१ तक मध्य-प्रान्त और बरार के प्रशासन में मंत्री था तब सक्सेना जी अनेक बार नागपुर आये और मुख्यमंत्री स्व० पं०

रविशंकर शुक्ल से भी उनका परिचय हो गया और शुक्ल जी भी उनकी विद्वत्ता से अत्यन्त प्रभावित हुए। जब बस्तर के राज्य के मध्य-प्रान्त में सम्मिलित करने का प्रश्न उठा तब बस्तर से लगे हुए प्रान्तों ने भी अपना अपना दावा पेश किया। निर्णय वहाँ की भाषा के आधार पर होना था। हम लोगों ने सक्सेना जी तथा स्व० डा० सुनीति कुमार चटर्जी को बस्तर के एक समारोह में निमंत्रित किया और इन दोनों भाषा-शास्त्रियों ने वहाँ की भाषा को छत्तीसगढ़ी बोली का रूपान्तर मात्र होने का निर्णय दिया। इस प्रकार बस्तर मध्य-प्रदेश का एक अंग हो गया।

सन् १९५६ में शुक्लजी के आग्रह से मैंने सागर विश्वविद्यालय के कुलपति का पद ग्रहण किया। धीरे-धीरे कई नए विभाग खोले जिनमें भाषाशास्त्र भी था। स्वभावत: उसके संचालन के लिए मैंने सक्सेना जी को ही उपयुक्त समझा और उन्हें निमन्त्रित किया। उन्होंने अपनी स्वीकृति दी और सागर आ गए। इसके पश्चात् जब मैं नए मध्यप्रदेश का मुख्यमंत्री हुआ तो रायपुर के विश्वविद्यालय के कुलपति का पद सम्हालने के लिए उनसे आग्रह किया। तब तक पं० रविशंकर शुक्ल दिवंगत हो चुके थे और मैं उनके नाम से स्थापित किए गए विश्वविद्यालय के समुचित निर्माण के लिए किसी योग्य व्यक्ति की खोज में था। सक्सेना जी ने मेरी आकांक्षा की पूर्ति की और वे रायपुर चले गए। वहाँ उन्होंने अत्यन्त योग्यता से कार्य किया जिससे सभी लोग प्रभावित हुए। केवल रायपुर के एक प्रमुख नागरिक को उनके कार्य से असन्तुष्ट पाया। जब मैंने उनसे असंतोष का कारण पूछा तो उत्तर यह मिला कि— "कुलपति का पद सम्हालने के बाद वे मुझसे मिलने नहीं आये।" यह सुनकर मैंने उनसे कहा कि कुलपति का यह काम नहीं है कि पद ग्रहण के पश्चात् सब के दरवाजे खटखटाता फिरे।

मेरे मुख्य-मंत्री के पद से हटने के पश्चात् विरोधी पक्ष की सरकार बनी और उसमें एक नवयुवक शिक्षा-मंत्री हुए।

वे अपने नगर के एक ला कालेज को फिर से मान्यता दिलाना चाहते थे। इसके पूर्व विश्वविद्यालय ने वहाँ की दुर्व्यवस्था और अनियमितताओं की शिकायतों पर, एक उप-समिति से जाँच करवायी थी और उसकी इस रिपोर्ट पर कि शिकायतें सच्ची हैं, शिक्षा-परिषद् और कार्य समिति ने उस कालेज की मान्यता रद्द कर दी थी। एक दिन मंत्री जी ने सक्सेना जी से कहा कि कालेज को फिर मान्यता दे दीजिए। सक्सेना जी ने अपनी असमर्थता प्रकट की तो मंत्री जी ने अपनी बात आग्रहपूर्वक दुहराई।

इस पर सक्सेना जी ने उत्तर दिया कि मैं अपना त्यागपत्र भेज दूँगा और उसके बाद मेरे उत्तराधिकारी से मान्यता ले लीजियेगा। इस घटना के तुरन्त बाद सक्सेना जी ने ,मुझसे सम्पर्क किया और मैं उनके त्यागपत्र देने से सहमत हो गया, क्योंकि मैं उनके सदृश सम्मानित व्यक्ति के अपमान को सहन नहीं कर सकता था। सुयोग्य व्यक्ति की आवश्यकता तो सर्वत्र रहती ही है। रायपुर से हटने से कुछ समय बाद सक्सेना जी दिल्ली बुला लिए गये और प्रशासन के लिए हिन्दी-शब्दावली के निर्माण के आयोग के अध्यक्ष हो गये।

दिल्ली का कार्य समाप्त होने पर वे कुछ समय के पश्चात् इलाहाबाद विश्वविद्यालय के कुलपति पद पर रहे और फिर से हम दोनों के मिलने जुलने में सुविधा हो गई। जबलपुर विश्वविद्यालय में संस्कृत और हिन्दी विभागों में नियुक्तियों के लिए जो चयन-समितियाँ गठित होती रहीं उनमें वे आते रहे। जहाँ तक मुझे पता है आजकल वे इस प्रकार की समितियों में जाने से इन्कार करते रहते हैं, परन्तु मेरे प्रति उनका जो स्नेह है उसके कारण वे जबलपुर आ ही जाते हैं।

मैं हर वर्ष ग्रीष्म में दो महीनों के लिए पचमढ़ी चला जाता हूँ। दो वर्ष पूर्व मैंने उनसे आग्रह किया कि वे मेरे साथ आकर वहाँ रहें। वे दोनों महीने कितने सुख से व्यतीत हुए इसे मैं कभी भी विस्मृत नहीं कर सकूंगा।

अभी जब सक्सेना जी को पता चला कि मैं उनके अभिनंदन ग्रंथ के लिए कुछ लिखने जा रहा हूँ तो उन्होंने एक पत्र द्वारा मुझे आज्ञा दी है कि मैं उनके दोषों का भी ज़िक्र करूँ। सक्सेना जी उच्च कोटि के विद्वान् हैं, गम्भीर प्रकृति के हैं, सदाचारी हैं। मैं उनके सद्गुणों से प्रभावित हूँ। फिर भी उनकी आज्ञा का पालन करने के लिए जब मैंने विचार किया तो मेरी दृष्टि में मुझे एक दोष याद आया और वह उनकी आइस-क्रीम खाने की नितांत अभिलाषा। जो सज्जन उनको अभिनंदन ग्रंथ प्रदान करने वाले हैं उनसे मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि अभिनंदन ग्रंथ के साथ उन्हें आइसक्रीम से भरा हुआ एक प्याला भी प्रदान करें।



अपने परिवार के साथ डा० बाबू राम सक्सेना तथा श्रीमती सक्सेना

डा० बाबूराम सक्सेना–एक संस्मरण

स्वामी आत्मानन्द
(सचिव, रामकृष्ण मिशन, विवेकानन्द आश्रम, रायपुर, म० प्र०)

डा० बाबूराम सक्सेना से मेरा परिचय १९६४ ई० के जून महीने में हुआ था। रायपुर में रविशंकर विश्वविद्यालय की स्थापना हुई थी और डा० सक्सेना उसके प्रथम कुलपति बनकर आये थे। मैंने एक महान् पण्डित एवं भाषाशास्त्री के रूप में उनका नाम सुन रखा था और अपने कुछ मित्रों से, जो सागर विश्वविद्यालय में अध्यापक थे, उनकी प्रशंसा सुन रखी थी, क्योंकि वे रायपुर आने से पहले सागर विश्वविद्यालय में अध्यापन का कार्य करते थे। जून, १९६४ के अन्त में आश्रम का 'सत्संग भवन' बनकर तैयार हुआ था (जिसे नया सत्संग भवन बन जाने के बाद अब 'वाचनालय' का रूप दिया गया है)। उसका उद्‌घाटन डा० सक्सेना द्वारा हो ऐसी हमारी इच्छा थी। अत: उन्हें इसके लिए निमन्त्रण देने गये। यही मेरी उनसे पहली भेंट थी। उन्होंने हमारा निमन्त्रण सहर्ष स्वीकार किया और २५ जुलाई १९६४ को विधिवत् उद्‌घाटन कार्य सम्पन्न किया। उसी दिन से आश्रम में नियमित साप्ताहिक सत्संग का भी शुभारम्भ था और मैं ईशावास्योपनिषद् पर प्रवचन-माला से अपना यह सत्संग प्रारम्भ करना चाहता था। डा० बाबूराम जी ने सत्संग भवन का उद्‌घाटन ईशावास्योपनिषद् पर भाषण देकर किया। मैंने उन्हें पहली बार सुना और उनकी विद्वत्ता की छाप मुझ पर गहरी पड़ी।

उसके बाद से क्रमश: परिचय घनिष्ठता में बदलता गया। कुछ समय बाद उनका परिवार भी रायपुर आ गया, जिसमें उनकी पत्नी, उनकी दूसरी कन्या श्रीमती कीर्तिलता दत्त तथा कीर्तिजी का इकलौता पुत्र–ये तीन जन थे। वैसे तो सक्सेना जी का परिवार बड़ा था, पर ये तीन ही ऐसे थे, जो उनके पूरे रायपुर निवास में साथ रहे। कीर्तिजी तभी तभी विधवा हुई थीं, अत: वे अपने माता-पिता के पास ही अपने पुत्र के साथ रहतीं थीं। डा० सक्सेना ने मुझे एक दिन भोजन पर आमन्त्रित किया और परिवार के इन सदस्यों से परिचित कराया। उसी दिन यह भी पता चला कि श्रीमती सक्सेना हिन्दी जगत् की सुविख्यात लेखिका एवं कवयित्री महादेवी वर्मा की सगी छोटी बहन हैं। तो, सक्सेना जी का परिवार साहित्यिकों और लेखकों

का परिवार था । श्रीमती सक्सेना का व्यवहार इतना अपनत्व भरा था कि मैं दूसरी भेंट से ही उन्हें 'चाची' कहकर पुकारने लगा था । फलतः डा० सक्सेना अब मेरे लिए 'डा० साहब' या 'सक्सेना साहब' नहीं रहे, वे भी 'चाचाजी' हो गये, जिस नाम से आज भी मैं उन्हें सम्बोधित करता हूं और उसी सम्बन्ध का स्नेह भी उनसे प्राप्त करता हूं । कीर्तिजी 'जीजी' बन गयीं । वैसे तो एक संन्यासी से यही अपेक्षा की जाती है कि वह परिवार का कोई बन्धन नहीं बनाकर रखेगा, जन्म से उसे जो परिवार मिला है, उसी को तोड़कर समस्त परिवार-सीमा का त्याग करेगा, पर इस सक्सेना परिवार का जो अनाविल स्नेह मुझे मिला, उसने मेरे लिए नया परिवार खड़ा कर दिया । पर इस परिवार की विशिष्टता यह थी कि उसने मुझे कभी इसका एहसास नहीं कराया कि मैंने कोई नया बन्धन स्वीकार किया है, अपितु उनके बीच रहकर भी मैंने ज्ञान की निर्बन्धता का ही अनुभव किया । जहां स्वार्थहीन प्रेम हो, किसी ऊँचे आदर्श को लेकर मनुष्य इकट्ठे होते हों, वहाँ प्रेम बाँधने वाला नहीं बनता, अपितु निर्मल ज्ञान से युक्त हो उच्चतर आदर्श की ओर प्रेरणा देने वाला बनता है, इसका अनुभव मैंने उन लोगों के बीच रहकर किया ।

जब डा० सक्सेना से मेरा परिचय हुआ ही था और वह परिचय घनिष्ठता में पर्यवसित नहीं हुआ था, तब की बात है । एक दिन उनका सन्देश आया । मैं मिलने के लिए गया । उन्होंने बताया कि कुलाधिपति महोदय ने मुझे रविशंकर विश्वविद्यालय की कार्यकारिणी में एक सदस्य के रूप में मनोनीत किया है और पूछा कि मुझे इसमें कोई आपत्ति तो नहीं है । मैंने उन्हें धन्यवाद दिया और कहा कि यदि मेरा किसी प्रकार का उपयोग शिक्षा-जगत् में हो सकता है, तो मुझे प्रसन्नता ही होगी । तब से विश्वविद्यालय के काम से उनके साथ मेरी भेंटें थोड़े-थोड़े अन्तराल से होती रहीं । मुझे विश्वविद्यालय की वित्त समिति का भी सदस्य बनाया गया । वह विश्वविद्यालय का प्रारम्भ था । किसी बात को जन्म देकर उसे सही रूप प्रदान करना कितना कठिन होता है, यह तब अनुभव हुआ । हम लोग प्रथम कार्यकारिणी के सदस्य थे । हम लोगों में एक नवनिर्माण की उमंग थी और इस टीम के नेता थे डा० बाबूराम सक्सेना । उनमें नेतृत्व के सभी गुण विद्यमान थे—वे कर्मठ थे, विद्वान् थे अथ च विनयी थे, पर उनके विनय में तेज भी था । बहुधा विनय को लोग गलत समझ लेते हैं क्योंकि अधिकांश विनयी ऐसे होते हैं, जिनमें तेजस्विता नहीं होती । इसलिए लोग विनय को दुर्बलता का पर्याय मान बैठते हैं । डा० सक्सेना विनयी तो थे, किसी बात को विनय पूर्वक समझाते थे, पर अन्याय या औद्धत्य के समक्ष झुकना उनका स्वभाव नहीं था । कोई किसी गलत काम के लिए उन पर जोर डालता, तो उनकी तेजस्विता प्रकट हो जाती । कार्यकारिणी की बैठकों में भी वे मतभेद की स्थिति आने नहीं देते थे, अपने विनयपूर्ण किन्तु ओजस्वी तर्कों से उनका मन भी जीत लेते थे, जो उस विषय में भिन्न मत का पोषण करते थे ।

रविशंकर विश्वविद्यालय डा० सक्सेना की कार्यकुशलता का कीर्तिमान था । वे कहा करते कि मैं विश्वविद्यालय को मात्र परीक्षा लेने वाली संस्था के रूप में नहीं देखना चाहता, मैं तो उसे शिक्षा देने वाली समर्थ संस्था के रूप में विकसित देखना चाहता हूं । उन्होंने इसके लिए

केन्द्र में अपने प्रभाव का सदुपयोग किया और इस विश्वविद्यालय को सचमुच अपने स्वल्प कार्य-काल मे ही एक सक्षम शिक्षा-केन्द्र के रूप में विकसित कर क्षेत्र की जनता का स्नेह और आदर जीत लिया। यदि वे एक और कार्यकाल तक विश्वविद्यालय के कुलपति रहते, तो यह रविशंकर विश्वविद्यालय के लिए अत्यन्त गौरव और सौभाग्य की बात होती। पर उनका चालू कार्यकाल ही राजनैतिक हस्तक्षेप के कारण पूरा न बीत पाया।

मध्यप्रदेश में पण्डित द्वारिकाप्रसाद मिश्र की सरकार पलट दी गयी थी और संविद सरकार बनी थी। संविद का मतलब 'संयुक्त विधायक दल'। उसके शिक्षामंत्री ने भोपाल से डा० सक्सेना को फोन किया। मैं उस समय डा० सक्सेना के पास उनके निवास में बैठा था। शिक्षामंत्री कोई गलत काम कराना चाहते थे। फोन पर डा० सक्सेना ने कहा कि वह काम वे नहीं कर सकेंगे। वे संयत भाषा में विनयपूर्वक ही अपनी बात रख रहे थे। पर मंत्रीजी कहां मानते? उन्होंने सम्भवतः अधिकार की भाषा का प्रयोग करते हुए कहा होगा कि आपको यह काम करना ही होगा। सक्सेना जी की तेजस्विता उसे कहां सह पाती? उन्होंने तुरन्त दृढ़ एवं कठोर शब्दो में कहा, "देखिए मंत्रीजी, आपको अगर वह काम कराना है, तो दूसरा कुलपति ढंढ़ लीजिए।" और उन्होंने फोन रख दिया। तुरन्त उन्होंने त्यागपत्र लिखा और कुलाधिपति को भेज दिया तथा उसकी प्रति शिक्षामंत्री को। डा० सक्सेना की मानसिक बनावट को परखने में यह घटना अत्यन्त समर्थ सिद्ध होगी।

नैतिकता सक्सेनाजी के रक्त में है। वैसे भी बचपन से उन्हें आर्यसमाज के स्वस्थ संस्कार मिले हैं, पर वे संस्कार की दार्शनिक संकीर्णता में कैद नहीं हैं। उन्हें जहाँ भी स्वस्थ और शुभ विचार दिखायी देते हैं, निःसंकोच ग्रहण करते हैं। मैं उनसे दार्शनिक सिद्धान्तों पर भी चर्चा करता। वे उदारमना हैं। सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि वे सम्पूर्णतः निष्कपट हैं। उन्हें बातें बनाकर कहना नहीं आता, वे स्पष्टवादी हैं, पर उनकी स्पष्टवादिता किसी को चोट नहीं पहुँचाती। सामान्यतया जो स्पष्टवादी होते हैं, वे एक सीमा तक रुक्ष और कठोर होते हैं, उनकी वाणी शूल के समान चुभती है। पर डा० सक्सेना की स्पष्टवादिता शल्य-चिकित्सक की छुरी के समान है, जो रुग्ण अंग को काटने के लिए प्रयुक्त होती है और परिणाम में स्वस्थता प्रदान करती है। इसीलिए जो एक बार उनका स्नेहभाजन बनता है, जब तक वह स्वयं ही अपने किसी दोष के कारण अपने को उनसे काट न ले, वे नहीं काटते। यदि कोई उनके स्नेह का अनुचित लाभ उठाना चाहता है, तो वह मानो उन पर जबरदस्त आघात करता है।

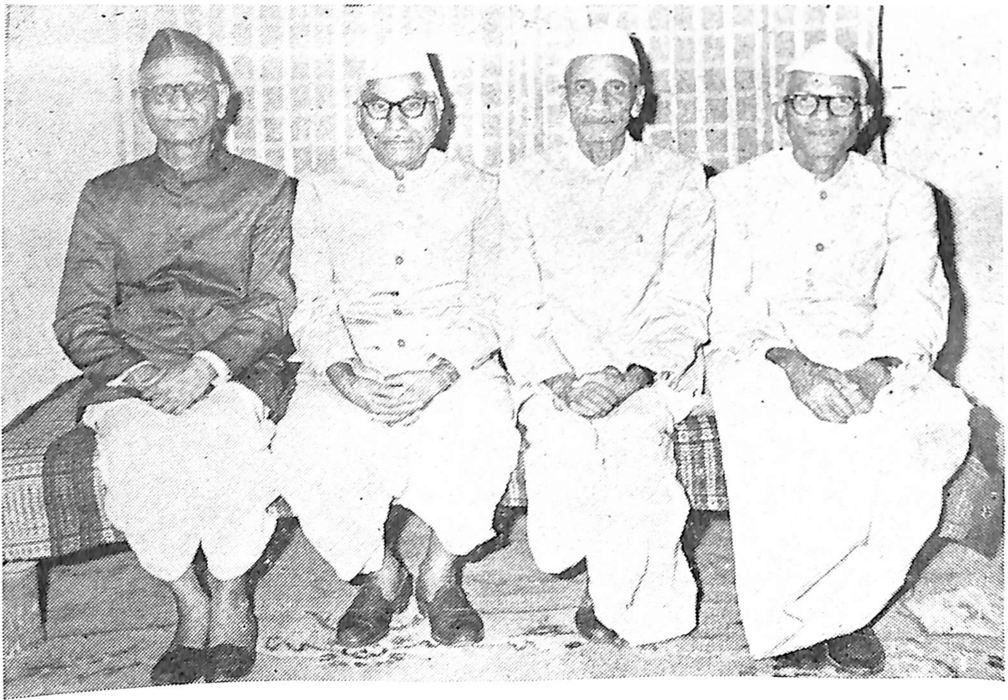
इस सन्दर्भ में एक घटना याद आती है। उन्होंने हम कुछ आश्रमवासियों को अपने यहाँ नैश-भोजन के लिए बुलाया था। इस प्रकार की उनके यहाँ हमारी भोजन-परिषद् अधिकांशतः विद्वत्-परिषद् ही होती, क्योंकि ऐसे समय विविध विषयों की चर्चा होती। दार्शनिक सिद्धान्तों से लेकर साधना की व्यावहारिक चर्चा तक। कभी कभी तो रात के बारह भी बज जाते। तो, उस दिन की बात है। हम लोग भोजन के बाद बैठकर चर्चा कर रहे थे कि कोई उनसे मिलने आया। वे सज्जन उनके अत्यन्त स्नेहभाजन थे। वे अपने साथ किसी को लेकर डा० सक्सेना से मिलाने आये थे। डा० सक्सेना जब उन दोनों से मिलकर पुनः भीतर बैठकखाने में आये, तो उनके हाथ में एक लम्बा लिफाफा था। मैंने पूछा, चाचाजी, आप यह क्या ले आये? उन्होंने

कहा, "अमुक व्यक्ति एक को लेकर आया था। उसने अपने किसी काम के लिए आवेदन दिया है। इस लिफाफे में उसी का आवेदन है।" उस दिन हम लोगों में भ्रष्टाचार की चर्चा चल रही थी— भोजन से पूर्व और भोजन के बाद भी। डा० सक्सेना ने व्यथित स्वर से कहा था कि पवित्र शिक्षा-जगत् भी भ्रष्टाचार के दोष से दूषित हो गया है। इतने में वे मिलनेवाले आ गये थे। मैंने उनके हाथ में लिफाफा देख कर हंस कर उनसे कहा, "चाचाजी, यह आवेदन तो जोरदार दिखता है— मतलब, वजनी! जरा देखिए, भीतर कोई वजन तो नहीं है।" मैंने यह बात अत्यन्त सहजता से कही थी, पर जब डा० सक्सेना ने लिफाफा फाड़ा, तो उसमें सौ-सौ रुपये के पचीस नोट थे— यानी २५००), और साथ में एक छोटा सा कागज का टुकड़ा था, जिसमें एक लड़के का नाम, रोल नम्बर तथा कौन सी परीक्षा उसने दी है वह लिखा था। प्रार्थना थी कि उस लड़के को उत्तीर्ण कर दिया जाय, और यदि आवश्यक समझा जाय, तो अधिक धन की भी व्यवस्था की जा सकेगी। बस, क्या था, वैसे तीवर मैंने सक्सेना जी के न तो पहले कभी देखे थे और न आज तक देखे हैं। उनके मुख पर दुःख और क्रोध के गहरे भाव उभर-उभर कर आ रहे थे। जीवन में ऐसा अनुभव उन्हें पहली बार हुआ था। उन्हें दुःख इस बात का था कि उनका जो अत्यन्त स्नेहभाजन व्यक्ति था, उसी ने उनको गलत समझा! वही दूसरे को यह कहकर ले आया था कि "चलो, मेरा कुलपति महोदय से परिचय है, मैं तुम्हारा काम करा दूंगा।" उन्हें बार बार यह पीड़ा साल रही थी कि मुझे निकट से जानने वाले और मेरा स्नेह पाने वाले व्यक्ति ने ऐसी धृष्टता और नीचता क्यों कर की। वे अत्यन्त उद्विग्न हो गये और उसी समय पुलिस में रिपोर्ट करने फोन के पास गये। मैंने उन्हें रोका। कहा, "उस व्यक्ति को सुबह बुलवा लीजिए और खूब डांट दीजिए। पुलिस के हाथ में केस सौंपने से काम तो कुछ सधेगा नहीं, नाहक की उलझने पैदा होंगी। "वे बोले" मैं उस नीच की सूरत नहीं देखना चाहता। "जो हो दूसरे दिन सुबह उन्होंने २५००) अपने एक मातहत अधिकारी द्वारा उस व्यक्ति के पास भिजवा कर कड़ी भर्त्सना करवायी और अपने उस स्नेहभाजन को जो उस व्यक्ति को लेकर गया था, अपने बंगले पर आने का कड़ा निषेध कर दिया। वह स्नेहभाजन आकर बहुत हाथ-पैर जोड़ता रहा, कहता रहा कि उसे नहीं मालूम था कि वह व्यक्ति लिफाफे में इस प्रकार रुपया रखेगा, तरह तरह से अपनी सफाई देता रहा, पर सक्सेना जी ने वह सब सुना नहीं और हमेशा के लिए उसका अपने निवास पर आना बन्द करा दिया। यह घटना भी डा० सक्सेना के अन्तरंग का परिचय प्राप्त करने में विशेष सहायक होगी।

रायपुर में उनके साथ बिताये वे क्षण मेरे लिए सुखद अनुभूति के क्षण हैं। उनका जीवन 'सादा जीवन उच्च विचार' का ज्वलन्त उदाहरण है। वे विद्याव्यसनी हैं और विद्वानों का समुचित आदर करते हैं। वे इस वय में भी कर्मठ हैं और ईशावास्योपनिषद् के दूसरे मंत्र के कायल हैं, जहाँ ऋषि कहते हैं—

कुर्वन्नेवेह कर्माणि जिजीविषेत् शतं समाः।
एवं त्वयि नान्यथेतोऽस्ति न कर्म लिप्यते नरे ।।

वे स्वास्थ्य से युक्त वेदोक्त सौ वर्ष की परमायु प्राप्त करें, यही कामना है।



(बायें से) डा० बनारसी प्रसाद, डा० बाबू राम सक्सेना,
डा० धीरेन्द्र वर्मा तथा डा० विश्वेश्वर प्रसाद

डॉ० बाबू राम सक्सेना—बहुमुखी व्यक्तित्व

रमेश चन्द्र महरोत्रा
प्रोफ़ेसर एवं अध्यक्ष, भाषाविज्ञान एवं
भाषा-विभाग, रविशंकर विश्वविद्यालय, रायपुर

डॉ० सक्सेना की छत्रच्छाया में मैं सागर विश्वविद्यालय में भी रहा और रविशंकर विश्व-विद्यालय में भी। उनकी यह सीख मुझे सदा याद रही है कि विश्वविद्यालय की राजनीति तुम हम वरिष्ठ लोगों के लिए छोड़ दो, कनिष्ठ लोगों को पढ़ाई-लिखाई में लगा रहना चाहिए, अन्यथा अच्छे से अच्छे विद्यार्थी राजनीति में पड़ कर शैक्षणिक दृष्टि से बरबाद हो जाते हैं। उनकी बुजुर्गियत से न जाने कितने लोगों ने लाभ उठाया होगा, क्योंकि उनको अपने छोटों को सभी दिशाओं में, औपचारिक और अनौपचारिक दोनों क्षेत्रों में, प्रशिक्षण देना 'जीवन में आगे आने वाला' सिद्ध हुआ है। उनके व्यक्तित्व की एक विशेषता उनके सामीप्य में रहने वाले सभी व्यक्ति जानते होंगे कि वे जितने स्नेही हैं, उतने ही कठोर अनुशासनप्रिय भी। घर में वे जितने कोमल हृदय के लगते हैं, कार्यालय में उतने ही दृढ़ता के प्रतीक। क्या तो मानवता के क्षेत्र में क्या एक प्रशासक के रूप में, और शिक्षा-जगत् के विद्वान् के रूप में डॉ० सक्सेना का जीवन 'सीखने वालों के लिए' एक दीपशिखा के समान कार्य करता रहा है और करता रहेगा।



डा० बाबूराम सक्सेना
[एक लघु संस्मरण]

उदय नारायण तिवारी

बात सन् १९३० की है। मैं अपने करणीय को निश्चित करने में संलग्न था। इसी समय पटने में प्राच्यविद्या सम्मेलन का समाचार पढ़ा। इसके सभापति मध्य प्रदेश के डाक्टर हीरालाल तथा स्वागताध्यक्ष इतिहास के प्रसिद्ध विद्वान् डॉ० काशीप्रसाद जायसवाल थे। सम्मेलन, जहाँ तक मुझे स्मरण है, मार्च में हुआ था। मैं इसमें भाग लेने के लिए पटने पहुँचा। अधिवेशन के अन्तर्गत भाषा-विज्ञान शाला में शोध-पत्र पढ़े जा रहे थे। सभापति के आसन पर वयोवृद्ध भाषाविज्ञानी आई. जे. एस. तारापुरवाला विराजमान थे और धोती और कुर्ता पहने एवं गले में चादर डाले एक भव्य पुरुष शोधपत्र पर अपना विचार व्यक्त कर रहे थे। पूछने पर ज्ञात हुआ कि ये कलकत्ता विश्वविद्यालय के तुलनात्मक भाषा-विज्ञान के, खेरा प्रोफेसर, डॉ० सुनीति कुमार चटर्जी हैं। वास्तव में, मैं इन्हीं से मिलने गया था। उन्हें देखकर एक ही साथ भय, उल्लास और न मालुम कौन अन्य भाव जागृत हो उठे। उस दिन के सत्र के समापन पर जब वे बाहर निकले तो मैंने अंग्रेजी में कहा, 'मैं आप ही से मिलने आया हूँ', उन्होंने हिन्दी में बोलते हुए कहा "आप अपना अभिप्राय हिन्दी में कहिये, मैं हिन्दी भलीभांति जानता हूं।" मैं प्रसन्न हुआ और कहा "मैं अर्थशास्त्र में एम. ए. हूँ। संस्कृत जानता हूं। मेरी मातृभाषा भोजपुरी है क्या आप मुझसे कुछ काम ले सकेंगे।"

अपने अंक में समेटते हुए डॉ० चटर्जी ने कहा 'मुझे एक भोजपुरी शिष्य की आवश्यकता है सो तुम मिल गये।" "तुमसे भोजपुरी के उद्‌गम और विकास पर अधि-निबन्ध लिखाऊँगा तुम मेरे साथ चलो" मैं उनके साथ पटना कालेज के प्रिंस्पल, प्रो, रंगीन हालदार के निवास-स्थान पर गया, जहाँ वे दो अन्य विद्वानों, पं० विधुशेखर शास्त्री एवं डॉ. प्रबोध बागची के साथ ठहरे हुए थे। डॉ० चटर्जी ने जलपान कराया और दोनों विद्वानों को सम्बोधित करते हुए कहा "आज का मुहुर्त मंगलमय है क्योंकि मुझे एक भोजपुरी शिष्य मिल गया, मैं प्रसन्न तो था ही ऐसा प्रतीत होता था कि मैं एक अभिनव संसार में भ्रमण कर रहा हूँ, फिर डॉ० चटर्जी

ने कहा मैं जब तक यहाँ हूँ तुम्हें मेरे साथ बराबर यहाँ रहना होगा । मैं तुम्हें भाषाविज्ञान में दीक्षित करूँगा और वे लगातार भाषाविज्ञान के विषय में मुझे नवीन-नवीन तत्त्व प्रदान करने लगे । कुछ बातें समझ में आईं और अधिकांश बातें समझते समझते रह गया । मैंने उनसे कहा मैं आपके साथ कलकत्ते चलने को तैयार हूँ, वहीं चलकर आप से पूर्ण दीक्षा लूँगा । इस पर उन्होंने कहा, अभी तुम्हें प्रयाग में ही रहना पड़ेगा और वहां मेरे एक उत्कृष्ट शिष्य डॉ० बाबूराम सक्सेना के तत्वावधान में कार्य करना होगा । तुम अपनी प्रगति की सूचना मुझे बराबर देते रहना और जब आवश्यकता होगी तब मैं तुम्हें कलकत्ते बुला लूंगा । मैं तुम्हें डॉ० सक्सेना के लिये एक परिचयात्मक पत्र दे रहा हूँ ।

मैं १९२७ में ही बी. ए. में अध्ययन करने के लिये प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय में आ गया था । डॉ. सक्सेना का नित्यप्रति दर्शन करने का मुझे सौभाग्य प्राप्त था । मैंने डॉ. चटर्जी से कहा, मैं डॉ. सक्सेना से आपका नाम लेकर परिचय प्राप्त कर लूंगा, आप पत्र न लिखें ।

प्रयाग आकर मैं डॉ. सक्सेना से मिला, उन्होंने गम्भीर मुद्रा में कहा 'देखो भाई, भाषाविज्ञान के अध्ययन के लिए अक्सर लोग मेरे पास आते हैं किन्तु एक दो सप्ताह के बाद ही उनका उत्साह ठण्डा पड़ जाता है और वे फिर नहीं आते । तुम अच्छी तरह सोच-विचार कर मेरे पास आना । मैंने कहा मैं सोच-विचार कर आया हूं और आप मुझसे काम लें । मैं किस-प्रकार यह कार्य पूर्ण कर सकूंगा यह तो भविष्य ही बतला सकेगा । इस पर सक्सेना जी ने कहा—"शुभस्य शीघ्रम्, कल ही से ५ बजे संध्या समय आया करो ।" दूसरे दिन ठीक समय पर मैं डॉ० सक्सेना के निवास -स्थान पर पहुंचा वे अपने दो मित्रों से बात चीत कर रहे थे ये दोनों मुझे देखते ही चल दिये और मैं डॉ. सक्सेना के साथ अपने अध्ययन में प्रवृत्त हो गया । आप ने कहा तुम्हें अंग्रेजी में एक सौ पृष्ठों का शोध लेख लिखना पड़ेगा । इसका शीर्षक होगा "ए डाइलेक्ट आफ भोजपुरी" । यह तुम्हारी मातृभाषा भोजपुरी का एक संक्षिप्त व्याकरण होगा और यह "इंडियन एन्टिकेरी" में प्रकाशित मेरे लेख, लखीमपुरी के आदर्श पर होगा । यह कहकर उन्होंने अपने लेख की एक प्रति प्रदान की जो आज भी मेरे पास सुरक्षित है । डॉ. सक्सेना ने यह भी कहा कि मैं तुम्हें, सम्प्रति, सबसे पहले, ध्वनि-विज्ञान (फोनेटिक्स) की शिक्षा दूंगा । और विविध प्रकार की लेखन प्रणालियों अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय ध्वनि-परिषद् एवं एशियाटिक सोसाइटी के जर्नल में प्रचलित ध्वनि प्रतीकों से परिचय कराऊंगा । मैंने इन दोनों लेखन प्रणालियों का अभ्यास आरम्भ किया और धीरे-धीरे इन्हें ग्रहण करने में समर्थ हुआ । मुझे अपने अंग्रेजी के शोध-लेख में भोजपुरी शब्दों एवं वाक्यों को अन्तर्राष्टीय ध्वनि परिषद् के वर्णों में ही लिखना पड़ा । डॉ. सक्सेना प्रायः प्रतिदिन दो तीन घंटों तक मेरे साथ कार्य करते थे । जहाँ तक मुझे ज्ञात है, इतना कठिन परिश्रम, उन्होंने किसी अन्य शोधछात्र के साथ नहीं किया । मुझे प्रसन्नता है कि ऐसे गुरु के चरणों में बैठकर मुझे यह शोध-लेख तैयार करने का सुअवसर मिला । इस लेख के तैयार करने के साथ ही साथ मुझे भाषाविज्ञान, विशेष रूप से, ध्वनिविज्ञान की अनेक पुस्तकें पढ़नी पड़ीं । डॉ. सक्सेना ने मुझे यह भी आदेश दिया कि प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय में, मैं नियमित रूप से, फ्रेंच का अध्ययन प्रारम्भ करूँ । उस समय संस्कृत के

प्रसिद्ध जर्मन विद्वान् डॉ. पाल तिमे फ्रेंच पढ़ाते थे। मैंने उनसे फ्रेंच का अभ्यास आरम्भ किया।

मेरा "ए डाइलेक्ट आफ भोजपुरी" शोध-लेख सन् १९३४ तक तैयार हो गया और उसे बिहार एण्ड उड़ीसा रिसर्च सोसाइटी के जर्नल में प्रकाशित करने के लिए भेज दिया गया। मेरा यह लेख जर्नल के तीन अंकों में प्रकाशित हुआ।

डॉ. सक्सेना ने इस प्रबन्ध के एक-एक अक्षर को देखा था। वे बतलाते थे कि इसी प्रकार उनके लखीमपुरी वाले लेख को डॉ. टर्नर देखते थे। अपने छात्रों को निर्देशन देने में डॉ. सक्सेना ने डॉ. टर्नर की पद्धति को ही अपनाया था। जिस समय डॉ. सक्सेना अपने गुरु की प्रशंसा करते थे उस समय वे आत्मविभोर होकर विह्वल हो जाते थे। उनकी गुरु भक्ति दर्शनीय थी। उन्होंने कुछ दिनों तक कलकत्ते में रहकर डॉ. सुनीतिकुमार चटर्जी के साथ ध्वनि-विज्ञान का भी अध्ययन किया था और इधर डा. चटर्जी का जो जीवन-चरित्र प्रकाशित हुआ है उसमें उन्होंने डॉ. सक्सेना को अपने अग्रणी शिष्य के रूप में स्वीकार किया है। यह अत्यन्त सौभाग्य की बात है कि आज भी डॉ. टर्नर हम लोगों के बीच हैं। उनकी अवस्था ९५ वर्ष की है और अभी भी वह हिन्दी शब्दों की व्युत्पत्ति देने में संलग्न हैं।

डॉ. सक्सेना के ही सत्परामर्श से मैंने पालि, प्राकृत एवं अपभ्रंश का अध्ययन प्रारम्भ किया। सौभाग्य से मुझे राहुल जी तथा उनके धर्म दायाद भिक्षु आनन्द कौसल्यायन एवं भिक्षु जगदीश काश्यप से परिचय प्राप्त करने का अवसर मिला। राहुलजी तो प्रायः अपने कार्य में अत्यन्त व्यस्त रहते थे किन्तु पालि के इन दोनों विद्वानों ने मुझे पालि का अभ्यास कराना आरम्भ किया। ये लोग वर्षावास के लिए मेरे अलोपीबाग स्थित घर पर ही रहते थे और मैंने उनसे पालि का अध्ययन किया तथा सन् १९३४ में मैं कलकत्ता विश्वविद्यालय से पालि की (एम. ए.) परीक्षा में भी उत्तीर्ण हो गया।

डॉ. सक्सेना ने सन् १९३२, ३३ में ही मेरे लिए प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय में डी. लिट्. के अधिनिबंध लिखने के लिए आवेदन पत्र दिला दिया था और मुझे, 'ओरिजिन एंड डेवलपमेण्ट आफ भोजपुरी" पर अधिनिबंध लिखने की अनुमति मिल गई थी। इस बीच मैंने पं० क्षेत्रेश चन्द्र चट्टोपाध्याय से "वैदिक संस्कृत एवं अवेस्ता" का अध्ययन आरंभ किया। पंडित चट्टोपाध्याय एवं डॉ. सक्सेना के परामर्श से मैं अध्ययन को पूरा करने के लिए सन् १९४० ई० में डॉ० सुनीति कुमार चटर्जी के पास कलकत्ता विश्वविद्यालय में चला गया। वहाँ मैंने तुलनात्मक भाषाविज्ञान का अध्ययन प्रारंभ किया और वहाँ से इस विषय में एम. ए. परीक्षा उत्तीर्ण हुआ। मैं प्रायः दो वर्षों तक कलकत्ते में, भाषाविज्ञान के अध्ययन एवं अधिनिबंध लिखने में व्यस्त रहा।

कलकत्ते में मुझे डॉ. चटर्जी तथा डॉ. बट कृष्ण घोष से इंडोयुरोपीय एवं ग्रीक, डॉ. सुकुमार सेन से अवेस्ता, पुरानी फारसी, पालि, प्राकृत एवं अपभ्रंश तथा डॉ. क्षितीश चन्द्र

चटर्जी से वैदिक संस्कृत पढ़ने का सुअवसर मिला। कलकत्ते में ही मैंने डॉ. सुनीति कुमार चटर्जी के तत्वावधान में अपना डी० लिट्० का अधिनिवन्ध पूरा किया और डॉ. सक्सेना द्वारा प्रदत्त "इन्टरनेशनल फोनटिक्स" के टाइपराइटर पर टाइप कराकर उसे इलाहाबाद विश्व-विद्यालय में जमा कर दिया। इस प्रकार डॉ चटर्जी एवं डॉ. सक्सेना के आशीर्वाद के परिणा-मस्वरूप मैंने सफलता प्राप्त की। कलकत्ते के अपने निवास काल में, मैं पं० क्षेत्रेश चन्द्र चट्टो-पाध्याय एवं डॉ. सक्सेना से अपना कार्य सम्पन्न करने के लिए बराबर प्रोत्साहन पत्र प्राप्त करता रहा। मेरे ये दोनों गुरुजन एवं मेरे शुभ चिन्तक एवं सहायक पं० श्री नारायण चतुर्वेदी मेरे अधिनिबंध को शीघ्रातिशीघ्र विश्वविद्यालय में प्रस्तुत करने के पक्ष में थे। उन दिनों मैं प्रयाग के एक हाईस्कूल में गणित का अध्यापक था। मेरे गुरुजन इस बात के लिए लालायित थे कि मेरे योग्य मुझे विश्वविद्यालय में स्थान मिले और शीघ्र ही इनके आशीर्वाद ने मूर्त रूप धारण किया तथा प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय के हिन्दी विभाग में मेरी नियुक्ति हो गई।

डॉ. सक्सेना नितान्त निश्छल, स्पष्टवादी, सत्यनिष्ठ एवं अर्थशुचिता के साकाररूप हैं। अर्थशुचिता का प्रयोग बाबू पुरुषोत्तम दास टंडन जी किया करते थे। उनके अनुसार अर्थशुचिता सम्पन्न वह व्यक्ति है जो पूर्ण अपरिग्रही है, जो किसी से न तो किसी वस्तु की याचना करता है और न किसी की दी हुई वस्तु को ग्रहण करता है। अनेक वर्षों तक टंडन जी के साथ हिन्दी-साहित्य-सम्मेलन में कार्य करते हुए डॉ० सक्सेना में ये सद्गुण स्वत: आ गये थे।

डॉ० सक्सेना की एक विशेषता है। अध्यापन के समय जब कोई छात्र उनसे प्रश्न पूछता है और वे उसका स्पष्ट उत्तर न दे पाते तो वे प्राय: कह दिया करते हैं "मुझे इसका उत्तर मालूम नहीं है, देखकर जवाब दूंगा।" यही बात पं० क्षेत्रेशचन्द्र चट्टोपाध्याय में थी। जब मैंने एक दिन चट्टोपाध्याय जी से पूछा कि आप और सक्सेना जी, दोनों ही कभी—कभी कह देते हैं कि इस प्रश्न का उत्तर मैं सोच कर दूंगा अभी नहीं दे सकता तो इसका रहस्य क्या है ? चट्टोपाध्याय जी ने बताया बात यह है कि हम दोनों पं. गंगानाथ झा जी के शिष्य हैं और हम दोनों को यह बात अपने गुरुदेव से प्राप्त हुई है। मनुष्य सर्वज्ञ नहीं है अतएव जब उसे किसी प्रश्न का उत्तर स्पष्ट ज्ञात न हो तो उसे अपने छात्रों को सही बात बता देनी चाहिए, झूठमूठ में उत्तर देकर छात्रों को भ्रम में डालना हम लोग उचित नहीं समझते।

डॉ. सक्सेना अपने गुरु गंगानाथ झा के अनन्य भक्त हैं। झा महोदय का उनके प्रति पुत्रवत् स्नेह था। डा. झा बड़े कड़े परीक्षक थे और कठिनाई से कतिपय छात्र उनकी परीक्षा की कसौटी पर खरे उतरते थे। डा. सक्सेना उन्हीं में से एक थे। डाक्टर गंगानाथ झा अपने छात्रों की भूरि-भूरि प्रशंसा करने में चूकते न थे। जिस दिन डा. सक्सेना की डी० लिट्० की मौखिक परीक्षा इलाहाबाद यूनिवर्सिटी में हुई थी उस दिन मैं मौजूद था। डा. सक्सेना के दो मौखिक परीक्षक थे। इनमें से एक थे कलकत्ते के डा. सुनीतिकुमार चटर्जी तथा दूसरे थे लाहौर प्राच्यमहाविद्यालय के प्रिंसपल डा. ए. सी. वुलनर। जब दोनों ने डा. सक्सेना को उनकी सफलता पर बधाई दी तो इसके बाद सक्सेना जी के गुरु डा. गंगानाथ झा ने वहां समस्त लोगों को सम्बोधित करते हुए कहा—"पहले जब उपाध्याय का शिष्य उपाध्याय होता था

तब गुरु महामहोपाध्याय कहलाता था। आज मेरे शिष्य डा. बाबूराम सक्सेना न केवल उपाध्याय ही हैं अपितु उन्होंने इलाहाबाद विश्वविद्यालय की सर्वोच्च उपाधि डी० लिट्० प्राप्त की है। अतएव आज मैं अपनी महामहोपाध्याय की उपाधि को सार्थक मानता हूं। मैं वास्तविक रूप में आज महामहोपाध्याय हुआ हूं। यद्यपि महामहोपाध्याय की उपाधि सरकार की ओर से मुझे बहुत पहले से उपलब्ध हो चुकी है।

डा० सक्सेना नित्य द्विकाल सन्ध्या हवन एवं वैदिक मंत्रों का पाठ करते हैं। उनका सत्यनिष्ठ जीवन ऋषिकल्प है। मैं अपने पूर्व जन्म का यह सौभाग्य मानता हूं कि गुरुरूप में मुझे डा० सक्सेना, पं० चट्टोपाध्याय एवं डा०सुनीतिकुमार चटर्जी जैसे महान् व्यक्ति मिले। वैभव, पद एवं उच्चस्थान परिश्रम और कभी–कभी भाग्य एवं संयोग से भी मिल जाते हैं किन्तु श्रेष्ठ गुरुओं का मिलना वास्तव में सौभाग्य एवं भगवत्कृपा का फल होता है क्योंकि वह अनेक जन्मों के पुण्यों का संचित फल होता है। ऐसे गुरुओं का आशीर्वाद ही शिष्य को मूर्तरूप में उपलब्ध होता है। वह केवल भौतिक उन्नति में ही सहायक नहीं होता अपितु शिष्य को आध्यात्मिक पथ पर भी अग्रसर करता है।

मेरे श्रद्धेय गुरु : डा० बाबूराम सक्सेना

श्रीराम सिन्हा
(गणित विभाग, प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय)

इलाहाबाद विश्वविद्यालय में बिताये हुये विगत ३६ वर्षों की अवधि में जिन पूज्यपाद गुरुओं का स्नेह मुझे आज भी प्राप्त है उनमें डा० सक्सेना एक ही हैं। उनके उपदेशों से अधिक उनका वात्सल्यपूर्ण व्यवहार तथा उनका निर्मल चरित्र मेरे लिये अनुकरणीय रहे हैं। उनके आचरण से प्राप्त गुरु की मर्यादा का ज्ञान गत ३० वर्षों के अध्यापन काल में मेरा सम्बल रहा है। इस समय पिछली बातें स्मृतिपटल पर एक के बाद एक आती जा रही हैं।

बात अगस्त/सितम्बर १९४७ की है। मैं बी० ए० (अंतिमवर्ष) का छात्र था। संस्कृत का सेमिनार स्व० पं० चट्टोपाध्याय जी लेते थे। डा० सक्सेना हम को कक्षा में उत्तररामचरित पढ़ाया करते थे। एक दिन चट्टोपाध्याय जी ने कहा कि एक अन्य विद्यार्थी जो डा० सक्सेना के सेमिनार में था वह टाइमटेबुल की कठिनाई के कारण पंडित जी के पास आ रहा था। हम लोगों से पंडित जी ने पूछा कि 'क्या आप लोगों में से कोई डा० सक्सेना के यहाँ जाना चाहेगा' मैं बोल पड़ा 'आप जिसे कहेंगे चला जायेगा'। पंडित जी ने पूछा, 'आप जाना चाहेंगे ?' मैंने कहा 'आप कहेंगे तो हमीं चले जायेंगे'। और इस प्रकार हम डा० सक्सेना के सेमिनार में भी पहुँच गये। साल भर उनके निर्देशन में काम करने के बाद ऐसा लगा कि यदि हम उनके सेमिनार में न भेजे गये होते तो संस्कृत लिखना नहीं आया होता। नियमपूर्वक सप्ताह में एक दिन अनुवाद और एक दिन लेख लिखना होता था, जिसे डाक्टर साहब कक्षा में ही देखते थे। तत्काल ही शुद्ध भी करते थे।

जब इतने बँधे हुये नियम को तोड़कर सेमिनार में कादम्बरी का शेष भाग शुकनासोपदेश (जो पूरी कक्षा में नहीं हो पाया था) पढ़ाने की हमने प्रार्थना की तब तनिक भी रुष्ट हुये बिना डाक्टर साहब ने हमारी प्रार्थना स्वीकार की। इतना ही नहीं उत्तररामचरित समाप्त करके पूरी कक्षा को उन्होंने कादम्बरी का अन्य भाग भी पढ़ाया। हमें आज भी याद है कि किस प्रकार डाक्टर साहब अपने कार्यक्रम के अनुसार पुस्तक का एक पूर्व निश्चित भाग प्रतिदिन पूरा कर लिया करते थे। अध्यापन के प्रति वह निष्ठा आज कम ही देखने को मिल रही है।

दूसरा दृश्य सामने है। बी० ए० की संस्कृत परीक्षा का प्रथम प्रश्न पत्र दो दिन बाद होने को था। दुहराते समय पिछले वर्ष का प्रश्नपत्र देखा तो उसमें नाट्यशास्त्र पर एक प्रश्न दिखाई पड़ा। पढ़ाया हमें गया नहीं था। भागकर डाक्टर साहब के घर पहुँचे। अपनी परेशानी बताई तब उन्होंने कहा कि पिछले वर्ष यह भूल से आ गया था। नाट्यशास्त्र तुम लोगों के पाठ्यक्रम में नहीं है।

इसके बाद यद्यपि कक्षा में बैठकर उनसे पढने का अवसर नहीं मिला, किन्तु संस्कृत नाटक के मंचन की तैयारी में १९४७ से १९७३ तक सक्रिय भाग लेने के कारण, डाक्टर साहब से विश्वविद्यालय में और बाहर भी उतना ही घनिष्ठ संपर्क बना रहा। कला संकाय के डीन या विद्यार्थी कल्याण के डीन रहने की अवधि में बहुत बार कठिनाइयों को लेकर उनके सम्मुख जाना पड़ा, किन्तु उनके मृदु एवं दृढ़ स्वभाव के कारण कभी संकोच नहीं हुआ। विश्वविद्यालय में अपनी नियुक्ति से संबंधित कठिनाइयाँ भी इसमें सम्मिलित थीं। हमें उनसे निरंतर सशक्त समर्थन प्राप्त हुआ।

डाक्टर साहब केन्द्रीय हिन्दी निदेशालय, भारत सरकार, के उपाध्यक्ष थे। लगभग उसी समय निदेशालय ने विश्वविद्यालय स्तर के गणित के मानक ग्रंथ प्रकाशित करने के अपने कार्य-क्रम में सबसे पहिली पुस्तक मेरी स्वीकार की थी। जब मैंने दिल्ली में डाक्टर साहब को इससे अवगत कराया वह अत्यन्त प्रसन्न हुये। उन्हीं के कार्यकाल में पुस्तक छपी भी। इसके बाद जब वह रायपुर विश्वविद्यालय के कुलपति होकर गये तब भी उन्होंने मुझे विस्मृत नहीं किया। विश्व-विद्यालय की प्रथम परीक्षक सूची में मेरा नाम उन्होंने रखा।

अपने सहकर्मियों एवं संपर्क में आनेवालों के विषय में उनकी जानकारी कितनी गहन थी, एवं उनकी कर्मठता एवं कर्तव्यनिष्ठा की कितनी धाक थी इस संबंध में दो बातें याद आ रही हैं। उस समय डाक्टर साहब इलाहाबाद विश्वविद्यालय के कुलपति थे और मैं पं० गंगानाथझा छात्रा-वास का संरक्षक था। एक अन्य विभाग के अध्यक्ष ने मुझसे एक योग्य गणित का अध्यापक देने को कहा। मैंने अपने एक प्रतिभाशाली छात्र को उनके पास भेजा। उसे उन्होंने पाठ्यक्रम आदि भी समझा दिया और कहा कि दो दिन बाद Ad Hoc Selection Committee की बैठक में उसकी नियुक्ति करा देंगे। मैंने सोचा अपने कुलपति डा० सक्सेना से भी कह आऊँ। उनसे सारी बात बताई। छूटते ही डाक्टर साहब बोले, 'श्रीराम, तुमने भी……की बात पर विश्वास-कर लिया ?' और बात यही सही निकली। उन अध्यक्ष महोदय ने मेरे विद्यार्थी को नहीं रखा। दूसरी बात १५ अगस्त १९७२ की है। मेरे छात्रावास के विद्यार्थियों ने कुछ छात्र अनुशा-सन से संबंधित विषय पर एक परिचर्चा आयोजित की थी। कुलपति डा० सक्सेना मुख्य अतिथि थे। हाल पूरा भरा हुआ था। डाक्टर साहब के भाषण में कुछ बात आ गई अनुशासनहीन एवं उद्दण्ड छात्रों की। सदन में से किसी विद्यार्थी ने उठकर पूछा कि 'ऐसे विद्यार्थी के साथ कैसा व्यवहार करना चाहिये ?' तत्काल ही उस भरी सभा में कुलपति ने उत्तर दिया 'ऐसे विद्यार्थी को गोली मार देनी चाहिये'। कितने कुलपति इतनी निर्भीकता से ऐसी बात कह सकते हैं ?

केवल डेढ वर्ष पूर्व की बात है। अगस्त १९८० में मुझे ब्राउन युनिवर्सिटी, संयुक्त राष्ट्र अमेरिका में प्राचीन भारतीय गणित की किसी पांडुलिपि का छपा हुआ एक संस्करण प्राप्त हुआ। इसका अभी तक अनुवाद नहीं हुआ था। कारण केवल यह था कि पुस्तक संस्कृत भाषा में न होकर प्राकृत में थी। हमारे गुरुवर्य डा० सक्सेना पालि एवं प्राकृत भाषाओं के अधिकारी विद्वान् हैं। मैंने अमेरिका से उस पुस्तक की प्रति डाक्टर साहब के पास इस अनुरोध के साथ भेजी कि 'आप इसे संस्कृत में अनूदित करा दें। और ८३ वर्ष की अवस्था में भी उन्होंने प्रतिदिन दो घंटे समय देकर मेरे एक शोधछात्र को पूरी पुस्तक संस्कृत में लिखाई और उसे पुनः सुस्पष्ट लिख लिये जाने पर पढ़कर शुद्ध किया।

आज भी उनका इतना स्नेह हमारे उपर है कि हमारे प्रत्येक कार्य की जानकारी रखते हैं। जिन कार्यों से प्रसन्न होते हैं उनके लिये साधुवाद देते हैं और हमें आगे बढ़ने की प्रेरणा देते हैं। हमें भी जब कोई कठिनाई दिखाई पड़ी भाग कर उसी प्रकार पहुँच जाते हैं जैसे १९४८ में पहिली बार पहुँचे थे। उनके पास जाकर, कितना ही समय उनके सान्निध्य में बैठ उनकी बातें सुनते हुये यह बात विस्मृत हो जाती है कि मेरी आयु भी ५० वर्षों से आगे निकल चुकी है। हम और तो उनके लिये कुछ नहीं कर सके, ईश्वर से उनके शतायु होने की प्रार्थना अवश्य करते हैं।



अपने गुरु प्रो० रॉल्फ टर्नर (बायें) के साथ
डा० बाबू राम सक्सेना (दायें)

डा० सक्सेना--एक आदर्श व्यक्तित्व

सुरेश चन्द्र श्रीवास्तव
अध्यक्ष, संस्कृत विभाग,
इलाहाबाद विश्वविद्यालय

परम पूज्य गुरुवर्य डॉ० बाबूराम जी सक्सेना भारत वर्ष के विद्याव्यवसाय में निरत अग्रगण्य तपःपूत मनीषियों में मूर्द्धन्य हैं। संस्कृत एवं भाषा-विज्ञान के क्षेत्र में उनकी समता का दूसरा विद्वान् मिलना यदि असम्भव नहीं तो कठिन अवश्य है। लगभग चालीस वर्षों तक निरन्तर सफल अध्यापन कर चुकने के अनन्तर तथा दो-दो विश्वविद्यालयों के कुलपति के रूप में निष्कलङ्क प्रशासनिक दायित्व सँभालने के अनन्तर मनोहारी जाह्नवी-तट पर अपने निरातङ्क निवास में नितान्त निर्मल स्वान्त होकर भगवद् भजन कर रहे हैं। अपने असंख्य शिष्यों तथा पुरातन सहयोगियों और विद्याव्यसनियों के लिए वे आज भी नैतिक, धार्मिक एवं प्रशासनिक प्रसङ्गों में प्रकाश-स्तम्भ की भाँति अनवरत मार्ग-दर्शन करते रहते हैं।

मैं सचमुच बड़ा भाग्यशाली हूं कि ऐसे श्री गुरुचरणों से विश्वविद्यालय में (सन् १९५२ से १९५६ तक) विद्याध्ययन किया। १९५६ में ही उनके कृपा-कटाक्ष से प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय के संस्कृत विभाग में प्रवक्ता के रूप में नियुक्ति प्राप्त की। और आज भी उनके मौन-मुखर उपदेशों एवं जीवन के आचरित आदर्शों से अपने जीवन में निरन्तर सुधार करते रहने का सौभाग्य-लाभ करता रहता हूं। पूज्य गुरुवर्य का जीवन समस्त मानवीय गुणों और दिव्यादर्शों का अनुपम समन्वय है। मैं अपने जीवन में किसी भी एक व्यक्तित्व से इतना अधिक प्रभावित एवं अभिभूत नहीं हुआ जितना कि पूज्य गुरुवर्य के व्यक्तित्व से।

अपने छात्र-जीवन में मैंने अनेकशः देखा कि एक अध्यापक के रूप में उन्होंने न केवल शास्त्रों की सुरुचिपूर्ण एवं शुद्धतम व्याख्यायें दी हैं अपितु छात्रों के वैचारिक एवं बौद्धिक स्तर को निरन्तर ऊपर उठाया है। सदा घड़ी की सुइयों के अनुपात से कक्षा में आये और मल्लिनाथ के 'नामूलं लिख्यते किञ्चिन्नानपेक्षितमुच्यते' वाले आदर्श को चरितार्थ करते हुए मनोरञ्जक एवं गरिमामय शैली में अध्यापन किया। प्रतिभाशाली छात्रों के लिए छात्रवृत्तियों का प्रबन्ध

कराने में अपने अध्यक्षीय पद के सामर्थ्य का समुचित उपयोग करने में वे कभी नहीं हिचकते थे। गुरु जी ने अपने व्यक्तित्व का ऐसा गुरुगम्भीर एवं शान्त संयत रूप समाज के समक्ष सदा रखा कि कोई भी छात्र या उनका अवर सहयोगी उनके समक्ष कभी भी किसी अन्य व्यक्ति की निन्दा इत्यादि करने का साहस नहीं कर सकता था। मैंने स्वयम् एक बार प्रगल्भ तथा परनिन्दक छात्र को गुरु जी से डाँट खाते देखा था। अध्यापक-जीवन की पवित्रता, शुचिता और उत्तर-दायित्वपूर्णता के सन्दर्भ में बोलते-बोलते गुरुवर्य ने एक बार यहाँ तक कहा था कि समाज के अन्य किसी व्यक्ति को तो बेईमानी करने पर क्षमा भी किया जा सकता है किन्तु यदि एक अध्यापक बेईमान हो तो उसे गोली मार दी जानी चाहिये क्योंकि वह तो समाज की पीढ़ी-दर-पीढ़ी को बरबाद करने का जिम्मेदार होगा।

उनकी स्पष्टवादिता और न्यायोचित विषय पर दृढ़ता कमाल की थी। उन्हें जो बात अनुचित लगती थी चाहे वह जितने बड़े व्यक्ति अथवा निकटतम व्यक्ति की हो, उसे वह निर्भय एवं निस्संकोच होकर सम्बन्धित व्यक्ति के मुंह पर कह देते थे। फलतः उनके सामने जाने की हिम्मत भी केवल वही लोग कर पाते थे जिनका दामन पाक-साफ रहता था। उनके एक प्रिय शिष्य का स्मरण इस सन्दर्भ में मुझे सदा हो आता है। प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय के संस्कृत विभाग में वे अध्यापक थे और किसी न किसी बहाने देर करके ही विभाग आते थे। पता चलने पर अपने अध्यक्षीय कक्ष में, सम्बन्धित अध्यापक को बुलाकर संक्षिप्त किन्तु निर्णयात्मक रूप से जो डाँट सुनायी, उससे बहुत दिनों तक के लिये वे अध्यापक बिल्कुल सुधर गये। अन्य लोगों के लिये भी एक उपदेशात्मक पाठ हो गया। मैंने पूज्य गुरुवर्य को किसी भी प्रसङ्ग में, चाहे वह प्रशासनिक रहा हो अथवा व्यावहारिक, धर्मच्युत होते नहीं देखा। जातिवाद, क्षेत्रवाद, भाई-भतीजावाद या अन्य किसी प्रकार का वर्गवाद उन्हें कभी भी प्रभावित नहीं कर सका। ऐसे अवसरों पर उनके सामने निराश होते हुए अनेक लोगों को मैंने स्वयं देखा है।

अध्ययन की उत्कृष्टता और शोध की उच्चस्तरीयता पर उनका जबरदस्त संरम्भ रहा है। प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय के कलासंकाय-परिषद् की एक बैठक में डी० लिट्० उपाधि के गौरव की रक्षा के सन्दर्भ में बोलते हुए उन्होंने आजकल के अधिकांश अनुसन्धान कार्यों के छिछलेपन और स्तरहीनता की जमकर भर्त्सना की। और साथ ही विविध परीक्षाओं की पवित्रता की सुरक्षा बनाये रखने के लिए महनीय प्रयास करने की आवश्यकता पर बल दिया।

श्रद्धेय डॉ० सक्सेना जी की जीवन-व्यापिनी ईमानदारी, व्यापक कर्तव्य-परायणता, निश्छल मितभाषिता और निरहङ्कार सरलता से सम्बन्धित असंख्य संस्मरण मेरे और मुझ जैसे अनेक अनन्य छात्रों के हृदय में बसे पड़े हैं। सच बात तो यह है कि आज के प्रयोजन-प्रधान युग में आस्था, निष्ठा और संयम का इतना निष्कलङ्क समन्वय अन्यत्र कहीं दिखायी नहीं पड़ता। फिर भी पूज्य गुरुवर्य अपने को सर्वथा निर्दोष और निरवद्य मानने की सार्वजनीन भ्रान्ति के शिकार कभी नहीं हुए। मिलने पर अनेक बार उन्होंने तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद् का यह वाक्य मुझसे कहा है 'यान्यस्माकं सुचरितानि तान्येव त्वयोपास्यानि नो इतराणि।'

हम लोगों का यह परम सौभाग्य है कि पूज्य गुरुवर्य लगभग ८५ वर्ष की अवस्था बीत जाने पर भी भारतीय महर्षि-परम्परा के अनुरूप हृष्ट-पुष्ट, स्वस्थ एवं बलिष्ठ व्यक्तित्व के धनी हैं। अपने नित्य प्रातर्भ्रमण, स्नान, हवन एवं भोजनादि विधियों का सम्पादन करते हुए 'अधीतमध्यापितमर्जितं यशः, न शोचनीयं किमपीह विद्यते' का आदर्श प्रस्तुत कर रहे हैं। हम सब अनेक छात्रगण परमपिता परमेश्वर से उन्हें पूर्णायु तथा अमितायु बनाने की सहस्रशः प्रार्थना करते हैं।

PART II

KAUṬILYA ON PROSTITUTION

K. M. Agrawal

Prostitution is the provision of sexual relations in return for money. It involves sex union on a promiscuous and mercenary basis. The prostitute is one who grants her favours to anyone who gives her money or something else she needs. There is no love involved. There is emotional indifference. It is a commercialised vice.[1]

Prostitution has flourished throughout human history, often being referred to as 'the world's oldest profession'. In some societies prostitutes are accorded high social status. Where prostitution is governmentally regulated, they are accepted much as persons associated with any other social institution.[2]

As in other parts of the world, the prostitutes are found in India also from a very early period.[3] They are mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*. At one place, the bright *marut*-s are said to have become associated with the young lightning as men become associated with a young courtesan.[4] In the Epics also courtesans are described as an established institution.[5] Kālidāsa also refers to the

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1. B. Kuppuswamy—'*Elements of Social Psychology*', p. 83.
2. James C. Coleman—*Abnormal Psychology and Modern life*, p. 586.
3. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. X. p. 406.
4. *Parāśubhrā ayāso yathā sādhāraṇyeva maruto bhibhikṣuḥ*. *Ṛgveda*. 1.167.4.
5. At the time of the proposed coronation ceremony of Rāma prostitutes were required to be present at the door of the royal palace. *Rāmāyaṇa*. 2.3.17.
   Daśaratha proposes to send charming prostitutes along with army to accompany Rāma on his journey to the forest. *Ibid*. 2.36.3.
   A prostitute waited upon Dhṛtarāṣṭra when his wife Gāndhārī was pregnant. *Mbh.* 1.115.39.
   Courtesans are described as going out to welcome Kṛṣṇa when he came on a mission of peace to the Kaurava court. *Ibid*. 5.86.15.
   When the Pāṇḍava army started for battle courtesans also accompanied it. *Ibid*, 4.239.37; 5.151.58; 8.94.26.

institution of prostitutes.[1] In the *Jātaka*-s too, there are numerous references to the existence of prostitutes.[2] The roguery and rapacity of prostitutes are often mentioned and it was regarded as a misfortune to be born of a harlot's womb.[3] *Kuṭṭanimatam*, *Kāmasūtram* and *Mṛcchakaṭikam* present a vivid picture of the position and activities of the prostitutes.

In the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya prostitution is recognised as an established social institution. Unlike social thinkers of orthodox school like Manu and Yājñavalkya, Kauṭilya does not indulge in outright condemnation of the institution of prostitution. Fully acquainted with the psychological and biological mechanism of the human beings, he grants it its due place in the social framework. As an inevitable social evil he accepts it and allows it to flourish—as flourish it must—under state control and supervision. He allows them to live in the southern quarter of the city along with grain-dealers, factory officers, army officers, dealers in cooked food, wine and meat and dancers.[4]

As a true master of statecraft he makes it serve the interest of the state in ways more than one. The prostitutes were granted licence on payment of regular tax to the state which proved a handsome source of income to it. Secondly, it helped in detecting and apprehending various types of criminals who generally gathered around the prostitutes to spend their ill-gotten money. Thirdly, it proved to be of much value for social control. Such persons as had no regular means of satisfying their sexual propensities could have recourse to these public women for their carnal gratification and thus indirectly it controlled, to a great extent, the spread of sex-crimes in the society.

There was a full-fledged department of the government which made appointments of prostitutes for rendering various services in the royal palace, as well as supervised and controlled such prostitutes as carried on their business independently. The head of this department was known as *gaṇikādhyakṣa* (superintendent of courtesans).

The most accomplished girl from a courtesan's family, richly endowed with beauty, youth, and arts was appointed as the court-prostitute. Such girls of respectable families also as had gone astray, if found suitable for the

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1. *Veśyāstvatto nakhapadasukhān prāpya varṣāgravindūn|* *Pūrvamegha*. 39.
2. The stories of Ambapālī (*Mahāvaggo*—8.1.2) and Sālavatī (*Ibid.* 8.1.4.) show the important role the prostitutes played in the social life.
3. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. X. p. 407.
4. *Tataḥ paraṁ nagaradhānyavyāvahārikakārmāntikabalādhyakṣāḥ pakvānnasurāmāṁsapaṇyā rūpājīvāstālāvacārā vaiśyāśca dakṣiṇāṁ diśamadhivaseyuḥ*. *Artha*. 2.4.11.

profession, could be recruited to this post. The girl so appointed was at the first instance, paid one thousand *paṇa*-s to set up the establishment i. e. purchase of ornaments, dresses, furniture etc. A deputy courtesan for half the family establishment was also appointed.[1] If the courtesan so appointed ran away or died, her daughter or sister, if equally accomplished, could replace her and run the establishment. This shows that the appointment of court-prostitute normally went through succession. If there were no daughter or sister, the mother was required to provide a substitute.[2] In the absence of these, the entire establishment escheated to the state.[3]

In order to make such appointed prostitutes fully accomplished and expert in their profession, a teacher was appointed by the king to impart to them the knowledge of the arts of singing, playing musical instruments, reciting, dancing, acting, writing, painting, reading the thoughts of others, preparing perfumes and garlands, entertaining conversation, shampooing and the other courtesans' arts.[4]

There was three tier cadre of court-prostitutes in conformity with superiority in respect of their beauty and decoration. Their monthly salary and their duties were determined on the basis of the tier to which they belonged. The most beautiful and youthful ones known as *uttamavārā*-s were paid one thousand *paṇa*-s a month and were assigned the duties at the door (*pratihāra*), playing with dice and giving betels etc. to the king. Next to them were *madhyamavārā*-s who got five hundred *paṇa*-s a month and discharged the duties of holding fans, chowries over the king, carrying water jugs on auspicious occasions and bearing royal palanquin. The third ones known as *kaniṣṭhavārā*-s were paid one hundred *paṇa*-s a month and were assigned the duties of carrying the royal seat and washing the feet of the king.[5] These prostitutes, on occasions, also waited upon the royal queens and rendered them various services, such as shampooing, bathing, decorating playing and entertaining them by means of musical performances and other fine arts.[6]

1. *Gaṇikādhyakṣo gaṇikānvayāmagaṇikānvayām vā rūpayauvanaśilasampannām sahasreṇa gaṇikāṁ kārayet, kuṭumbārdhena pratigaṇikāṁ.* *Ibid.* 2.27.1.
2. *Niṣpatitāpretayorduhitā bhaginī vā kuṭumbaṁ bharet, mātā vā pratigaṇikāṁ sthāpayet. Artha.* 2.27.2.
3. *Tāsāmabhāve rājā haret. Artha.* 2.27.3.
4. *Gītavādyapāṭhyanṛtyanāṭyākṣaracitravīṇāveṇumṛdaṅgaparacittajñānagandhamālyasaṁyūhana-saṁvādanasaṁvāhavaiśikakalājñānāni gaṇikā dāsī raṅgopajīvinīśca grāhayato rājamaṇḍalādājīvaṁ kuryāt. Artha.* 2.27.98.
5. *Saubhāgyālaṅkāravṛddhyā sahasreṇa vāraṁ kaniṣṭhaṁ madhyamamuttamaṁ vāropayet chatrabhṛṅgāravyajanaśibikāpīṭhikāratheṣu ca viśeṣārtham. Artha.* 2.27.4.
6. *Rūpājīvāḥ snānapragharṣaśuddhaśarīrāḥ parivartitavastrālaṅkārāḥ paśyeyuḥ. Artha.* 1.20.20.

In addition to these domestic duties in the royal palace these prostitutes also performed political duties. They worked as spies against the enemies to know their secret working and sowing dissension among them and killing them by administering poison etc. They, possessed of great beauty and youthful charms, first made the army chiefs of the enemy infatuated and when they developed passion for them they were encouraged to quarrel among themselves and lose their lives.[1] Prostitutes were further deputed to watch secretly the activities of such criminals as did not deserve immediate punishment for their offences owing to their minority, old age, sickness, intoxication, insanity, hunger, thirst and fatigue etc. and to keep the king informed about their activities.[2]

When the prostitute grew old and lost feminine grace and charm, she was appointed as the mother who acted as the guardian of the establishment.[3] She exercised full control over her daughter and looked after the management of the whole affair. The ornaments and other costly belongings of her daughter-prostitute were kept in her custody. If the daughter-prostitute, in violation of this provision, kept these things with anyone else she was treated as a defaulter and was to be fined four *paṇa*-s and a quarter.[4] If she sold or pledged her belongings without the mother's permission, she was to be fined fifty *paṇa*-s and a quarter. She was also required to be courteous, respectful and well-behaved towards the old mother. If she caused verbal injury to the mother, she was to be fined twenty four *paṇa*-s, if physical injury forty eight *paṇa*-s and fifty one and three quarters of a *paṇa* for cutting off her ear.[5]

When the girl appointed as the royal courtesan wanted to resign from her post, she was required to pay twenty four thousand *paṇa*-s to the king as her ransom price.[6]

The royal courtesan had a female attendant, who also carried on the duties of a prostitute. When she no more remained fit to carry on the duties,

1. *Bandhakīpoṣakāḥ paramarūpayauvanābhiḥ strībhiḥ senāmukhyānunmādayeyuḥ. Bahūnāmekasyāṁ dvayorvā mukhyayoḥ kāme jāte tīkṣṇāḥ kalahānutpādayeyuḥ.* Artha. 12.2.11-12.
2. *Mandāparādhaṁ bālaṁ vṛddhaṁ vyādhitaṁ mattamunmattaṁ kṣutpipāsādhvaklāntamatyāśitamāmakāśitaṁ durbalaṁ vā na karma kārayet ... puṁścalībhiḥ ... apasarpayet.* Artha. 4.8.14-15.
3. *Saubhāgyabhaṅge mātṛkāṁ kuryāt.* Artha. 2.27.5
4. *Mātṛhastādanyātrābharaṇanyāse sapādacatuṣpaṇo daṇḍaḥ.* Artha. 2.27.11.
5. *Svapateyaṁ vikrayamādhānaṁ vā nayantyāḥ sapādapañcāśatpaṇo daṇḍaḥ, caturviṁśatipaṇo vākyapāruṣye, dviguṇo daṇḍapāruṣye. sapādapañcāśatpaṇaḥ paṇo' rdhapaṇaśca karṇacchedane.* Artha. 2.27.12.
6. *Niṣkrayacaturviṁśatisāhasro gaṇikāyāḥ ...* Artha. 2.27.6.

she was to be transferred to the royal kitchen or the magazine.[1] If she refused to do so she was kept under restraint and made to pay the monthly wage of one *paṇa* and a quarter to the person who did the work on her behalf.[2]

Kauṭilya also refers to brothels run by brothel-keepers whom he calls *bandhakīpoṣaka*. Such girls as yielding to their sexual outbursts or to temptations from deceitful persons indulged in illicit sexual intercourse were normally thrown out of their houses on account of strict social values regarding chastity on the part of women. They either adopted independent commerce in flesh or fell victim to brothel-keepers. These brothel-keepers, taking the advantage of their helplessness made them earn money for them (*bandhakīpoṣaka*-s) by surrendering their body to the customers who visited the brothels for the gratification of their sexual urge. They (brothel-keepers) appropriated the whole income to themselves and in return provided bare maintenance to such girls. In addition, they might have paid them some fixed amount in cash also. They paid ten per cent of their income as tax to the royal treasury.[3]

The brothel-keepers, in addition to their independent business of running brothels arranged customers for the beautiful and youthful slave girls of the royal harem also, who came to them either on their own initiative or with the permission of the *gaṇikādhyakṣa*. But in such cases the income that accrued did not go to the brothel-keeper but to the royal treasury. The brothel-keepers, at the most, might have got some percentage as their commission. In the first case they contributed from their own income whereas in the second case they helped indirectly in raising money for the state.

There was another type of prostitutes who ran their business independent of royal or any other private agency. They were known as *rūpājīvā*-s. They were required to pay the state a monthly tax equal to twice the amount charged by them from the customer for a single night.[4] So they had to get the payments, gains and names of the visitors etc. registered with the superintendent of prostitutes[5], who was personally responsible for keeping an

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1. *Gaṇikādāsī bhagnabhogā koṣṭhāgāre mahānase vā karma kuryāt.* Artha. 2.27.8.
2. *Aviśantī sapādapaṇamavaruddhā māsavetanaṁ dadyāt.* Artha. 2.27.9.
3. *Bandhakīpoṣakāḥ rājapreṣyābhiḥ paramarūpayauvanābhiḥ kośaṁ saṁhareyuḥ.* Artha. 5.2.28. Cf. Artha. 5.2.21.
4. *Rūpājīvā bhogadvayaguṇaṁ māsaṁ dadyuḥ.* Artha. 2.27.27.
5. *Gaṇikā bhogamāyatiṁ puruṣaṁ ca nivedayet.* Artha. 2.27.24.

account of the income and expenditure of such courtesans and keep a watch over the expenditure incurred by them.[1]

Kauṭilya prescribes a code of conduct for prostitutes as well as the customers. If a courtesan, after receiving payment showed dislike for the customer and did not entertain him properly, she was to be fined double the amount she received as her fee.[2] In case she cheated the customer staying overnight in respect of surrendering herself to him under this or that pretext and thereby depriving him of full sexual satisfaction, she was a defaulter and was required to pay back eight times the amount she had received from the customer except in case of abrupt emergence of her monthly illness or sudden detection of some serious infectious disease in the customer which might adversely affect her health and profession.[3] If she did not refund the money and there arose a scuffle and the prostitute, with the help of her musclemen killed the customer, she was to be, by way of punishment, either burnt on funeral pyre or drowned in water.[4] Again an appointed courtesan, not approaching a man at the command of the king was to receive one thousand strokes with a whip or was to be imposed a fine of five hundred *paṇa*-s in lieu thereof.[5]

Now the defaulting customers. A customer who robbed the prostitute of her ornaments and goods or deprived her of the payment due to her, was to be fined eight times the value of the ornaments and goods or the amount deprived of. If a customer under the heat of passion enjoyed a prostitute by force, he was to be fined twelve *paṇa*-s, but if a group of persons did so, each one of them was to be fined twentyfour *paṇa*-s.[6] But if a customer applied force on an unwilling prostitute and kept her under restraint or kidnapped her for sexual purpose and even then not getting success spoiled her beauty out of anger by cutting up a wound, was to be fined one thousand *paṇa*-s.[7] But this fire increased in proportion to her position and went up to double her ransom amount.[8] But if the visitor, in course of forcible

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1. *Bhogaṁ dāyamāyaṁ vyayamāyatiṁ ca gaṇikāyā nibandhayet, ativyayakarma ca vārayet. Artha.* 2.27.10.
2. *Bhogaṁ gṛhītvā dviṣatyā bhogadviguṇo daṇḍaḥ. Artha.* 2.27.20.
3. *Vasatibhogāpahāre bhogamaṣṭaguṇaṁ dadyāt anyatra vyādhipuruṣadoṣebhyaḥ. Artha.* 2.27.21.
4. *Puruṣaṁ ghnatyāścitāpratāpo'psu praveśanaṁ vā. Artha.* 2.27.22.
5. *Rājājñayā puruṣamanabhigacchantī gaṇikā śiphāsahasraṁ labheta, pañcasahasraṁ vā daṇḍaḥ. Artha.* 2.27.19.
6. *Rūpājīvāyāḥ prasahyopabhoge dvādaśapaṇo daṇḍaḥ. Bahūnāmekāmedhicaratāṁ pṛthak caturviṁśatipaṇo daṇḍaḥ. Artha.* 4.13.38-39.
7. *Gaṇikāmakāmāṁ rundhato niṣpātayato vā vraṇavidāraṇena vā rūpamupaghnataḥ sahasraṁ daṇḍaḥ. Artha.* 2.27.14.
8. *Sthānāviśeṣeṇa vā daṇḍavṛddhiḥ āniṣkrayadviguṇāt. Artha.* 2.27.15.

intercourse or in his bid to spoil her beauty happened to cause the death of the prostitute the fine rose to three times the ransom amount.[1]

A person outraging the modesty of the unwilling immature daughter of a prostitute, not initiated in the profession, was to be imposed the highest fine of one thousand *paṇa*-s, but if she happened to be a willing party, the lowest fine of two hundred and fifty *paṇa*-s.[2] But if the outraged daughter of the prostitute happened to be an initiated one, the offence was not so serious. The offender in such cases was to be fined fifty four *paṇa*-s plus an amount equal to sixteen times the prescribed rate for a visit to her.[3]

In case of killing the mother of the prostitute, her daughter or a female slave, the highest fine was to be imposed on the murderer.[4]

In all the cases these prescribed fines were to be imposed for the first offence, double those for the second, three-fold for the third and in case of the fourth, the king could punish the offender in any way he liked.[5]

Kauṭilya also refers to women of easy virtue, who, like prostitutes in general, were not public women in the true sense of the term but were family women. They secretly earned money by catering to the sexual needs of such persons as dared not visit openly the residence of public women. Such women belonged to the family of actors, dancers, singers, musicians, story-tellers, bards, rope-dancers, showmen and wandering minstrels.[6]

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1. *Prāptādhikārām gaṇikām ghātayato niṣkrayatriguṇo daṇḍaḥ*. *Artha*. 2.27.16.
2. *Akāmāyāḥ kumāryā vā sāhase uttamo daṇḍaḥ, sakāmāyāḥ pūrvaḥ sāhasadaṇḍaḥ*. *Artha*. 2.27.13.
3. *Gaṇikāduhitaraṁ prakurvataścatuṣpañcāśatpaṇo daṇḍaḥ, śulkaṁ māturbhogaḥ ṣoḍaśaguṇaḥ*. *Artha*. 4.12.26.
4. *Mātṛkāduhitṛkārūpadāsīnāṁ ghāte uttamaḥ sāhasadaṇḍaḥ*. *Arth*. 2.27.17.
5. *Sarvatra prathame'parādhe prathamaḥ, dvitīye dviguṇaḥ; tṛtīye triguṇaḥ, caturthe yathākāmī syāt*. *Artha*. 2.27.18.
6. *Etena naṭanartakagāyanavādakavāgjīvanakuśīlavaplavakasaubhikacāraṇānāṁ strīvyavahāriṇāṁ striyo gūḍhājīvāśca vyākhyātāḥ*. *Artha*. 2.27.25.

STRATEGIES FOR CHANGE IN CLASS-MEMBERSHIP OF VERBS IN SANSKRIT

H. S. Ananthanarayana

Verbs in Sanskrit are classified into *Sakarmaka* 'transitive' (literally, 'with an object') and *Akarmaka* 'intransitive' (lit. 'without an object'). The characterisation is, however, made more appropriately with regard to roots. The terms are not defined by Pāṇini. They may have been known to him from earlier authors and, therefore, used in his grammar without defining.

A fully derived verb form in Sanskrit consists of *dhātu*, 'verb root', *vikaraṇa*, 'a classificatory suffix', and *la*, 'tense affix'. There are 18 phonetic realisations[1] of this *la*[2] and they come as substitutes for the latter. Of these, the first nine forms are designated as substitutes for the latter. Of these, the first nine forms are designated as *Parasmaipadam*, 'a word for another'[3] and those included in the abbreviation *taṅ* are termed *Ātmanepadam*, 'a word for oneself'[4]. When placed after a transitive verb root, the tense affixes denote *karma*, 'object'[5] and *kartṛ*, 'agent'[6]. Thus, for example, in the sentence, *gacchati grāmaṃ devadattaḥ*, 'Devadatta goes to the village', the suffix *ti* of *gacchati* denotes the 'agent' and the construction is said to be *kartari* 'active'. In the sentence, *gamyate grāmo devadattena*, 'the village is gone to by Devadatta', the suffix *te* denotes the 'object' and the construction is *karmaṇi*, 'passive'. These suffixes, when placed after an intransitive verb root, indicate *bhāva*, 'state' and *kartṛ*, 'agent'. Thus, in the sentence, *āste devadattaḥ*, 'Devadatta sits', the suffix *te* denotes the 'agent' and the construction is again

1. तिप्तस्झिसिप्थस्थमिब्वस्भस्तातांझथासाथांध्वमिड्वहिमहिङ् । *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 3.4.78.
2. लस्य । *Ibid*, 3.4.77.
3. लः परस्मैपदम् । *Ibid*, 1.4.99.
4. तङानावात्मनेपदम् । *Ibid*, 1.4.100.
5. लः कर्मणि च भावे चाकर्मकेभ्यः । *Ibid*, 3.4.69.
6. कर्तरि कृत् । *Ibid*, 3.4.67.

'active'. In the sentence, *āsyate devadattena*, 'it is seated by Devadatta', the suffix *te* denotes 'state of action' and the construction is said to be *bhāve*, 'impersonal'.

The verb roots which are marked by a final *anudātta* vowel or a 'ṅ' (e.g. *āsa*, 'to sit', *śiṅ*, 'to sleep'), both of which are *it*, 'to be dropped', are classed as *ātmanepadam*[1]. The remaining are termed *parasmaipadam*[2]. Similarly, verb roots which are marked by a *svarita* accent or 'ñ' (e.g. *yaja*, 'to worship', *kṛñ*, 'to make'), both of which are *it*, are classed as *ātmanepadam*, when the fruit of the action benefits the agent[3]; and the verb roots are classed as *parasmaipadam* when the fruit of the action benefits someone else and not the agent. Thus, a verb root is classed either as an *ātmanepadī* or a *parasmaipadī*; a few are listed in both the classes. This means that the semantic distinction implied by the terms had not been completely achieved or was not strictly followed or they freely varied. However, where the distinction is made, the class-membership of a root is changed or restricted to any one class for either syntactic reasons or semantic considerations and this paper is an attempt at discussing the strategies for such changes in the class-membership of the verb roots.

1. Syntactic device

(i) A chief syntactic device for changing membership of a verb root from *ātmane* to *parasmai* and vice versa is the addition of certain *upasarga*-s, 'prefixes'. We may illustrate this by a few examples for each type.

The verb root *viś*, 'to enter' is a member of the *parasmai* class when either no prefix is added to it or a prefix other than *ni* is added. However, if the prefix *ni* is added to it, it becomes a member of the *ātmane* class and accordingly requires the appropriate suffix[4], e.g. *kiṣkindhādrim n y a v i ś a t a*, 'entered the Kishkindha mountain'. Similarly, the *parasmai* verb root *ji*, 'to conquer' changes its class-membership to *ātmane* when the pefix *vi* or *parā* is added to it[5], e.g. *cakṣurmecakam ambujam v i j a y a t e*, 'her (blue) eye surpasses the blue lotus'; *śatrūn p a r ā j a y a t e*, 'defeats his enemies'. The verb root *krīḍ*, 'to play' changes its membership to *ātmane* class when used with the

1. अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदम् । *Ibid*, 1.3.12.
2. शेषात् कर्तरि परस्मैपदम् । *Ibid*, 1.3.78.
3. स्वरितञितः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले । *Ibid*, 1.3.72.
4. नेर्विशः । *Ibid*, 1.3.17.
5. विपराभ्यां जेः । *Ibid*, 1.3.19

prefixes *anu*, or *pari*[1], e.g. *s a ṃ k r ī ḍ a n t e maṇibhiḥ yatra kanyāḥ*, 'where the girls play with jewels'; however, when *anu* etc. are used as *karmapravacanīya*, the root does not change its membership, e.g. *māṇavakam anu krīḍati*, 'plays with *Māṇavaka*'. And, the *parasmai* verb root *sthā*, 'to stand' is *ātmanepadī* when preceded by the prefixes *sam*, *ava*, *pra*, or *vi*[2] e.g. *dāridryāt puruṣasya bāndhavajano vākye na s a n t i ṣ ṭ h a t e*, 'on account of a man's poverty, his relations do not act up to his words'; *kṣaṇamapy a v a t i ṣ ṭ h a t e śvasan yadi jantuḥ*, 'if a being breathes on though only for a moment'.

The verb root *ram*, 'to play, to take delight in' is a member of the *ātmane* class but changes to *parasmai* class when prefixed by *vi*, *ā*, or *pari*[3], e.g. *āramati udyāne*, 'takes rest in a garden'; *kṣaṇam p a r y a r a m a t tasya darśanāt*, 'was for a moment pleased at his sight'.

(ii) The change in class-membership is obtained not only by the addition of prefixes but also by the addition of certain suffixes.

Thus, the *parasmai* verb roots *jñā*, 'to know', *śru*, 'to hear', *smṛ*, 'to remember', and *dṛś* 'to see' become *ātmane* roots if they have already added the desiderative suffix, i.e. the desiderative forms derived from the *parasmai* roots add *ātmane* suffixes[4], e.g. *dharma j i j ñ ā s a t e*, 'he wishes to know the religion'; *gurum ś u ś r ū ṣ a t e*, 'serves the teacher'. However, the desiderative from the roots *jñā* and *śru* do not select *ātmane* suffixes if they are preceded by *anu* and *prati* or *ā*, respectively[5], e.g. *putrama n u j i j ñ ā s a t i*, 'he enquires after the son'. The *parasmai* verb root *śad*, 'to decay' associated with a suffix having a *ś* as *it* changes to *ātmane* class[6], e.g. *śīyate*, 'decays'.

(iii) The class-membership is changed also by *not* adding a prefix to the verb root. Thus, the verb root *jñā*, 'to know' when not having any prefix is a member of the *ātmane* class[7], e.g., *gām s a ñ j ā n ī t e*, 'he recognises the cow as his own'.

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1. क्रीडोऽनुसम्परिभ्यश्च । *Ibid*, 1.3.21.
2. समवप्रविभ्यः स्थः । *Ibid*, 1.3.22.
3. व्याङ्परिभ्यो रमः । *Ibid*, 1.3.83.
4. ज्ञाश्रुस्मृदृशां सनः । *Ibid*, 1.3.57.
5. नानोर्ज्ञः । *Ibid*, 1.3.58.
   प्रत्याङ्भ्यां श्रुवः । *Ibid*, 1.3.59.
6. शदेः शितः । *Ibed*, 1.3.60
7. अनुपसर्गाज्ज्ञः । *Ibid*, 1.3.76.

(iv) Another syntactic device by which the class-membership is changed is the use of a verb intransitively if ordinarily it is a transitive verb and transitively if it is an intransitive verb.

The *parasmai* verb root *sthā*, 'to stand' with the prefix *upa* changes its membership to *ātmane*, if it is used intransitively, i.e. *not* having an object in the construction[1], e.g. *yāvad odanam u p a t i ṣ ṭ h a t e*, 'he is present whenever there is food'. When used transitively, it is a member of the *parasmai* class, e.g. *rājānam u p a t i ṣ ṭ h a t i*, 'approaches the king'. The *parasmai* verb root *tap*, 'to burn' with the prefix *ut* or *vi* becomes a member of *ātmane* class when used intransitively[2], e.g. *u t t a p a t e pāṇī*, 'warms his hands'; *ravir v i t a p a t e' tyartham*, 'the sun is shining very hot'. When used transitively, it is, however, a *parasmaipadī*, e.g. *u t t a p a t i suvarṇam suvarṇakāraḥ*, 'a goldsmith heats gold'. The *parasmai* verb roots *yam*, 'to refrain' and *han*, 'to kill' associated with the prefix *ā* change their membership to *ātmane* class, when they are used intransitively in a sentence[3], e.g. *vastram ā y a c c h a t e*, 'spreads the cloth'; *ā h a t e vṛṣalam pādena*, 'strikes a *śūdra* with his foot'. The roots *gam*, 'to go', *ṛcch*, 'to go', *pracch*, 'to ask', *śru*, 'to hear', *vid*, 'to know' with the prefix *sam* become *ātmane* roots when used transitively[4]. Similarly, the root *kṛ*, 'to make' with the prefix *vi* becomes an *ātmane* root[5], e.g. *v i k u r v a n t e saindhavāḥ*, 'the horses move in a hostile manner', and the root *jñā*, 'to know' is *ātmanepadī*, when used transitively[6], e.g., *sarpiṣo jānīte*, 'engages in sacrifice by means of clarified butter' i.e. uses clarified butter. The word for 'clarified butter' is construed here as an object of the verb 'to know'. The verb root *vad*, 'to speak' with a prefix *anu* is an *ātmanepadī* when used intransitively[7], e.g. *a n u v d a t e kaṭhaḥ kalāpasya*, 'Kaṭha is echoing Kalpa'. The *parasmai* verb root *car*, 'to move' with the prefix *ut* becomes *ātmanepadī* when used transitively[8], e.g. *guruvacanam u c c a r a t e*, 'he transgresses the commands of his preceptor'. Here the root *car*, an intransitive, is used transitively in the construction with an object.

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1. अकर्मकाच्च । *Ibid*, 1.3.26.
2. उद्विभ्यां तपः । *Ibid*, 1.3.27.
3. आङो यमहनः । *Ibid*, 1.3.28.
4. समो गम्यृच्छिभ्याम् । *Ibid*, 1.3.29.
5. अकर्मकाच्च । *Ibid*, 1.3.35.
6. अकर्मकाच्च । *Ibid*, 1.3.45.
7. अनोरकर्मकात् । *Ibid*, 1.3.49.
8. उदश्चरः सकर्मकात् । *Ibid*, 1.3.53.

(v) Yet another syntactic device by which the change is obtained in the class-membership of verb roots is the use of certain prefixes along with a noun phrase in certain case forms.

The verb root *car*, 'to move', for instance, with the prefix *sam* is a member of the *ātmane* class when it is used with a noun in the instrumental case form[1], e.g. *aśvena s a ñ c a r a t e*, 'he rides on a horseback'. In the absence of such a noun the same verb will be used as a *parasmaipadi*, e.g. *ubhau lokau s a ñ c a r a s i*, 'you wander in both the worlds'. The *parasmai* verb root *dā*, 'to give' preceded by *sam* and co-occuring with a noun phrase in the instrumental becomes a member of the *ātmane* class provided this instrumental case form has the force of a dative[2], e.g. *dāsyā s a m p r a y a c c h a t e*, 'he gives with the object of enticing to the female slave'. The verb root *kṛ*, 'to make' with the causative suffix occuring with the word *mithyā* as an *upapada* is an *ātmane* class verb[3], e.g. *padam mithyā k ā r a y a t e*, 'he repeatedly pronounces the word incorrectly'.

2. Semantic consideration

(i) Verb roots will also change their class-membership when their use is intended to convey special meanings.

For example, a *parasmai* verb root becomes a member of the *ātmane* class when 'reciprocity of action' is to be indicated[4], e.g. *v y a t i p a c a n t e*, 'they cook for each other'; when such an 'interchange' is not meant, the root selects the *parasmai* affixes, e.g. *p a c a n t i*, 'they cook'. However, verb roots meaning 'movement' or 'injury' do not change membership even when they are intended to denote 'reciprocity of action'[5], e.g. *v y a t i g a c c h a n t i*, 'they go against each other'. The verb root *sthā*, 'to stand' takes *ātmane* suffixes when meaning 'to indicate one's intention to another' or 'to make an award as an arbitrator'[6], e.g. *t i ṣ ṭ h a t e jāyāpatye*, 'the wife expresses her wish to her husband'. The verb root *kṛ*, 'to make' becomes an *ātmane* verb root when the meaning implied is 'to divulge', 'to revile', 'to serve', 'to use violence', etc.[7], e.g. *paradārā p r a k u r u t e*, 'he out-

1. समस्तृतीयायुक्तात् । *Ibid*, 1.3.54.
2. दाणश्च सा चेच्चतुर्थ्यर्थे । *Ibid*, 1.3.55.
3. मिथ्योपपदात् कृञोऽभ्यासे । *Ibid*, 1.3.71.
4. कर्तरि कर्मव्यतिहारे । *Ibid*, 1.3.14.
5. न गतिहिंसार्थेभ्यः । *Ibid*, 1.3.15.
6. प्रकाशनस्थेयाख्ययोश्च । *Ibid*, 1.3.23.
7. गन्धनावक्षेपणसेवनसाहसिक्यप्रतियत्नप्रकथनोपयोगेषु कृञः । *Ibid*, 1.3.32.

rages another's wife'. The verb root *kram*, 'to stride' is restricted in use only as a member of the *ātmane* class in the sense of 'continuity' or 'energy'[1], e.g. *vyākaraṇādhyayanāya k r a m a t e*, 'he exerts for the study of grammar'. The verb root *bhuj*, 'to protect' becomes a member of the *ātmane* class when it is used in the sense of 'not protecting'[2], e.g. *bhuṅkte* 'enjoys'. The verb root *vad*, 'to speak' is a member of the *ātmane* class when used in the sense of 'speaking loud and distinct'[3], e.g. *s a m p r a-v a d a n t e brāhmaṇāḥ*, 'the Brahmins are speaking loudly together'.

(ii) Semantic considerations may often be combined with a syntactic device for the purpose of distributing verb roots as members of either *parasmai* or *ātmane* class.

Parasmai verb roots which occur with the words *itaretara*, 'each other', or *anyonya*, 'one another' as *upapada* do not change to *ātmane* class even when 'reciprocity of action' is implied[4], e.g. *itaretarasya v y a t i l u n a n t i*, 'they cut each other'. The use of the *upapada* here may be said to have barred the change from *parasmai* to *ātmane*. The *parasmai* verb root *dā*, 'to give' preceded by *ā* becomes a member of the *ātmane* class when the meaning of the verb is not 'to open the mouth'[5], e.g. *vidyām ā d a t t e*, 'acquires knowledge', but in the sense of 'opening of the mouth' it is a *parasmaipadī*, e.g. *āsyam v y ā d a-d ā t i*, 'he expands his own mouth'. The *Vārttika* extends the use of this verb root in the *ātmane* even to those instances where the action is understood as not affecting the agent's own body, e.g. *v y ā d a d a t e pipīlikāḥ pataṅgasya mukham*, 'the ants open the mouth of a locust'. The *parasmai* verb root *yam*, 'to copulate' preceded by *upa* becomes an *ātmanepadī* when used in the sense of 'espousing'[6] e.g. *bhāryām u p a y a c c h a t e*, 'he espouses his wife'.

The *Vārttika* on1.3.21 prohibits the change of the root to the *ātmane* class when the meaning is 'rattling' or 'creaking', e.g. *s a ṃ k r ī ḍ a n t i śakaṭāni*, 'the carts rattle'. The *Vārttika* on 1.3.22 adds that the root *sthā* with the prefix *ā* is an *ātmanepadī* when it means a 'solgmn declaration', e.g. *jalaṃ vā*

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1. वृत्तिसर्गतायनेषु क्रमः । *Ibid*, 1.3.38.
2. भुजोऽनवने । *Ibid*, 1.3.66.
3. व्यक्तवाचां समुच्चारणे । *Ibid*, 1.3.48.
4. इतरेतरान्योऽन्योपपदाच्च । *Ibid*, 1.3.16.
5. आङो दोऽनास्यविहरणे । *Ibid*, 1.3.20.
6. उपाद्यमः स्वकरणे । *Ibid*, 1.3.56

viṣam vā tatra kāraṇād ***ā s t h ā s y e***, 'for that, I shall surely have recourse to water or poison'. The verb root *sthā* with the prefix *ut* is *ātmanepadī* also when it does not mean 'to get up or rise' as from a seat[1], e.g. *gehe* ***u t t i ṣ ṭ h a t e***, 'he strives for the house', but in the sense of 'rising from a seat' it is *parasmaipadī*, e.g. *āsanād* ***u t t i ṣ ṭ h a t i***, 'he rises up from his seat'. It is again *ātmanepadī* with the prefix *upa* when intended in the meaning 'to adore'[2], e.g. *aindryā gārhapatyam* ***u p t i ṣ ṭ h a t e***, 'he worships the Gārhapatya fire with Aindra hymns'. If the meaning of the verb is not 'praising with a hymn', then it is *parasmaipadī*, e.g. *bhartāram* ***u p a t i ṣ ṭ h a t i*** *yauvanena*, 'she approaches the husband through youth'.

The *parasmai* verb root *gṛdh*, 'to covet' and *vañc*, 'to cheat' with the causative suffix behave like *ātmane* roots, i.e. add *ātmane* suffixes, when used in the sense of 'deceiving'[3], e.g. *māṇavakam* ***g a r d h a y a t e***, 'he deceives the boy'; *māṇavakam* ***v a ñ c a y t e***, 'he cheats the boy'.

(iii) When the result of the action benefits the agent, the verb roots receive *ātmane* suffixes; otherwise they add *parasmai* suffixes. However, syntactic and semantic considerations interfere in this distribution and affect the class-membership of the verb roots.

The verb root *kṛ* with the prefix *anu* or *parā* is classed as a *parasmaipadī* even when the result of the action goes to the agent, if the sense of the verb is that of 'divulging'[4], e.g. *anukaroti*, 'he imitates'. Similarly, the *parasmai* verb root *kṣip*, 'to throw' does not change to *ātmane* class, when prefixed by *abhi*, *prati*, *ati*, even though the fruit of the action goes to the agent[5], e.g. ***a b h i k ṣ i p a t i***, 'he throws on'. The verb root *mṛṣ*, 'to endure' with the prefix *pari* is *parasmaipadī* even when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent[6]. The *parasmai* verb root *vad*, 'to tell' preceded by *apa* is classed in the *ātmane* class when the result of the action benefits the agent[7], e.g. *dhanakāmo nyāyam* ***a p a v a d a t e***, 'the wealthseeker forsakes justice'.

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1. उदोऽनूर्ध्वकर्मणि । *Ibid*, 1.3.24.
2. उपान्मन्त्रकरणे । *Ibid*, 1.3.25.
3. गृधिवञ्च्योः प्रलम्भने । *Ibid*, 1.3.69.
4. अनुपराभ्यां कृञः । *Ibid*, 1.3.79.
5. अभिप्रत्यतिभ्यः क्षिपः । *Ibid*, 1.3.80.
6. परेर्मृषः । *Ibid*, 1.3.82.
7. अपाद्वदः । *Ibid*, 1.3.73.

The verb root *hve*, 'to call' with the prefix *ā* is normally a *parasmaipadī*, but is changed to *ātmanepadi* when the meaning implied is 'to challenge'[1], even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, e.g. *mallo mallam ā h v a y a t e*, 'a wrestler challenges another wrestler'. The verb root *kṛ*, 'to make' prefixed with *adhi* becomes a member of the *ātmane* class when the fruit of the action does not go to the agent and is employed in the sense of 'overcoming or defeating'[2], e.g. *tam a d h i c a k r e*, 'defeated him'. It is again an *ātmanepadi* when used with the prefix *vi* and the result of the action does not go to the agent[3], e.g. *kroṣṭā v i k u r u t e svarān*, 'the jackals are yelling'. The verb root *kram* associated with the prefix *upa* or *parā* is put in the *ātmane* class when used in the sense of 'continuity', 'energy', or 'development'[4], e.g. *ityuktvā khe p a r ā k r a ṃ s t a*, 'so saying, he showed his might in the sky'. It is again an *ātmanepadi* when prefixed with *ā* and is used in the sense of 'rising of a luminary[5], e.g. *ākramata ā d i t y a ḥ*, 'the Sun rises'. It is also *ātmanepadī* when prefixed with *vi* and is used in the sense of 'placing of footsteps'[6], e.g. *viṣṇustredhā v i c a k r a m e*, 'Viṣṇu took three steps'.

The *parasmai* verb roots with the causal affix added to them are treated as *ātmane* verb roots if the result of the action benefits the agent[7], e.g. *kaṭam k ā r a y a t e*, 'he causes the mat to be made for himself'. If the fruit of the action does not benefit the agent, then the *parasmai* affixes are added, e.g. *kaṭam k ā r a y a t i*, 'he causes another's mat to be made'.

In concluding, it may be said that verb roots in Sanskrit are classed as *parasmaipadī* or *ātmanepadī* which reflected principally an underlying semantic distinction. However, they are observed to change their class-membership while in association with other grammatical elements, such as prefixes, suffixes, and also when they are to convey special senses. These two devices, syntactic and semantic, were employed singly as well as in combination to achieve this result. The use of the same verb root to convey different senses indicates to the verb roots having multiplicity of meanings, e.g. *bhuj*, 'protect,

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1. स्पर्धायामाङः । *Ibid*, 1.3.31.
2. अधेः प्रसहने । *Ibid*, 1.3.33.
3. वेः शब्दकर्मणः । *Ibid*, 1.3.34.
4. उपपराभ्याम् । *Idid*, 1.3.39.
5. आङ उद्गमने । *Ibid*, 1.3.40.
6. वेः पादविहरणे । *Ibid*, 1.3.41
7. णिचश्च । *Ibid*, 1.3.74.

eat', *kram*, 'go, exert', *gṛdh*, 'covet, deceive'. Similarly, the same root is classed sometimes as a *parasmaipadī* and sometimes as an *ātmanepadī*, depending on the meaning it conveys. However, in the majority of the instances, it appears that the syntactic device of adding prefixes, etc. results in the modification of the meanings of the verb roots. It may be said then that Pāṇini treated this as a grammatical distinction contributing to the semantic difference of lexical items, instead of recognising them as having basically different meanings.

दत्तात्रेय-प्रोक्त योगशास्त्र—एक परिचय

ब्रह्ममित्र अवस्थी

योग शब्द का व्युत्पत्तिलभ्य अर्थ जुड़ना या जोड़ होता है। जुड़ने की क्रिया दो या अधिक पदार्थों के बीच ही हो सकती है, अतः सामान्य रूप से दो या अधिक पदार्थों के मिलन को "योग" कहना चाहिए; जबकि पतञ्जलि-कृत योग–परिभाषा "योगश्चित्तवृत्तिनिरोधः" के अनुसार योग शब्द का अर्थ चित्त के व्यापार का रुकना, जिसमें उसका समस्त विषयों के सम्पर्क से रहित होना मुख्यतया अभीष्ट है, स्वीकार किया गया है। सामान्यतः ये दोनों अर्थ परस्पर विरोधी प्रतीत होते हैं, यद्यपि वास्तविकता इससे भिन्न है। दत्तात्रेय के अनुसार प्राण और अपान का, मन और प्राण का तथा जीवात्मा और परमात्मा का मिलन योग कहलाता है[1]। यहाँ यद्यपि युक्त होने वाले तीन युग्म हैं, तथापि इनमें प्रथम युग्म की एकता द्वितीय युग्म की एकता के प्रति और द्वितीय युग्म की एकता तृतीय युग्म की एकता के प्रति सहायक है। अतः इन्हें एक भी माना जा सकता है, तथा प्राण और अपान की एकता के प्रयत्न के क्रम में तथा उसके फल के रूप में चित्त का विश्व के सभी बाह्य पदार्थों के सम्पर्क से रहित होना आवश्यक है; अतः यह स्वीकार करना अनुचित नहीं है कि पतञ्जलि की चित्तवृत्ति-निरोध रूप योग की परिभाषा और यौगिक (व्युत्पत्ति) अर्थ में वास्तविक रूप से कोई विरोध नहीं है। इसे ही ध्यान में रखकर पाणिनि ने भी धातु पाठ में समाधि अर्थ में भी युज् धातु का पाठ करके (युज् समाधौ) योग शब्द के यौगिक और परिभाषाप्राप्त अर्थ के बीच विरोध के आभास को दूर करने का प्रयत्न किया है।

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१. (क) प्राणापानौ मनोवायू जीवात्मपरमात्मनोः ।
अन्योन्यस्याविरोधेन एकता घटते यदा ।
तदा घटाद्वयावस्था प्रसिद्धा योगिनां स्मृता ।। योगशास्त्र, १७८–१८०

(ख) प्राणापानौ नादबिन्दू मूलबन्धेन चैकताम् ।
गत्वा योगस्य संसिद्धिं गच्छते नात्र संशयः ।। वही, २८८-२८९

योग शास्त्र का प्रारम्भ कब हुआ और इसके प्रवर्तक कौन हैं, इस प्रसङ्ग में ऐतिहासिक निर्णय प्रस्तुत कर सकना सम्भव नहीं है। पतञ्जलि का योग सूत्र सम्भवतः इस विषय का सबसे प्राचीन व्यवस्थित ग्रन्थ है, किन्तु उसमें ही कुछ ऐसे सङ्केत प्राप्त होते हैं, जिनके आधार पर कहा जा सकता है कि पतञ्जलि से पूर्व योग की परस्पर कम से कम आठ भिन्न परम्पराएं रही हैं।[१] भगवान् बुद्ध के जीवन-विवरणों में भी उनके द्वारा दुःखनाश के लिए उपायों के अनुसन्धान के क्रम में योग साधना किये जाने की सूचना मिलती है । अतः निश्चित ही ढाई तीन हजार वर्ष पूर्व भी योग की साधना प्रचलित नहीं है । योग सम्बन्धी उपनिषदों की परम्परा भी[२] योग शास्त्र को बहुत प्रचीन सिद्ध करती है, यद्यपि उन उपनिषदों का भाषाई कलेवर अधिक प्राचीन नहीं है । इन उपनिषदों में अथवा घेरण्ड संहिता, हठयोगप्रदीपिका आदि ग्रन्थों में कथानक में शिव आदि विशिष्ट देवों का वक्ता के रूप में निबन्धन कोई ऐतिहासिक सामग्री भले ही नहीं देता है किन्तु उससे यह तो माना ही जा सकता है कि योग की विशेष शाखा से उनका सम्बन्ध अवश्य रहा है । प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ दत्तात्रेयप्रोक्त योगशास्त्र में भी लय योग के उपदेष्टा के रूप में आदिनाथ के नाम से शङ्कर को ही स्मरण किया गया है ।[३]

शिव को चाहे ऐतिहासिक पुरुष माने, चाहे महादेव, दोनों ही स्थितियों में इन उपर्युक्त सन्दर्भों में ऐतिहासिक निर्णय लेना सम्भव नहीं हो पाता है; क्योंकि शिव के ऐतिहासिक पुरुष मानने के पक्ष में इतिहास में शिव के काल निर्णय के सूत्र नहीं मिलते हैं, और देवाधिदेव महादेव मानने के पक्ष में प्रथम उपदेशग्रहणकर्त्ता के सम्बन्ध में ऐतिहासिक निर्णय के लिए कोई सामग्री नहीं मिल पाती है । अतः अनिवार्यतः यही मानना पड़ता है कि योग के मूल प्रवर्त्तक अथवा उसके आरम्भकाल का निर्णय कर सकना यदि असम्भव नहीं, तो अत्यन्त दुःसाध्य कार्य है । हां, योग और उसकी अनेक शाखाएं अत्यन्त प्राचीन काल से प्रचलित रही हैं । पतञ्जलि आदि ने उन परम्पराओं का अथवा उनमें से किसी एक के समीक्षात्मक या विवरणात्मक परिचय का निबन्धन मात्र किया है ।

योग साधना पद्धति में सम्प्रदाय भेद के आधार पर यद्यपि अनन्त भेद माने जा सकते हैं तथापि मन्त्रयोग, लययोग, हठयोग और राजयोग में चार मुख्य प्रकार माने जाते हैं । इनके अतिरिक्त ज्ञानयोग, भक्तियोग, क्रियायोग आदि अनेक अन्य शाखायें भी प्रचलित हैं किन्तु इन्हें उपर्युक्त चार में समाहित माना जा सकता है । जहां इन चार प्रकारों की बात है साधना पद्धति के अनुसार इनमें भी परस्पर भेद होते हुए भी परस्पर सहयोगभाव है । सभी

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१. विशेष विवरण के लिए लेखक कृत "पातञ्जलयोगशास्त्र: एक अध्ययन" उपसंहार अध्याय, तथा विश्वज्योति–योग विशेषांक (१९७८) तथा विमर्श १९८१ (अक्टूबर) में लेखक के लेख देखें ।

२. योग सम्बन्धी १८ से अधिक उपनिषद् हिन्दी अंग्रेजी अनुवाद के साथ शीघ्र प्रकाश्य हैं ।

३. आदिनाथेन संकेता अष्टकोटिप्रकीर्त्तिताः । योगशास्त्र, ३०
महादेवस्य नामानि आदिनाथादिकान्यपि । योगशास्त्र, ३२

एक दूसरे के पूरक है[1] । अन्तर इतना है कि प्रत्येक में किसी एक अंश को कैवल्य के लिए प्रधान अथवा सरलतम साधन मान लिया गया है । इसीलिए प्रत्येक सम्प्रदाय में दूसरे सम्प्रदाय का कुछ सन्दर्भ अङ्ग के रूप में अवश्य मिल जाता है ।

प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ योगशास्त्र का लेखक कौन है अथवा इसकी रचना कब हुई है इसके सम्बन्ध में कुछ निर्णय ले सकना प्रमाण के अभाव में सम्भव प्रतीत नहीं होता है । इसकी सरल और सुबोध भाषा के आधार पर इसे पर्याप्त प्राचीन माना जा सकता है । कुछ अपाणिनीय प्रयोगों को देखकर भी इसकी प्राचीनता का अनुमान होता है । दूसरी ओर इस ग्रन्थ का अन्यत्र उल्लेख न मिलने के कारण तथा इस पर किसी व्याख्या के उपलब्ध न होने के कारण इसकी प्राचीनता अत्यन्त ही सन्दिग्ध हो जाती है । इन विरोधी स्थितियों में यह स्वीकार करना अधिक सङ्गत प्रतीत होता है कि यह ग्रन्थ अपने मूलरूप में साधक परम्परा में अत्यन्त प्राचीन काल से प्रचलित रहा है, क्योंकि योग साधना की विधि का उपदेश सदा ही केवल निष्ठावान् शिष्य को ही किया जाता रहा है । सम्भव है इस कारण ही विद्वानों की परम्परा में यह ग्रन्थ सदा ही अविदित रहा है । यह भी सम्भव है कि इसकी वर्तमान पद्य रचना में कभी कभी परिवर्तन भी हुआ हो । इसके अतिरिक्त इस सम्भावना का भी खण्डन नहीं किया जा सकता है कि इस शास्त्र का उपदेश तो शिष्य परम्परा में अत्यन्त प्राचीन हो, किन्तु इसका प्रस्तुत श्लोकों में निबन्धन उत्तर काल में किसी साधक विद्वान् ने कर लिया हो । जहां तक भाषा के अत्यन्त सरल होने तथा उसमें अपाणिनीय प्रयोगों का प्रश्न है, साधक परम्परायें भाषा की कृत्रिमता की ओर अथवा उसकी शुद्धता की ओर ध्यान देने की अपेक्षा न समझने के कारण सहज भाव से ऐसा हो गया हैं । इन अनेक सम्भावनाओं के बीच किसी एक पक्ष को निर्णय मानना न शक्य है और न प्रासङ्गिक । अतः इसके इतिहास पक्ष को यहीं छोड़ कर विषय वस्तु पर विचार किया जायगा ।

विषय वस्तु की दृष्टि से यह लघु ग्रन्थ योग-साधना के प्रेमी जनों के लिये प्रशस्त राजमार्ग प्रस्तुत करता है । इस ग्रन्थ में योग शास्त्र की भूमिका में सांकृति को श्रोता के रूप में और दत्तात्रेय को वक्ता के रूप में निबद्ध किया गया है । इसी आधार पर इस ग्रन्थ को दत्तात्रेयप्रोक्त योगशास्त्र कहा गया है ।

योग के प्रकार

दत्तात्रेय के अनुसार योग के मुख्यतः चार प्रकार हैं—मन्त्रयोग, लययोग, हठयोग और राजयोग । इन चार में से मन्त्रयोग वह है जिसमें साधक अङ्गन्यास पूर्वक मन्त्र विशेष का जप करता है । यदि मन्त्र का निष्ठा पूर्वक जप चलता रहे तो बारह वर्षों में योगी को भी अणिमा आदि सिद्धियों की प्राप्ति हो सकती है । दत्तात्रेय के अनुसार मन्त्रयोग की व्यवस्था मृदु साधकों के लिए की गयी है । वे ऐसे साधकों को अधम साधक मानते हैं ।

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१. एतैः सर्वैस्तु कथितैरभ्यसेत्कालकालतः ।
ततो भवेद् राजयोगो नान्तरा भवति ध्रुवम् । योगशास्त्र, ३१७-३१८

लय योग को ध्यान योग के नाम से अधिक जाना जाता है। ध्यान की परम्परा में अभीष्ट देवों के स्वरूप के ध्यान का विधान प्रायः सर्वत्र वर्णित हुआ है, किन्तु शरीर के अङ्ग विशेष में ध्यान करते हुए वहीं चित्त को लय करने की विधि भी साधक परम्परा में अविदित नहीं है। दत्तात्रेय के अनुसार आदिनाथ शङ्कर ने लय योग के आठ कोटि (आठ करोड़) संकेत अर्थात् ध्यान स्थल बताये हैं, जिनका समग्र वर्णन असम्भव मानकर उन्होंने केवल कुछ का ही वर्णन किया है। इनका अभ्यास सहज भाव से किया जा सकता है। ये हैं—शून्य का ध्यान जिसे आज की भाषा में भावातीत ध्यान कहा जा सकता है, इसे चलते-फिरते सोते-जागते कभी भी किसी स्थिति में किया जा सकता है। इसके अतिरिक्त नासिका के अग्रभाग, शिर के पार्श्वभाग, भ्रूमध्य, ललाटतट आदि सङ्केतों पर भी ध्यान को केन्द्रित करके वहां भी चित्त का लय किया जा सकता है। शव आसन की स्थिति में पैर के दोनों अंगूठों पर भी ध्यान करके चित्त का लय किया जाता है। इसे सदा एकान्त स्थल में ही करना चाहिए।

राजयोग, जो इस ग्रन्थ का प्रधान प्रतिपाद्य है, के आठ अंग हैं—यम, नियम, आसन, प्राणायाम, प्रत्याहार, धारणा, ध्यान और समाधि। दत्तात्रेय के अनुसार इस राजयोग का प्रारम्भ आचार्य शुक (कवि) से हुआ है जिन्हें असुरों का गुरु माना गया है। वही इसके प्रथम उपदेष्टा हैं। इसका (राजयोग का) विस्तृत विवरण आगे किया जाए गा।

दत्तात्रेय के अनुसार प्राचीन मुनि कपिल आदि ने हठयोग की साधना की थी। हठ योग की साधना में यद्यपि आसन और बन्धों के अतिरिक्त आन्तरिक शरीर शुद्धि के साधन नेती, धौती, कुंजर, वज्रोलि आदि विशेष प्रचलित हैं, तथापि दत्तात्रेय ने हठयोग के प्रकरण में महा-मुद्रा, महाबन्ध, खेचरीमुद्रा, जालन्धरबन्ध, उड्डियानबन्ध, मूलबन्ध, विपरीतकरणी मुद्रा, जिसे शीर्षासन भी कहते हैं, वज्रोलि, अमरोलि और सहजोलि का ही वर्णन किया है। इनका सङ्क्षिप्त परिचय इस प्रकार है।

महामुद्रा

महामुद्रा के प्रवर्त्तक भैरव माने जाते हैं। इसे पश्चिमोत्तान आसन के बहुत निकट रखा जा सकता है। इसे करने के लिए साधक को अपने दाहिने पैर को आगे फैलाकर तथा बायें पैर को मोड़कर इस प्रकार रखना चाहिए कि उसकी एड़ी योनि स्थान को दबाती रहे तथा पूरा तलवा दाहिनी जांघ से सटा हुआ रहे। अब पीठ सीधी रखते हुए दाहिने हाथ के अंगूठे से दाहिनी नाक के छिद्र को बन्द करते हुए बांयीं नाक से पूरक करके गर्दन को सामने की ओर दबाते हुए चिबुक को वक्ष में सटाये और वायु को पेट में रोकते हुए आगे की ओर झुक कर दोनों हाथों से दाहिने पैर के पञ्जे को तलवे सहित पकड़ते हुए शिर के अग्र भाग को घुटने में लगाये। इस स्थिति में तब तक रहे जब तक कुम्भक कर सके। जब रेचक करने अर्थात् वायु को पेट से बाहर निकालने की इच्छा हो तब सीधा होकर नाक के बायें छिद्र को दाहिने हाथ की मध्यमा और अनामिका की सहायता से बन्द करते हुए बायीं नाक से वायु को बाहर निकाले और पुनः बायीं नाक से वायु लेकर पूर्व प्रकार से क्रिया करे। इसमें ध्यान रखना

चाहिए कि जिस नासिकाविवर से श्वास ले, उससे भिन्न दूसरे से वायु को निकाले, और जिससे निकाले उससे ही वायु को अन्दर ले। इच्छानुसार दाहिने पैर को फैलाकर जितनी बार कुम्भक आदि क्रिया करे उतनी ही बार बाद में बायें पैर को सामने फैलाकर दाहिने पैर की एड़ी को योनिस्थान को दबाते हुए पूर्वोक्त प्रकार से रखकर अभ्यास करे।

इसके अभ्यास से तीन मास में पूर्ण नाड़ी-शुद्धि होती है और शरीर के सभी रोग दूर हो जाते हैं।

महाबन्ध

महामुद्रा की ही सम्पूर्ण क्रियाएं महाबन्ध में भी उसी प्रकार की जाती हैं, अन्तर केवल इतना है कि जो पैर सामने फैलाया हुआ है उससे भिन्न दूसरा पैर योनिस्थान और जंघा के निकट भूमि पर न रखकर जांघ के ऊपर रखा जाता है। यह पूर्व की अपेक्षा कुछ क्लिष्ट है। लाभ दोनों के ही समान ही हैं।

खेचरीमुद्रा

खेचरीमुद्रा में जिह्वा को ऊपर उठाकर तालुमूल के छिद्र में प्रवेश कराया जाता है। इस ग्रन्थ में इसका विशेष वर्णन नहीं हुआ है, किन्तु इसके प्रारम्भिक अभ्यास के लिए दो कार्य आवश्यक हैं, प्रथम–बारह अंगुल लम्बे, चार अंगुल चौड़े, शुद्ध कोमल वस्त्र से जिह्वा, जिसे सरस्वती भी कहते हैं, को दोनों हाथों के अंगुठे और अंगुलियों की सहायता से पकड़कर उसके चालन का प्रतिदिन याम मात्र अर्थात् तीन घण्टे अभ्यास करना और दूसरे जिह्वा के निचले तन्तु का क्रमशः थोड़ा थोड़ा छेदन। इन दोनों क्रियाओं का अभ्यास गुरु के अभाव में अत्यन्त हानिकारक हो सकता है, अतः स्वयं इसका अभ्यास नहीं करना चाहिए। इससे न केवल मृत्यु-जय सम्भव है, सर्वज्ञाता भी प्राप्त हो जाती है—ऐसी साधक परम्परा में मान्यता है।

जालन्धरबन्ध

इस बन्ध को करने के लिए कण्ठ का सङ्कोचन करके उसे हृदय पर स्थापित किया जाता है। इसके करने से सहस्र दल कमल अर्थात् चन्द्र स्थान से निरन्तर टपकने वाले अमृत द्रव को नीचे गिरने से रोका जा सकता है। यह अमृत द्रव ऊपर से गिर कर नाभि में स्थित अग्नि पर गिरता है, और जलकर समाप्त हो जाता है। किन्तु यदि जालन्धर बन्ध के द्वारा ऊपर से गिरने से रोककर वहीं इसके शोषण की व्यवस्था हो जाती है तो इसके द्वारा साधक को अमरता प्राप्त हो जाती है।

उड्डयाण बन्ध

उड्डयाण बन्ध में पेट के नाभि के ऊपर और नीचे के भाग को अधिक से अधिक पीछे की ओर ताना जाता है। इसके केवल छः महीने तक अभ्यास से ही मृत्यु पर विजय प्राप्त हो सकती है और कुण्डलिनी जागृत हो सकती है।

मूलबन्ध

मूलबन्ध गुदामार्ग का यथा सम्भव अधिक से अधिक सङ्कोचन करके किया जाता है। इसके अभ्यास के लिए पैर की एड़ी से योनि स्थान को दबाकर बैठना चाहिए और अपान वायु को ऊपर की ओर खींचना चाहिए। इसके सिद्ध होने पर ही प्राणायाम की सिद्धि हो जाती है। प्राण और अपान की, नाद और बिन्दु की एकता इस बन्ध की साधना का फल है जो योग का लक्ष्य है, जिसके होने पर मन और प्राण की तथा जीवात्मा और परमात्मा की एकता हो जाती है।

विपरीतकरण (शीर्षासन)

शिर को नीचे रखकर पैरों को सीधा ऊपर उठाकर अधिक से अधिक समय तक स्थिर रहना विपरीतकरण या शीर्षासन कहलाता है। इसका प्रथम अभ्यास एक क्षण ही करना चाहिए। शीर्षासन के अभ्यास के समय आहार पर बहुत ध्यान देना चाहिए अन्यथा प्रदीप्त अग्नि शरीर को भी जला डालती है। इसके अतिरिक्त इसके अभ्यास के समय नेत्रों को खोलकर सामने की ओर किसी भी स्थल पर केन्द्रित करना चाहिए। छः मास पर्यन्त इसका विधिपूर्वक अभ्यास करने से बालों का पकना और गिरना बन्द हो जाता है।

बज्रोलि

बज्रोलि, अमरोलि और सहजोलि को अत्यन्त गुप्त और रहस्यपूर्ण माना गया है। सभी इसके अभ्यास के अधिकारी भी नहीं है। इस ग्रन्थ में बज्रोलि की ओर कुछ सङ्केत हुआ है, किन्तु अमरोलि और सहजोलि के प्रसङ्ग में ग्रन्थकार मौन है।

बज्रोलि की साधना में मूत्र मार्ग से जल, दूध, धृत आदि पदार्थों को अन्दर खींचा जाता है। इन विविध पदार्थों में दूध और आंगिरस् द्रव से बज्रोलि करना सर्व श्रेष्ठ माना गया है। इसका विवरण ग्रन्थ में ही द्रष्टव्य है।

हठ योग की अन्य क्रियाओं का वर्णन अथवा सङ्केत इस ग्रन्थ में नहीं हुआ है, किन्तु इन कुछ क्रियाओं का वर्णन करके ग्रन्थकार ने कहा है कि ये सभी क्रियाएं राजयोग की सहायक क्रियाएं है, इनकी उपेक्षा करके राजयोग की सिद्धि सम्भव नहीं है।

राजयोग

राजयोग के आठ अंग हैं। यम, नियम आदि की चर्चा पहले हो चुकी है। साधना के क्रम में साधक योग की चार अवस्थाओं से होता हुआ सिद्धि तक पहुंचता है। ये अवस्थाऐं हैं—आरम्भ अवस्था, छद्म अवस्था और निष्पत्ति अवस्था। पतञ्जलिकृत योगसूत्र और प्रस्तुत योग शास्त्र में यम और नियमों के विषय में परस्पर सर्वथा भिन्न मत हैं। पतञ्जलि के अनुसार अहिंसा, सत्य, अस्तेय, ब्रह्मचर्य और अपरिग्रह यम कहलाते हैं और शौच, सन्तोष, तपस्या,

स्वाध्याय और ईश्वर-प्रणिधान नियम। प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ में अहिंसा को नियमों में गिनाया गया हैं, और केवल उसे ही आवश्यक माना गया है। ग्रन्थकार ने अन्य नियमों का परिगणन नहीं किया है, अतः उनके मत के रूप में कुछ कह सकना सम्भव नहीं है, किन्तु अहिंसा को पतञ्जलि ने यमों में गिना था, नियमों में नहीं। योगतत्व उपनिषद् में इस उपर्युक्त मत को ही स्वीकार किया गया है।[1] इस ग्रन्थ में लघ्वाहार, जिसे मिताहार भी कहा जाता है, यमों में अन्यतम माना गया है, और केवल इस एक यम का पालन ही आवश्यक कहा गया है। पतञ्जलि ने मिताहार या लघ्वाहार की कोई चर्चा नहीं की थी, किन्तु जाबालदर्शनोपनिषद्, शांडिल्य उपनिषद् आदि में मिताहार को यमों में अन्यतम माना गया है।[2] योगतत्व उपनिषद् में प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ के समान ही यमों में मिताहार (लघ्वाहार) को ही आवश्यक माना गया है।[3] आसनों में पद्मासन को ही ग्रन्थकार ने सर्वाधिक प्रशस्त माना है और केवल उसका ही वर्णन किया है। इनके अनुसार पद्मासन में बैठकर ही प्राणायाम आदि की साधना करनी चाहिए। इसके अभ्यास से शरीर के सभी रोग दूर हो जाते हैं। यम, नियम और आसन में केवल एक एक का विवरण और उपयोगिता की चर्चा करके ग्रन्थकार ने प्राणायाम से योग साधना का साधना-क्रम बताया है।

योग के अधिकारी और वातावरण

प्राणायाम योग साधना का गोपुर है जहां सफलता मिलने पर योगी अपने अन्तिम लक्ष्य तक पहुंच जाता है। ग्रन्थकार ने प्राणायाम की चर्चा के प्रारम्भ में योग के अभ्यास के अधिकारों की चर्चा की है। उनके अनुसार योग साधना में आयु का कोई बन्धन नहीं है, युवा अथवा वृद्ध दोनों ही इसके अधिकारी हैं। रोगी भी साधना प्रारम्भ कर सकता है, और थोड़े समय में स्वस्थ होकर वह सिद्धि प्राप्त कर लेता है। योग साधना के लिए वर्ण, कुल, धर्म इत्यादि का भी कोई बन्धन नहीं है; ब्राह्मण, अब्राह्मण, जैन, बौद्ध, कापालिक, नास्तिक, चार्वाक सभी साधन कर के सफलता प्राप्त कर सकते हैं। ग्रन्थकार के अनुसार केवल शास्त्र के पाठ से अथवा वेषधारण से, नाम जपने से, देवी देवताओं की पूजा मात्र से, तब तक सिद्धि नहीं हो सकती जब तक साधना सबल न हो, क्रियावत्ता न हो। ग्रन्थकार के अनुसार साधना के प्रसङ्ग

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१. अहिंसा नियमेष्वेका मुख्या वै चतुरानन। योगतत्वोपनिषद्, २८१

२. (क) अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं ब्रह्मचर्यं दयार्जवम्।
क्षमा धृतिः मिताहारः शौचं चैव यमाः दश॥
जाबालदर्शनोपनिषद्, १.६

(ख) तत्राहिंसासत्यास्तेयब्रह्मचर्यदयाजपक्षमाधृतिमिताहारशौचानि चेति यमाः दश।
शांडिल्योपनिषद्, १.१

३, लघ्वाहारो यमेष्वेको मुख्यो भवति नेतरः।
योगतत्वोपनिषद्, २८

में आलसी, विकत्थन अर्थात् गप्पे हांकने वाला, धूर्तों की संगति में फंसा हुआ अथवा केवल मन्त्रों का जप करके ही सफलता की कामना करने वाला अथवा धातुवादी और खाने पीने के चक्कर में पड़ा हुआ व्यक्ति कभी सफल नहीं हो सकता है। साधना प्रारम्भ करने के पहले साधक को उचित स्थान का चयन करना चाहिए। साधनागृह पूर्ण स्वच्छ, लिपा पुता, मच्छर, खटमल आदि से रहित, सुगन्ध द्रवों से सुगन्धित और गुग्गुल आदि से धूपित होना चाहिए। घर का द्वार-छोटा होना चाहिए। साधना करते समय उसे बन्द कर लेना चाहिए जिससे स्थान निरापद रहे। साधना के लिए बैठने का आसन मृगचर्म अथवा वस्त्र होना चाहिए। किन्तु यह अधिक छोटा न हो। चाहे जहां बैठकर साधना करने पर सफलता नहीं मिलती है। अधिक अच्छा हो कि साधना-स्थल पर दूसरे लोगों का जाना आना न हो। साधक को भी जनसामान्य से सम्पर्क नहीं रखना चाहिए।

साधना का प्रवेशद्वार—प्राणायाम

जैसा कि पहले कहा जा चुका है प्राणायाम योगसाधना का मुख्य द्वार है, उसमें सफल हो गये तो सर्वत्र सफलता ही सफलता है। प्राणायाम करने के लिए पूर्वनिर्दिष्ट स्थान और आसन पर पद्मासन में बैठकर दाहिने हाथ को अंगूठे से पिङ्गला अर्थात् दक्षिण नासिका छिद्र को बन्द करके इडा अर्थात् बायें नासिका छिद्र से वायु को अन्दर खींच कर कुम्भक करे और वायु को अन्दर रोकने में जब असमर्थ होने लगे तो पिङ्गला से वायु को बाहर निकाले और पुनः पिङ्गला से वायु लेकर यथा शक्ति कुम्भक करके इडा से वायु का रेचन करे। इसमें ध्यान रहे कि जिससे पूरक किया गया है उससे भिन्न से रेचक करे, और जिससे रेचक किया गया है उससे ही पूरक करे। इस प्रकार प्रातः, मध्याह्न, सायं और मध्यरात्रि चार बार बीस-बीस बार इस प्रकार कुल अस्सी बार प्राणायाम करे। कुम्भक करते समय प्राण वायु को कन्द स्थान अर्थात् नाभि के नीचे मूलाधार चक्र से ऊपर के स्थान पर रोके। साथ ही मूल बन्ध का अनुष्ठान करे अर्थात् गुदामार्ग का सङ्कोचन करते हुए अपान वायु को ऊपर की ओर उठाने का प्रयत्न करे; जिससे प्राण और अपान का संयोग हो सके।

इस प्राणायाम साधना के समय नमक, सरसों या उसका तेल, उष्ण और रुक्ष पदार्थ, मिर्च-मसाले, मद्य, अग्नि सेंकना, धूर्त गोष्ठी आदि का पूर्णतः त्याग करे; साथ ही ब्रह्मचर्य का भी पूर्णतया पालन करना आवश्यक है।

इस प्रकार तीन मास पर्यन्त प्रतिदिन अस्सी कुम्भक (२० × ४ = ८०) करने से नाडी शुद्धि हो जाती है। उसके फल स्वरूप शरीर में लघुता, तेज में वृद्धि, जठराग्नि का प्रदीपन और शरीर में कृशता आ जाती हैं। इन्हें सफलता का चिह्न मानना चाहिए। नाडीशुद्धि के बाद रेचक, पूरक के बिना ही कुम्भक करने की शक्ति प्राप्त हो जाती है। अर्थात् एक बार प्राणों के अन्दर पहुंचने के बाद उन्हें इच्छानुसार वहीं रोका जा सकता है। इस स्थिति को केवल कुम्भक कहते हैं, जब कि पूर्वस्थिति में कुम्भक सहित कुम्भक कहलाता है।

केवल कुम्भक की स्थिति आने पर प्रथम योगी के शरीर में स्वेद वेग के साथ आने लगता है, उस समय शरीर का मर्दन करना चाहिए। इस स्थिति में भी साधना का क्रम चलते रहने पर शरीर में कम्पन प्रारम्भ होता है, फिर भी कुम्भक का क्रम बढ़ता रहे तो दर्दुरी वृत्ति उत्पन्न हो जाती है, अर्थात् योगी पद्मासन में बैठा हुआ ही दर्दुर (मेढक) की भांति इधर-उधर उछलने लगता है। इस स्थिति में भी और अधिक अभ्यास बढ़ने पर साधक पद्मासन में ही भूमि से ऊपर उठ जाता है; और निराधार ही आकाश में स्थित होने लगता है।

इस स्थिति में पहुंचने पर योगी में अपार सामर्थ्य आ जाता है। वह कम या अधिक कितना भी आहार लेने पर व्यथित नहीं होता है। मल-मूत्र और निद्रा अत्यन्त अल्प हो जाते हैं। शरीर में दुर्गन्ध पसीना क्रिमि आदि नहीं होते हैं। उसे भूचर-सिद्धि मिल जाती है, अर्थात् योगी के हाथ के ही प्रहार से शेर, बाघ, भैंसा, हाथी आदि की मृत्यु तक हो जाती है। इस स्थिति में एक महान् विघ्न भी प्राप्त होता है, वह यह है कि स्त्रियां उसकी रूप-राशि पर मुग्ध होकर उससे सङ्गम की कामना करती हैं, और यदि योगी कहीं चूक गया, स्त्रीसम्पर्क में आ गया तो उसकी मृत्यु तक हो सकती है। अतः इस महा विघ्न से उसे पूर्णतया बचना चाहिए। इस स्थिति में पहुंचने पर साधक को प्लुत मात्रा में प्रणव महामन्त्र का उच्चारण करते हुए जप करना चाहिए जिससे उसके सभी पूर्व उपार्जित पापकर्मों का नाश हो जाए। साधना के क्रम में यहां तक आरम्भ अवस्था कहलाती है। इसके बाद भी निरन्तर केवल कुम्भक का अभ्यास करते रहने पर **घटावस्था** आती है। इस स्थिति में प्राण और अपान में, मन और प्राण में, जीवात्मा और परमात्मा में एकता हो जाती है; इस कारण इस अवस्था को घटाद्वयावस्था भी कहते हैं। इस स्थिति में पहुंचने पर चार बार कुम्भक (प्राणायाम) की आवश्यकता नहीं रहती है। योगी एक बार ही एक याम अर्थात् तीन घण्टे **केवल कुम्भक** का अभ्यास कर सकता है।

इस स्थिति में पहुंच कर योगी को प्रत्याहार का अभ्यास करना चाहिए। प्रत्याहार का अर्थ है इन्द्रिय आदि के विषयों की आत्मा में ही भावना। इसका अभ्यास करने पर दूर दृष्टि, दूरश्रवण अथवा अत्यन्त परोक्ष पदार्थों का साक्षात् अनुभव, वाक्-सिद्धि, इच्छानुसार रूप और गति, दूर से दूर स्थानों में पहुंच जाने का सामर्थ्य योगी में आ जाता है। उसके मलमूत्र के सम्पर्क (लेप) से लोहा आदि भी स्वर्ण बन जाता है। ये सामर्थ्य यद्यपि सिद्धियाँ प्रतीत होते हैं, किन्तु ग्रन्थकार के अनुसार योगमार्ग के ये महान् विघ्न हैं। योगी को इनके प्रलोभन में नहीं पड़ना चाहिए। इनका प्रदर्शन भी कभी नहीं करना चाहिए, अन्यथा इतने शिष्य इकट्ठे होने लगते हैं कि उनका कार्य करते करते योगी को साधना का समय ही नहीं मिलता है। अतः योगी को चाहिए कि वह मूर्ख और मूढ (पागल) की भांति लोक में व्यवहार करे और अपनी साधना निरन्तर करता रहे। यहाँ तक योगी की घटावस्था कहलाती है।

इस उपर्युक्त घटावस्था के बाद परिचयावस्था आती है, जब वायु अग्नि के साथ कुण्डलिनी को जागृत कर सुषुम्णा में प्रवेश कर जाता है। इस सुषुम्णा को ही महापथ या श्मशान भी कहा गया है। प्राणों का सुषुम्णा में प्रवेश कराने की साधना को ही कुछ सम्प्रदायों में

श्मशान साधना के नाम से स्मरण किया जाता है। इसके बाद भूत धारणा प्रारम्भ होती है। भूत धारणा का अर्थ है नाभि के नीचे गुदा से ऊपर अर्थात् स्वाधिष्ठान चक्र में प्राणों को धारण करना, नाभिस्थान मणिपूर चक्र में प्राणों का धारण, नाभि के ऊपर हृदय स्थान अनाहत चक्र में प्राणों का धारण, हृदय से ऊपर भ्रूस्थान के मध्य अर्थात् विशुद्ध चक्र में प्राणों का धारण और भ्रूस्थान या उससे ऊपर आज्ञा चक्र में प्राणों का धारण करना। ये पांचों स्थान क्रमशः पृथिवी, जल, अग्नि, वायु और आकाश के स्थान कहे जाते हैं, अतः इन उपर्युक्त पांचों चक्रों में प्राण को क्रमशः पृथिवी-धारणा, जल-धारणा, अग्नि-धारणा, वायु-धारणा और आकाश-धारणा भी कहा जाता है और इन धारणाओं के फलस्वरूप योगी को उत्तरोत्तर पृथिवी आदि से मृत्यु-भय समाप्त हो जाता है। पृथिवी-धारणा सिद्ध होने पर पार्थिव पदार्थों से चोट खाकर, जलधारणा-सिद्ध होने पर जल के अभाव में या जल में डूबने या शीत से तथा आग्नेय-धारणा सिद्ध होने पर अग्नि में जलने आदि से योगी की मृत्यु नहीं हो सकती है। शरीर टूटता, सड़ता, गलता या जलता नहीं है। इस प्रकार योगी को पंचभूत-धारणा से मृत्यु पर पूर्ण विजय मिल जाती है।

पंचभूत-धारणा की सिद्धि होने पर योगी यदि सगुण ध्यान करता है तो उसे अणिमा आदि सिद्धियां प्रकट रहती हैं, किन्तु मोक्ष मार्ग नहीं खुलता है। निर्गुण ध्यान करने पर साधक मोक्ष मार्ग को प्राप्त करता है। इस निर्गुण ध्यान से योगी को केवल बारह दिनों में समाधि प्राप्त हो जाती है। उस समय साधक चाहे तो शरीर त्याग कर ब्रह्म में लीन हो सकता है, और चाहे तो विविध सिद्धियों के साथ लोक में जीवनमुक्त होकर विचरण कर सकता है। योगी की यह अवस्था **निष्पत्ति अवस्था** कही जाती है।

इस ग्रन्थ के सर्वाङ्गीण अध्ययन के क्रम में एक बात स्मरणीय है कि पं० जगदीश शास्त्री द्वारा सम्पादित तथा मोतीलाल बनारसीदास द्वारा प्रकाशित उदनिषद्-सङ्ग्रह के प्रथम भाग में मुद्रित तैंतालीसवें उपनिषद्—योगतत्वोपनिषद् के साथ पर्याप्त साम्य है। यह साम्य ऐसा तो नहीं है कि दोनों को अभिन्न कहा जा सके किन्तु इतना सुनिश्चित है कि वह साम्य आकस्मिक नहीं है। इस ग्रन्थ में कुल एक सौ उनहत्तर श्लोक अथवा तीन सौ छत्तीस श्लोकार्ध है। योग-तत्व-उपनिषद् में श्लोकार्धों की संख्या दो सौ बयासी (श्लोक संख्या १४२) है। इनमें से एक सौ छत्तीस श्लोकार्ध दोनों में सम्पूर्ण रूप से अथवा एक आध शब्दों के अन्तर के साथ समान है। यह साम्य भावगत ही नहीं, भाषागत (शब्दगत) है। अतः निश्चित ही इन दोनों लेखकों में अन्यतम जो भी परवर्ती है, दूसरे ग्रन्थ से न केवल परिचित है, अपितु उसे आदर्श रूप से स्वीकार करता है। योग के भेद और अवस्थाएं दोनों में समान शब्दावली में वर्णित है, मन्त्रयोग के साधक को दोनों ही अल्प बुद्धि और साधक—अधम समान रूप से स्वीकार करते हैं। इनके अतिरिक्त प्राणायाम का स्थल, प्राणायाम की विधि, क्रम, सोपानिक सफलता के चिह्न, केवल कुम्भक की प्राप्ति के विघ्न, केवल कुम्भक सिद्धि के क्रमिक चिह्न, प्रणवजप और उसके उद्देश्य, साधन के क्रम में उत्तर स्थिति में परिवर्तन, पूर्ण सिद्धि के चिह्न, सिद्धि-प्रदर्शन का निषेध और उससे हानि आदि का विवरण

समान शब्दावली में किया गया है। एक प्रकरण में तो छत्तीस श्लोकार्ध एक क्रम से ही उद्धृत प्रतीत होते हैं, मध्य में एकाध पङ्क्ति कहीं कहीं प्रासङ्गिक रूप से दोनों में भिन्न है। यह भिन्नता दोनों में समान है अर्थात् कभी योगतत्त्वोपनिषद् में कुछ बढ़ गया है तो कभी प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ में। इस स्थिति में यह निर्णय करना असम्भव लगने लगता है कि कौन किसका अनुकरण करता है। कुछ स्थलों में विधि में अन्तर है, किन्तु साधना का फल समान शब्दावली में वर्णित है। इसके उदाहरण के रूप में पंचभूत-धारणा को ले सकते हैं। इस प्रकरण में प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ योगशास्त्र में नाभि से नीचे गुदास्थान के मध्य प्राणधारणा, पृथिवी धारणा, नाभिस्थान में जलधारणा, नाभि से ऊर्ध्व मण्डल में प्राणों का धारण अग्निधारणा, नाभि और भौहों के मध्य प्राणों के धारण को वायु-धारणा और भ्रूमध्य से ऊपर प्राण-धारणा को आकाश धारणा स्वीकार किया गया है, जबकि योगतत्त्व-उपनिषद् में पैर से जानु के मध्य प्राण लेकर चतुर्भुज-चतुर्मुख हिरण्मय देव का ध्यान, पृथिवी धारणा, जानुसे गुदा के मध्य प्राण रोककर चतुर्भुज पीतवस्त्र धारी स्फटिक वर्ण नारायण का ध्यान जलधारणा, वायु से हृदय के मध्य प्राण धारण कर भस्मावलिप्ति आदित्यवर्ण रूद्र का ध्यान अग्नि-धारणा, हृदय और भ्रू के मध्य प्राण धारण कर सर्वज्ञ ईश्वर का ध्यान वायु-धारणा तथा भ्रूमध्य मूर्धा के मध्य प्राण धारण कर बिन्दुरूप व्योमाकार महादेव सदाशिव का ध्यान आकाशधारणा माना गया है।

सुषुम्णा का स्थान मूलाधार और मणिपूर के मध्य से मूर्धा पर्यन्त है। अतः सुषुम्णा में प्राण प्रवेश के अनन्तर केवल कुम्भक सुषुम्णा मुख के ऊपर की ओर ही धारणा होनी चाहिए, पाद-जानु-मध्य में तथा जानु पादमध्य में नहीं। अतः पृथिवी धारणा और जल-धारणा के सन्दर्भ में योगतत्त्वोपनिषद् का वचन विचारणीय है। योगिराज गुरुवर स्वामी विष्णु देवानन्द सरस्वती जी की मान्यता भी इस प्रसङ्ग में यही है।

अतः योगतत्त्वोपनिषद् के लेखक ने योग प्रसङ्ग में अन्य ग्रन्थों के मतों को कुछ सङ्कलित कर सामञ्जस्य की भावना और कल्पना का आश्रय लेकर ही अपने मतों को निबद्ध किया है—ऐसा अनुमान किया जा सकता है।

प्रत्याहारों के विवरणक्रम में नेत्र आदि के विषय, रूप आदि की आत्मा के रूप में भावना योगतत्वोपनिषद् में वर्णित है, जब कि प्रस्तुत योग शास्त्र की आत्मा में या भावना वर्णित है। इस परस्पर भेद में योगतत्त्वोपनिषद् का वर्णन केनोपनिषद् के वचन "भूतेषु भूतेषु विचन्त्य धीराः प्रेत्यास्माल्लोकादमृता भवन्ति" के प्रभाव में किया गया संशोधन प्रतीत होता है।

इस उपर्युक्त परस्पर अन्तर (पारस्परिक भेद) की समीक्षा के आधार पर यह कल्पना करना अनुचित न होगा कि योगतत्वोपनिषद् में प्राप्त समान सामग्री इस ग्रन्थ—योगशास्त्र से मूल रूप से अविकल अथवा संशोधित होकर गृहीत हुई है। अतः इस ग्रन्थ को योगतत्त्वोपनिषद् से प्राचीन और उसका उपजीव्य मानना चाहिए।

समग्ररूप से यह निस्सङ्कोच कहा जा सकता है कि दत्तात्रेय-प्रोक्त अज्ञातकर्तृक यह ग्रन्थ योगियों की परम्परा में प्रचलित एक प्राचीन ग्रन्थ है। इसमें राजयोग साधना का राजमार्ग

प्रतिपादित है। इसी कारण यह केवल साधकों के मध्य ही प्रचलित रहा है। इसे निरन्तर गोपनीय अथवा केवल अध्येताओं से निरन्तर दूर रखा गया है, जैसा कि इसमें स्वयं केवल पाठ मात्र से कोई लाभ न होना तथा वृथागोष्ठी को निरर्थक माना गया है। केवल साधकों में प्रचलित रहने के कारण ही इस पर अन्य भाषा अथवा टीका ग्रन्थों का सर्वथा अभाव है। परम्परया प्राचीन होने के कारण ही लेखक ने इसे दत्तात्रेयप्रोक्त कहकर अपने में कर्तृत्व की कल्पना बिल्कुल नहीं की है। अतः इसे अज्ञातकर्तृक कहना ही प्रशस्त होगा।

THE POINTED TOP OF A STŪPA

H. W. Bailey

The inscription in North-Western Prakrit (Gāndhārī) in Kharoṣṭhī script of Seṇavarma King of Oḍi (the name is Senavarma, but only *ṇ* is used in this inscription) which I published in *JRAS*[1], cites the name of his stūpa-monument as *Eka-kūṭa* 'one-peaked', written in line 1 *'eka-' uḍe thuve* (*thuva-* =*stūpa-*), line 2 *'eka-kuḍe'* and locative singular *'eka-kuḍami'* and line 3 *'eka-'uḍo.*

The word *kūṭa-* as part of a *stūpa* is recorded in Buddhist Sanskrit and Chinese texts as the late L. de la Vallée Poussin noted in his article Staupikam in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*[2]. In Buddhist texts *kūṭa-* is found in Buddhist Sanskrit and Prakrit. Thus Khotan Saka has *gṛja-kūla—*, and *gṛda-kuṭi,* Sogdian Buddhist *krytkwty* the name of the hill *Gṛdhra-kūṭa-*. The compound *kūṭāgāra-*'house with peaks' became Khotan Saka *kulāra-*, later *kūlāra-*, Tokhara A *kurekār*, B *kwrakār*, Uigur *kurikar*, and most changed Sogdian Bud. *kwn'k'r.*

In Kuči (modern Kucha), probably in Subaši, there was a stūpa called in Chinese *ts'iau-li* from older *tsiak-li.* All the Chinese signs for all the spellings are given in P. Pelliot[3] and need not be repeated here. In Puṣkapura (the name in Kharoṣṭhī, the *pškbwr* of the Parthian inscription of Shāhpuhr I, line 2, modern Peshawar) had a stūpa (*fou-t'u*) erected by Kaniṣka (according to Hüan Tsang) with the name *ṭṣau-hu-li* older *tšiau-guo-lyi* for a foreign (certainly Iranian because Kaniṣka used Iranian titles on his coins) *čakura-*, in the inflected nominative singular *čakuri.*

In a Buddhist Uigur Turkish text the word *čakura-* occurs in the phrase *yingäčä sutup čakür* 'the *čakura* of the stūpa like a needle' (the Chinese text has *ṭṣən* 'needle'). Here the *čakura-* will mean the *kūṭa-* 'peak'.

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1. 1980, 21-8.
2. 2, 1937, 276-289.
3. *JA*, 1936, 1, 23-101, on pages 78 ff.

P. Pelliot has discussed and discarded as impossible the attempts to translate 'the stūpa of the sparrow' or 'the stūpa of the oriole bird' from the Chinese words, but was himself seeking for a Kuchean word which the Kaniṣka use made unacceptable.

A new interpretation was proposed last year, 1980 by Akira Sadakata in the *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*[1] to read for both stūpas in Puṣkapura and Kuči *čakri-* and to understand 'imperial' (*čakrin-=čakravartin-*). This neglected the spelling in three syllables of Hüan Tsang and failed to justify 'imperial' in Kuči.

In addition to the name of the two stūpas the Chinese reported the name of a mountain pass (*kuan*) north of Kuči with the same name *tsiak-li*.

This evidently fits well with a meaning of *kūṭa-* 'summit' since a pass on a mountain road is the summit of the road. The *čakura-* 'peak', can equally serve to name a pass. As a parallel the Ossetic *äfcäg* (*c= ts*) is 'top, neck, mountain pass', *üäl-äfc* 'top of a pillar' (*üäl* from older *upari*), passing also to the form *l-äps*. The base is *ap-* 'top' familiar in Latin *apic-*, nominative singular *apex*.

The form of this Iranian word *čakura-* contains the suffix *-ura-*, attested for example in Avestan *bāzura-* 'arm' and Ossetic *bāzur* 'wing', and Avestan *razura-* 'forest' (*raz-* 'to grow'). The base was then *čak-*, the palatalized form of *kak-* 'be top, be pointed'. With the different suffix *-āta-* (known in Avestan *kavāta-*) there is Iranian *čakāta-* 'top' in Sogdian Buddhist *čk't*, *čk'tyh*, Zoroastrian Pahlavī *čakāt*, New Persian *čakād*, Ossetic *cägāt* (*c=ts*). The forms from base *čak-* disprove the theory of reduplication offerred in J. Pokorny, *Indogerma-nisches etymologisches Wörterbvch* 588 *ka-ku*. In Old Indian *kakúd-*, and *kakúbh-* and Latin *cacūmen* 'top' we have direct *kak-*, and the Germanic Old Friesian *heila* 'head' from **hagila-* will also come direct from *kak-*, not by way of **hagula-*.

A Khotan Śaka word for the top of a stūpa is *cāvāṃ*[2]. In my *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*[3], I had proposed to trace this to *kau-* 'be pointed' (thinking of Pokorny's ku- in *ka-ku-*) and hence had traced to **cāvāna-*. But it seems now

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1. 29, 1980, 31-6.
2. *Khotanese Texts* II.2.31,
3. 1979, p. 101,

better to derive *cāvāṃ* from **cagātāna-* with *-agā-* passed to *-ā-* and the frequent *-v-*replacing *-t-*. The loss of intervocalic *-g-* can be seen in *ttagatāna* 'with wealth', later *ttagatna, ttatana*. Here there is the further long vowel in *-agā-*. A parallel is in Sogdian Buddhist *k'y''kh* **kayākā-* 'palate', which is in New Persian *kākh*.

The word *kura* is cited in Oda's *Buddhist Dictionary* for the Chinese spelling *kü-lo*, older *kiu-la* as the word *kūla-*, in the meaning of a 'small stūpa', probably the Prakrit of Sanskrit *kūṭa*.

काव्यभाषा : तुलसी की दृष्टि में

किरण बाला

तुलसी न तो भाषाशास्त्री थे और न साहित्यशास्त्री, किन्तु एक अत्यन्त सफल कवि होने के कारण उनका ध्यान काव्यभाषा की ओर भी गया है, और, प्रत्यक्षतः न सही तो परोक्षतः, उन्होंने काव्यभाषा के विषय में बहुत कुछ कहा है।

तुलसी के अनुसार भाषा और अर्थ एक-दूसरे में ऐसे अनुस्यूत हैं कि उन्हें पृथक् नहीं किया जा सकता है। भाषा के बिना अर्थ की सत्ता नहीं है, और अर्थ के बिना भाषा की सत्ता नहीं है। मानस में तुलसी कहते हैं—

गिरा अरथ जल बीचि सम, कहिअत भिन्न न भिन्न।[1]

लगता है कि यह मान्यता भारतीय परम्परा में पर्याप्त प्राचीन है। कविकुलगुरु कालिदास रघुवंश के पहले श्लोक में अप्रस्तुत के रूप में वाक् और अर्थ के ऐक्य को लाते हुए ठीक यही बात कहते हैं कि—

'वाक् और अर्थ जैसे अलग कहलाते हुए भी एक ही हैं, वैसे ही पार्वती और शिव भी कहने को दो हैं, वस्तुतः वे एक ही हैं। इसीलिए वाक् और अर्थ की समन्वित सिद्धि के लिए वाक् रूप पार्वती और अर्थ-रूप शिव की वन्दना करता हूँ।'[2]

वस्तुतः यह बात स्पष्टतः कालिदास में ही पहले पहल मिलती है। बाद में भामह[3], आनन्दवर्द्धन[4], राजशेखर[5] तथा मम्मट[6] आदि काव्यशास्त्रियों ने भी काव्य की परिभाषा के प्रसङ्ग में 'शब्द' और 'अर्थ' की बात की है।

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१. मानस, १.१८

२. वागर्थाविव संपृक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये।
जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ॥ रघु०, १.१

३. शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यम्। काव्यालङ्कार १.१६

४. शब्दार्थमयत्वमेव काव्यलक्षणम्। ध्वन्यालोक, १.१ की वृत्ति

५. शब्दार्थौ ते शरीरं। काव्यमीमांसा, तीसरा अध्याय

६. तददोषौ शब्दार्थौ। काव्यप्रकाश, १.४

एक बात यह ध्यान देने की है कि कालिदास ने 'वाक्' तथा तुलसी ने 'गिरा' का प्रयोग किया है जो एक ही हैं, किन्तु काव्यशास्त्रियों ने उसके स्थान पर 'शब्द' का प्रयोग किया है। वस्तुतः कालिदास अथवा तुलसी ने जो 'वाक्' अथवा 'गिरा' से 'अर्थ' की अभिन्नता की बात कही है, उसमें 'वाक् अथवा 'गिरा', 'शब्द' के ही द्योतक हैं अर्थात् वे भाषा के उच्चारित या प्रयुक्त रूप के सङ्केत हैं। यह 'शब्द'—चाहे इन कवियों का हो या काव्यशास्त्रियों का—मात्र 'शब्द' (Word) नहीं है, उसमें 'शब्द', 'पद' (Morph), 'पदबन्ध' (Phrase), 'उपवाक्य' (Clause), 'वाक्य' (Sentence), तथा महावाक्य अथवा प्रोक्ति (Discourse) सभी कुछ समाहित हैं।

तुलसी ने अन्यत्र 'गिरा' न कहकर इसे 'वर्ण'[1] अथवा आखर[2] भी कहा है। वस्तुतः यहाँ भी इनका अर्थ भाषा का उच्चारित या प्रयुक्त रूप ही है, जिसे आधुनिक भाषाविज्ञान में ससूर के आधार पर parole (वाक्) कहा जाता है।

तुलसी, भामह आदि काव्यशास्त्रियों की भाँति ही काव्य को केवल न तो शब्द मानते हैं, न केवल अर्थ; वे उसे शब्दार्थमय मानते हैं। इसीलिए वे कहते हैं —

कबिहि अरथ आखर बलु सांचा।[3]

तुलसी बहुत बड़े परम्परावादी थे, किन्तु इतने पर भी काव्यभाषा के रूप में संस्कृत के प्रति उनके हृदय में किसी भी प्रकार का मोह नहीं था। केशव की भाँति उन्होंने भाषा (हिन्दी) अपनाने के लिए अपने को 'मन्दमति' नहीं कहा है—

भाषा बोलि न जानहीं, जिनके कुल के दास।
भाषाकवि भो मन्दमति, तेहि कुल केशवदास॥

यही क्यों, उन्होंने तो दोहावली में स्पष्ट शब्दों में किसी कवि द्वारा अपनी अभिव्यक्ति के लिए काव्यभाषा के रूप में उस भाषा को अपनाने को कहा है, जो काम आ सके, अर्थात् अधिकारपूर्वक कवि जिसका प्रयोग कर सके—

का भाषा का संस्कृत प्रेम चाहिए साँच।
काम जु आवै कामरी, का लै करिअ कुमाच॥[4]

तुलसी कविता का उद्देश्य शब्द-ज्ञान-प्रदर्शन नहीं मानते थे, इसीलिए काव्यभाषा के लिए उन्होंने सबसे अधिक बल उसके 'सरल' होने पर दिया है। उनकी इस प्रकार की अनेक पङ्क्तयाँ उद्धृत की जा सकती हैं —

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१. वर्णानामर्थसंघानाम्। मानस, १, श्लोक १
२. आखर अरथ अलंकृति नाना। वही, १.९.५
कबिहि अरथ आखर बलु सांचा। वही, २.२४१.२
३. वही, २.२४१.२
४. दोहावली, ५७२

सरल बरन भाषा सरल सरल अर्थमय भलि ।[१]
सरल कवित कीरति विमल सोई आरदहिं सुजान ।[२]
सुगम अगम मृदु मंजु कठोरे ।[३]

काव्यशास्त्र की शब्दावली में कहें तो काव्यभाषा में तुलसी प्रसाद गुण के पक्षपाती थे।

काव्यशास्त्रियों ने प्रसाद, ओज और माधुर्य तीन गुण माने हैं। तत्वतः इस वर्गीकरण का आधार एक नहीं है। प्रसाद गुण तो 'शब्द' के बहुप्रचलन से सम्बद्ध है, क्योंकि बहुप्रचलित अथवा प्रचलित शब्दों के प्रयोग से ही यह गुण आता है। इसके विपरीत ओज और माधुर्य का सम्बन्ध उच्चारण अर्थात् ध्वनि से है। तुलसी ने माधुर्य तथा ओज इन दोनों की भी बातें की हैं —

सखर सुकोमल मंजु दोषरहित दूषनसहित ।[४]
सुगम अगम मृदु मंजु कठोरे ।[५]

ध्वनि और वक्रोक्ति भी काव्यभाषा के प्राण हैं। तुलसी का ध्यान इनकी ओर भी गया है—

धुनि अवरेब कबित गुन जाती ।
मीन मनोहर ते बहु भाँती ।।[६]

यह 'धुनि' तो 'ध्वनि' है तथा 'अवरेब' 'वक्रोक्ति' है। 'अवरेब' मूलतः फ़ारसी शब्द 'उरेब' है जिसका मूल अर्थ 'टेढ़ा' या 'तिरछा' होता है। आज भी कई अवधी तथा भोजपुरी क्षेत्रों में कपड़े की तिरछी कटाई को 'उरेब' अथवा औरेब कहते हैं।

उपर्युक्त अर्धाली में 'गुन' तो 'गुण' है जिसके भेदों—प्रसाद, माधुर्य, ओज—का उल्लेख ऊपर हो चुका है, किन्तु इसके 'जाती' शब्द के सम्बन्ध में थोड़ा विवाद है। बलदेव उपाध्याय ने 'जाति' को स्वभावोक्ति का प्राचीन नाम माना है।[७] विश्वनाथ प्रसाद मिश्र इसका अर्थ 'अलंकार' मानते हैं।[८] उदयभानु सिंह इससे वृत्ति का आशय लेते हैं।[९] वस्तुतः तुलसी ने इस

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१. वैराग्य संदीपनी
२. मानस.१४ क
३. वही, २९४.१
४. वही, १.१४ घ
५, वही, २.२९४.१
६. वही, १.३७.४
७. भारतीय साहित्यशास्त्र, भाग २, पृ० २४९
८. हिन्दी काव्य का अतीत, भाग १, पृ० २७३
९. समालोचक, जनवरी १९६०, पृ० १९

शब्द का प्रयोग किस अर्थ में किया है, इस दृष्टि से मतभेद का पर्याप्त अवकाश है, क्योंकि 'जाति' शब्द संस्कृत में बह्वर्थक है।

बाण ने कादम्बरी के प्रारम्भ में इसका प्रयोग किया है—

हरन्ति कं नोज्ज्वलदीपकोमैर्नवैः पदार्थैरुपपादिताः कथाः।
निरन्तरश्लेषघनाः सुजातयो महास्रजश्चम्पककुड्मलैरिव ॥

अर्थात् दैदीप्यमान दीपक की भाँति जगमगाती चम्पा की अधखिली कलियों तथा निरन्तर सुन्दर जुही के फूलों से गुथी हुई मालाएँ मन को हर लेती हैं, वैसे ही शृङ्गार रस तथा दीपक, उपमा आदि अलङ्कारों से सम्पन्न नवीन पदार्थों से विरचित और सुन्दर जाति तथा श्लेष आदि से परिपूर्ण कथा किस सहृदय का हृदय अपने वश में नहीं कर लेती है?

कादम्बरी के प्रसिद्ध टीकाकार भानुचन्द्र सिद्धचन्द्र ने इसके दो अर्थ दिए हैं—(१) छन्द की जातियाँ, (२) स्वरूप।[१] स्वरूप का अर्थ है रीति या अवयव-संघटना (रीतिः संघटना)।

बाण ने हर्षचरित में लिखा है कि—

नवोऽर्थो जातिरग्राम्या श्लेषोऽक्लिष्टः स्फुटो रसः।

इसमें जाति का अर्थ लोग स्वभावोक्ति लेते हैं। मेरे विचार में कादम्बरी तथा हर्षचरित दोनों ही में इस शब्द में श्लेष है तथा पहले में इसका अर्थ छन्द तथा रीति है तो दूसरे में स्वभावोक्ति तथा रीति।

भोज इसका अर्थ वस्तु के रूप का वर्णन लेते हैं—

नानावस्थासु जायन्ते यानि रूपाणि वस्तुतः।
स्वेभ्यः स्वेभ्यो निसर्गेभ्यः तानि जातिः प्रचक्षते ॥[२]

तो दण्डी ने उसे स्वभावोक्ति माना है।[३]

जहाँ तक तुलसी का प्रश्न है मुझे ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि उन्होंने 'पद-योजना' तथा 'स्वभावोक्ति' दोनों ही अर्थों में इसका प्रयोग किया है।

तुलसी अनेक अन्य हिन्दी कवियों की भाँति अलङ्कारवादी तो नहीं थे, किन्तु अलङ्कारों के इतने सतर्क प्रयोक्ता से यह आशा करना अन्यथा न होगा कि वे काव्यभाषा के लिए अलङ्कारों की उपयोगिता के प्रति पूरे आस्थावान् थे, इसीलिए अपनी काव्यभाषा को समृद्ध बनाने के

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१. निर्णय सागर प्रेस, ७वाँ संस्करण
२. सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण ३.४-५
३. स्वभावोक्तिश्च जातिश्चेत्याद्या सालंतिर्यका।
जातिक्रियागुणद्रव्यस्वभावास्थानमीदृशम् ॥ काव्यादर्श, २.८

लिए उन्होंने अलङ्कारों का खुल कर प्रयोग किया है। रसरूप ने 'तुलसीभूषण' में दिखाया है कि मानव में तुलसी ने एक सौ ग्यारह अलङ्कारों का प्रयोग किया है। इस बात के बार-बार कहने से भी कि 'सीता की कोई उपमा नहीं है, या कोई उपमा उपयुक्त नहीं है', अलङ्कारों के प्रयोग अथवा अप्रस्तुतों की खोज के प्रति उनकी सतर्कता का परिचय मिलता है। उदाहरणार्थ—

> दस चारि भुवन निहारि देखि विचार नहिं उपमा कहीं।[१]
> खंजन मीन कमल सकुचन तब जब उपमा कवि चाहत देन।[२]
> मति भारति पंगु भई जो निहारि, विचारि फिरी उपमा न पवै।[३]
> उपमा सकल मोहि लघु लागीं।[४]

सभी की भाँति, तुलसी भी सशक्त काव्यभाषा का एक गुण उसका दोषों से रहित होना मानते थे—

> सखर सुकोमल मंजु दोष रहित भूषन सहित।[५]

उन्होंने काव्यभाषा के लिए 'सुभाषा' शब्द का प्रयोग किया है—

> अरथ सुभाव सुभाषा।[६]

अर्थात् वे भाषा के सौन्दर्य के पक्षधर थे। भाषा का सौन्दर्य, भाषा का गुण, ध्वनि, वक्रोक्ति तथा अप्रस्तुत-विधान आदि से युक्त तथा दोषों में रहित होना ही है।

काव्यभाषा में तुलसी को शब्दाधिक्य, शब्दाडम्बर या शैथिल्य रुचिकर नहीं था। उनके अनुसार काव्यभाषा में सागर को गागर में भरने का गुण होना चाहिए—

> अरथु अमित अति आखर थोरे।[७]

समवेततः, तुलसी भाषा की महत्ता अथवा काव्य में काव्यभाषा की महत्ता के प्रति अत्यधिक जागरुक थे, इसीलिए अर्थ तथा भाव की महत्ता स्वीकार करते हुए भी सुगन्ध उन्होंने सुन्दर भाषा को ही कहा है—

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१. जानकी मंगल
२. गीतावली
३. कवितावली
४. मानस, १.२४७.१
५. वही, १.१४ घ
६. वही, १.३७.३
७. वही, २.२९४ २

अरथ अनूप सुभाव सुभासा ।[1]
सोह पराग मकरंद सुवासा ।[2]

इसका अर्थ यह नहीं है कि वे भाषावादी थे । वे थे तो भाववादी ही, किन्तु उन्हें ज्ञात था कि भाषा के बिना भाव की सत्ता सम्भव नहीं है, इसीलिए उन्होंने भाषा को भी समुचित महत्व दिया है ।

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१. वही, १.३७.३
२. वही, १.३७.३

IS KARMAṆI KUŚALAḤ AN INSTANCE OF LAKṢAṆĀ

Pratap Bandyopadhyay

Mammaṭa in his *Kāvyaprakāśa* cites *karmaṇi kuśalaḥ* ('expert in work') as an instance of *lakṣaṇā* (metaphor) based on *rūḍhi* or 'popular usage'.[1] The etymological meaning of the word *kuśala* is 'one who gathers the *kuśa* grass', derived as it is from the root *lā* ('to take') preceded by the word *kuśa* in the accusative case with the primary suffix *ka* denoting the agent (*kartṛ*) by a rule of Pāṇini.[2] But in the expression under discussion, where the word *karman* may refer to any action like reading, writing, painting, this meaning is unsuitable, and, thus, there is *mukhyārthabādha* or 'incompatibility of the primary meaning', as the ālaṃkārika would put it. Consequently, the word happens to mean here 'an expert' by *lakṣaṇā*. This view has been criticized by Viśvanātha in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa* in the following way : Though the etymological meaning (*vyutpattinimitta*) of the word *kuśala* is 'the gatherer of *kuśa*', that is not its primary meaning (*pravṛttinimitta*). The primary meaning of the word is 'expert'. The etymological meaning of a word and its primary meaning are not necessarily identical. If it were so, in the sentence *gauḥ śete* ('the cow is lying') one would have to take resort to *lakṣaṇā* on the word *go* ('cow'). For, etymologically *go*, derived from the root *gam*, meaning 'to go or move' with the agent suffix *ḍo*,[3] means what is going or moving, which is not compatible with the meaning of the verb *śete* ('lying'). Hence by *lakṣaṇā*, it is argued, *go* means here a particular animal, viz., the cow,

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1. *Kāvyaprakāśa* of Mammaṭa with the Sanskrit Commentary *Bālabodhinī* by the late Vamanacharya Ramabhatta Jhalakikar edited by Raghunath Damodar Karmarkar, 7th Edition, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1965, Ch. II, p. 42. Also cf. his. *Śabdavyāpāravicāra* edited by Mangesh Ramakrishna Telang, Nirṇayasagara Press, Bombay, 1916, p. 2
2. *Āto'nupasarge kaḥ* III.2.3.
3. गमेर्डोः, *Uṇādisūtra*, No. 225 in the *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita.

which can move. But no one goes so far as to admit *lakṣaṇā* in the sentence in question. The same is the case with the word *kuśala*.[1]

Viśvanātha may not be the original champion of the view referred to above. This is found in the *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha* of Sāyaṇa-Mādhava.[2] Though the author of the *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha* and that of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* both flourished in the 14th century A. D. and were, thus, contemporaneous, it is difficult to ascertain who was senior and indebted to the other, if at all, or whether they had a common source so far as the view in question was concerned. It is interesting to note that the author of the *Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha*, who admits that the primary meaning and the derivative meaning of a word do not necessarily coincide, accepts, at the same time, *lakṣaṇā* in *karmaṇi kuśalaḥ*.[3]

The still earlier position of Hemacandra on this point is further interesting. He deviates from the tradition by eliminating *rūḍhi* or 'popular usage' from the conditions of *lakṣaṇā*. If *lakṣaṇā* were based on *rūḍhi*, he argues, one would have to admit *lakṣaṇā* on words like *kuśala*, *dvirepha* ('a word

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1. केचित्तु कर्मणि कुशल इति रूढावुदाहरन्ति । तेषामयमभिप्रायः—कुशं लाति इति व्युत्पत्तिलभ्यः कुशग्राहिरूपो मुख्योऽर्थः प्रकृते असम्भवन् विवेचकत्वादिसाधर्म्यसम्बन्धसम्बन्धिनं दक्षरूपमर्थं बोधयति । तदन्ये न मन्यन्ते । कुशग्राहिरूपार्थस्य व्युत्पत्तिलभ्यत्वेऽपि दक्षरूपस्यैव मुख्यार्थत्वात् । अन्यद्धि शब्दानां व्युत्पत्तिनिमित्तमन्यच्च प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तम् । व्युत्पत्तिलभ्यस्य मुख्यार्थत्वे गौः शेते इत्यत्रापि लक्षणा स्यात् । गमेर्डोः इति गम्धातोर्डोप्रत्ययेन व्युत्पादितस्य गोशब्दस्य शयनकालेऽर्थे प्रयोगात् ।—*Sāhityadarpaṇa* of Viśvanātha Kavirāja edited by Haridasa Siddhantavagisha Bhattacharya, 5th Edition, Calcutta, 1875 Śaka era, Ch. II, pp. 35-36.
2. न च व्युत्पत्तिबलादेव सर्वत्र शब्दः प्रवर्तते । तथात्वे गच्छतीति गौरिति व्युत्पत्तेस्तिष्ठन् गौर्न स्यात् । गच्छन् देवदत्तश्च गौः स्यात् ।—*Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha* of Sāyaṇa-Mādhava edited by MM Vasudev Shastri Abhyankar, Government Oriental Series Class A, No. 1, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, Second Edition, 1951, *Pātañjaladarśana*, p. 348.
3. तत्र कर्मणि कुशल इत्यादि रूढिलक्षणया उदाहरणम् । कुशलं लातीति व्युत्पत्त्या दर्भादानकर्तरि यौगिकं कुशलपदं विवेचकत्वसारूप्यात् प्रवीणे प्रवर्तमानमनादिवृद्धव्यवहारपरम्परानुपतित्वेनाभिधानवत् प्रयोजनमनपेक्ष्य प्रवर्तते । तदाह— निरूढा लक्षणाः काश्चित् सामर्थ्यादभिधानवत् । इति—*Ibid.*, pp. 273-74. The cited hemistich is from the *Tantravārttika* of Kumārilabhaṭṭa, under III.1.12 (*Mīmāṃsādarśana* of Śrīmajjaimini, from *Pāda* 2 of *Adhyāya* II to *Pāda* 5 of *Adhyāya* III, with *Śābarabhāṣya* and Kumārilabhaṭṭa's *Tantravārttika*, edited by Vinayaka Gaṇeśa Apte, Anandasrama Sanskrit Series, No. 97, Anandasrama Press, Poona, 1930. p. 683).

having two *r* sounds'), *dvika* ('a word having two *k* sounds') because there is a *rūḍhi* owing to which these words (*kuśala*, *dvirepha* standing for *bhramara*, *dvika* standing for *kāka*, etc.) denote an expert, the black bee, the crow etc. respectively, which are not their expected meanings as per etymology.[1] Hemacandra does not explain the examples of *lakṣaṇā* based on *rūḍhi* offered by others. Viśvanātha has safely abandoned the peculiar view of Hemacandra, namely, that *rūḍhi* cannot be a condition of *lakṣaṇā*, but has agreed with the latter in maintaining that there cannot be *lakṣaṇā* on words like *kuśala*.

The aforesaid view of Hemacandra and Viśvanātha on the inadmissibility of *lakṣaṇā* on *kuśala* etc. appeals to our common sense. No one ever feels that there is any incompatibility of the primary meaning of *kuśala*, *dvirepha*, *kāka* and so on in sentences like *karmaṇi kuśalaḥ*. While on the ground that *kuśala* etc. are not instances of *lakṣaṇā*, Hemacandra has rejected *rūḍhi* as a condition of *lakṣaṇā*, which is generally admitted by critics. Viśvanātha, even while rejecting *lakṣaṇā* on the word *kuśala*, has admitted the same on the word *taila* ('oil'). The argument which Viśvanātha levels against critics like Mammaṭa in discarding *lakṣaṇā* in the expression *karmaṇi kuśalaḥ* can be equally upheld against his own example *etāni tailāni hemante sukhāni* ('these varieties of oil are soothing in winter') of *gauṇī upādānalakṣaṇā* based on *rūḍhi*[2] It may be argued that though the etymological meaning of the word *taila* (derived from *tila*, 'sesame') is 'what is produced from sesame', that is not the primary meaning of the word, which means oil in general. If Viśvanātha wanted to be so strict an etymologist as to take *taila* to mean what is obtained from sesame, i. e., the sesame oil only, then it would not be befitting him to discard *lakṣaṇā* on the word *kuśala*. In both the cases the meaning we understand directly from the word is the primary meaning.[3]

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1. कुशलद्विरेफद्विकादयस्तु साक्षात्संकेतविषयत्वान्मुख्या एवेति न रूढिर्लक्ष्यस्यार्थस्य हेतुत्वेनास्माभिरुक्ता । *Alaṃkāracūḍāmaṇi* on the *Kāvyānuśāsana*, Ch. I : The *Kāvyanuśāsana* of Hemacandra with his own Gloss, edited by MM Pandit Sivadatta and Kasinath Pandurang Parab, Second Edition, *Kāvyamālā*—70, Nirṇaya-Sagar Press, Bombay, 1934, p. 30
2. *Loc. cit.*, p. 43
3. Such words in Sanskrit are comparable with words and expressions like 'tiptop' and 'rank and file' in English.

FRENCH SCHOLARS ON BUDDHIST STUDIES— A SHORT SURVEY

Anukul Chandra Banerjee

In the sixth century B.C. we witness the great spiritual upsurge and intellectual ferment in several countries. In Greece appeared Parmenides and Empedocles, in Iran Zarathustra, in China Loo-Tse and Confucius, and in India Mahāvīra and Gautama Buddha. In that period many mighty thinkers pursued the views of their predecessors and worked out new trends of thought.

Buddhism which originated and had its growth and development during this period is a religion of humanity, equality and kindness. Buddha's universal messages of love benevolence, fraternity, good-will, non-violence, friendliness, compassion, and disinterestedness have attracted the noble minds of the world of all times. Thus we find in older periods celebrated scholars like Nāgārjúna, Vasubandhu, Asaṅga, Maitreyanātha, Aśvaghoṣa, Buddhadatta, Dignāga, Dharmapāla, and a few others who composed their remarkable works on Buddha's tenets. In the modern age also many scholars have interpreted Buddhism from their own points of view. Indeed today Buddhism, in the midst of political unrest and social dissimilarities, is still an active force. Buddha's message and the principle on which his religion rests have assumed new and greater significance in the world of today. For revival of interest in Buddhism in the modern age the French scholars have also undoubtedly rendered a signal service. With their broad outlook and penetrating erudition they have analysed many facets of Buddhist eulture.

Here is an attempt to evaluate the contributions of such French scholars to the Buddhist studies.

The beginnings of the Buddhist studies in Europe, especially in France, may be traced as far back as 1826 when E. Burnouf and Christian Lassen

published their essay on Pāli in French. Eugene Burnouf (A.D. 1801-1852) who was born in Paris on April 8, 1801 learnt Sanskrit from his father Jean Louis Burnouf (A.D. 1775-1884) and A. L. de Chezy and in no time attained mastery over the language. His knowledge of Pāli was also of a very high standard. In 1826 with the assistance of Christian Lassen he wrote a dissertation entitled "*Essai sur le Pāli*". Probably he was the first scholar who upheld the cause of the Pāli language in Europe. In the year following his book "*Observations Grammaticales sur quelques passages del'essai sur le Pāli*" (Paris, 1827) on the Pāli grammar was published. Burnouf maintained his interest for Pāli till his death. In French he had written a voluminous history of Buddhism in India, which was based on the eighty eight Buddhist manuscripts preserved at the Asiatic Society of Paris. This work is entitled "*Introduction a L' Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*" (Paris, 1844). This is indeed his significant contribution in the field of Buddhist studies. It contains an excellent survey of Buddhist literature and throws much light on the relations between Pāli and Sanskrit traditions. Burnouf also published a French rendering called "*Lotous de la Bonne Loi*" (Paris, 1852) of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* which is the most important Mahāyāna Sūtra and as a work of literature it stands foremost. He also translated long passages of the *Divyāvadāna*, *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, and wrote the first notes on the *Prajñāpāramitā*-s which belong to the earliest Mahāyāna sūtras, the *Laṅkāvatāra* which teaches *Vijñaptimātra* and other extant texts. Thus it seems that he concentrated more on Sanskrit Buddhism than on Pāli.

Saint Hilaire Jules Bathelemy (August 19, 1805—November 24, 1895) was a great Sanskrit scholar and devoted a greater part of time in Indological studies in spite of his preoccupations. His works on Buddhism include : *Du Bouddhismus* (1855) and *Les Bouddha et sa religion* (1860).

It may be recalled in this connection that the scientific study of the Pāli language and literature began in Śrī Laṅkā in 1860 by a young civil servant called R. C. Childers at the advice of an erudite French missionary M. Palu Grimblot who translated exracts of the *Dīghanikāya* which contains discourses on various points of Buddhism into French.

Phillipe Edward Foucaux (1811-1894 A.D.) who was a renowned scholar of the College de France endeavoured much for the Tibetan studies in Paris. Under his guidance many Buddhist Sanskrit texts were either restored from or corrected with the help of their Tibetan versions. Most noteworthy of his works is the *Lalitavistara* which is of immense value from the points of view of the history of the Buddhist religion and literature.

Abel Henri Joseph Bergiagne (A.D. 1838-1889) was a great scholar of Sanskrit, Pāli, Prākrit and other Indian languages. During the later part of his life he devoted himself to the research on the spread of Indian culture outside India mainly basing on the Sanskrit manuscripts and inscriptions brought from French Indo-China. He attracted Sylvain Lèvi, a bright pupil of his towards the Indological studies. His works among others on Buddhist culture are: *Les inscriptions Sanskrites du Cambodge* (1882) and *Nāgānanda*, a drama (1879).

E. Senart (March 26, 1847—February 21, 1928) who became the President of the Societe Asiatique of Paris was a great scholar of Buddhism and Buddhist literature. His works include: *Kaccāyana et la literature grammaticeale du Pāli*, the *Inscriptions of Piyadasi*[1], *Essai sur la legende du Buddha*, the *Mahāvastu* in 3 volumes (ed.) containing the biography of the Buddha.

Victor Henry (1850) was the student of Bergaigne. His contributions to the Buddhistic studies include: *Bouddhisme et Positivisme* (1901), *Precis de grammarire Pāli* (1904), and *Le literatures de l'inde.*

Sylvain Lèvi (A.D. 1863-1935) who was born in a Jewish family of Paris on March 20, 1863 graduated at the age of 20 only from the Ecole de Hautes Etudes where he learnt Sanskrit, Pāli, Prākrit under the guidance of Abel Bergaigne (1838-1889). He came to Japan in 1926 with his family and founded the Maison France Japanese, a centre for the research on Buddhism and Buddhist culture there and for two years he remained the chief of this centre. During 1929-31 Lèvi published with Prof. J Takakusa three fascicules of *Hobogirin*, and an encyclopaedic dictionary of Chinese Buddhist terms, which unfortunately remained incomplete on account of the second World War. In Japan he was assisted by Dr. Anesaki, Dr. Inoue, and Prof. Suziyama. Among other works of S. Lèvi on Buddhism the following are noteworthy: *Le Bṛhatkathāmañjari de Kshemendra*[2], Le *Buddhacarita d' Aśvaghoṣa*[3], *Aśvaghoṣa Le Sutralankara et ses sources*[4], *Encore Aśvaghoṣa*[5], *Autour d' Aśvaghoṣa*[6] *Mahāyāna Sūtrālṃkāra d' Asanga* (Paris, 1909) a critical study of the *Divyāvadāna* (1907), *Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṅkāra* (Truduction) (Paris 1911), *Śatapañcaśatikastotra*

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1. Tr. by G. A. Grierson, *Indian Antiquary*, 1889-1892.
2. *Journal Asiatique*, Paris 1885.
3. *Ibid.* 1892.
4. *Ibid.* 1908.
5. *Ibid.* 1928.
6. *Ibid.* 1929.

(1911), *Madhantavilhāgaṭikā* (1934; with the assistance of S. Yamaguchi), *Sanskrit texts from Bali*[1] etc.

Sylvain Lèvi rendered unique services to the studies of Sanskrit Buddhism. He was endowed with a profound knowledge of the Chinese, Tibetan, and Kuchean languages, which enabled him to give the first critical editions of a number of *Mahāyāna* texts. He discovered two Chinese translations of the *Milindapañha*, a legend of the Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka in the Tokharian language, the *Nairātmaparipṛcchā*, the *Mahākarmavibhaṅga* which is a Sanskrit version of the *Culakamma-Vibhāga sutta* of the Majhimanikāya, Sanskrit text of the Vijñānavāda school of Buddhism, and the *Viṃśatikā* as well as the *Triṃśatikā* with their commentaries. His discoveries illuminated a dark period of Buddhist history and many eminent scholars like Poussian, Stcherbatsky and others became interested in the study of the Yogācāra School of Buddhist thought, which was the final phase of Buddhist philosophy in India.

Elfred Foucher (1865-Oct. 30, 1952) was a student of Prof. S. Lévi in the Ecole des Hautes in the fields of Sanskrit and Indology. Subsequently, he also became famous in the branch of Buddhist archaeology. His works are: *La Buddhāvatāra de Kṣemendra* (1892), *L'Art Greco-Buddhique du Gandhara* (1905-1951), *Elements de Logique et de systematique Indiannes* (1949) and *Vie du Buddha* (1949).

Louis de la Valle Poussin (Jan. 1, 1869-1939) who continued his studies at Liege, Sorbonne and Leyden earned much efficiency in Sanskrit, Pāli, and Tibetan. He was a pupil of Sylvain Lèvi and H. Kern. In fact, he restored many Buddhist Sanskrit texts from the Chinese and Tibetan languages. He confined himself mainly to the studies of the Pāli language, Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna literature and Hindu Philosophy. In 1893 he became a Professor at the University of Ghent, where he worked for about 35 years and carried on his studies in Buddhism, especially in Sarvāstivāda Buddhism. His main works are: *Pañcakarma* (1896), *Notions sur les religious de l' Inde* (Paris 1910), *Bouddhism* (London, 1896, 1914-18) the *Prasannapada of Candrakīrti* (1903-1913). *The way to Nirvāṇa* (Cambrige, 1917), the *Mahāniddesa* (1916-1917), a French translation of Hiuen-tsang's version of the *Vijñaptimātrasiddhi* (Paris 1929), and another French translation of the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* in seven vols. with notes (Paris, 1931). He also directed the editing of *Melanges Chiois et Bouddhiqes*, to which he contributed several valuable articles on the *Abhidhamma*. He contributed about thirty articles on different Buddhist topics to the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. Together with Ph. Colinet he

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1. Gaekwad Oriental Services, Baroda, 1932.

edited and published *Le Museon* in which appeared some of his valuable editions like *Bodhicaryāvatāra, Bodhisattvabhūmi; Mādhyamakāvatāra*, and *Vimśikakārikāprakarana* of Vasubandhu. The greatest works of Poussin are his translations into French of the *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu (1923-31) and of the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* (1930). He was a pioneer in the study of the Sarvāstivāda School of Buddhism. Poussin opened valuable treasures of thought that lay buried in a sealed chamber and filled a huge gap between the studies of early Pāli works and the late *Śūnyavāda* doctrines. Indeed, the publication of his translation of the *Abhidharmakośa* with Vasubandhu's *bhāṣya* in seven volumes revolutionised Bhuddhist studies.

Paul Pelliot (May 18, 1878-1945) who studied Sanskrit and Chinese thoroughly discovered many unknown Buddhist manuscripts from China and Turkestan. He was appointed a Professor of Central Asia in the College de France in 1911. Among his works mention may be made of the *Studies in Chinese Art and some Indian influences* (1938) and *Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra* (ed. and tr.)

Jean Pryzluski (1885-1944) who was Polish by birth but French by citizenship was educated at Paris throughout. In 1913 and in 1926 he became a distinguished teacher respectively of Ecole des Languages and of Ecole des Hautes Etudes. His works among others include : *Le Councile de Rājagṛha* (Paris, 1926-28) and *Le Legende d'emperor Aśoka* (Paris, 1923).

Rene Grousset (September 5, 1885—Sep. 12, 1952) who became the Chief of the Chinese Museum of Cernauchi for some time was an expert in the field of Indian culture outside India, especially in Indonesia and Indo-China. His works which occasionally also deal with Buddhist culture and Buddhism are as follows : *Les Civilization de l' Orient* (1929-30), *The Civilization of the East* (Eng. trans. by C. A. Phillips, 1932), *Histoire de la Philosophie Oriental* (1923), *L' Inde* (1949),*India* (Eng. Trans. by C. A. Phillips, 1932), *Les Philosophies Indiennes* (1932), *In the Foot-steps of Buddha* (1932), and *De l' Inde au Cambodge et a Java* (1950). The list is far from exhaustive. There are others besides whose contributions are in no way insignificant to the Buddhist studies in the modern age.

From the above it is evident that the erudite scholars of France, the country of art and culture, have lent their unique services for the cause of the interpretation of Buddhism to the western world. They are indeed the pioneers who introduced Buddhist culture in Europe. Their services can neither be gainsaid nor exaggerated in this regard. The brilliant contributions of these scholars bear ample testimony to the growing popularity of

Buddhist literature and thought as also point to the vitality of a culture which could attract the services of so many savants.

Lastly, as the time would pass on we shall feel more and more the impetus infused by the French scholars like Burnouf, Sylvain Lèvi, Poussin and many others to the Buddhist studies. We should ever remain grateful to them for their invaluable contributions, as most of their works are still unsurpassed and classical in their respective field of studies.

BENGAL AND BIHAR AS CENTRES OF LEARNING

Sures Chandra Banerji

Bengal and Bihar were great centres of learning, particularly in medieval times. The part of Bengal, known as Gauḍa and that of Bihar, called Mithila, established a great reputation in this respect. That Gauḍa achieved distinct style of poetical composition, known as *Gauḍī Rīti*, has been referred to by ancient rhetoricians like Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin in the seventh and eighth centuries. Bengal distinguished herself not only in poetry, but also in almost all the branches of Sanskrit literature. We shall simply refer to these branches, as a detailed account is beyond the scope of the present paper. In the case of Bihar also, we shall take a bird's eye view of its contribution to various fields of Sanskrit literature.

A Bengali, conscious of his literary and academic heritage, says. :

Kāvye'pi komaladhiyo vayameva nānye,
tarke'pi karkaṣadhiyo vayameva nānye /
tantre'pi yantritadhiyo vayameva nānye,
dṛśye'pi saṃyatadhiyo vayameva nānye //

In poetry too we alone have delicate intellect, in logic too only we have keen intellect, in Tantra too we alone have a controlled intellect, in drama also we alone have our intellect restrained.

In all the above fields, Bengal left indelible impress of her scholarship. There were other fields, too, in which Bengal's contribution is vast and varied.

Some of the important poetical works of Bengal will be mentioned below. The poetical works of this province may be divided into the following classes :

1. Based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*.
2. Based on the *Mahābhārata*.
3. Vaiṣṇavite poems.
4. Lyrics.
5. Historical poems.
6. Hymns.
7. Anthology.
8. *Dūtakāvya*-s.
9. Inscriptions.
10. Prose works and *Campū*-s (mixed prose and verse). In Sanskrit, even prose composition, containing literary flavour, is called *Kāvya*.
11. Miscellaneous.

Of the works of the first class, the most well-known is the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākaranandin (C. 1075-1155 A. D.). It is a *śleṣa-kāvya* which punningly describes Rāma, son of Daśaratha, and Rāmapāla, king of Bengal.

Among the poetical works, dealing with the *Mahābhārata* themes, the most celebrated is the *Naiṣadha-Carita* of Śrīharṣa (12th century). Though the poet's affiliation to Bengal is not beyond doubt, yet certain internal evidences point to Bengal as the provenance of the work. The evidences are as follows. Eating rice and fish in marriage[1], *Ululu-dhvani*[2], a married woman's wearing conch-bangles[3], etc. which are typically Bengali customs. The style *Gauḍi*, in which it is composed, also seems to indicate its Bengal origin. The promiscuous use of dental and cerebral *na*, *vargīya* and *antastha ba* (*v*-) appears to be a feature common to the works of Bengal.

Among the Vaiṣṇava poets, of whom we have quite a lot, Jīva Gosvāmin (16th-17th century) is a towering figure. His *Mādhava-mahotsava* and *Gopāla-campū* are renowned. The former deals with the installation by Kṛṣṇa of Rādhā as the queen of Vṛndāvana and the festivation connected with it. The latter describes the exploits of Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana, Mathura and Dvaraka.

Of the lyrics, the most famous is, of course the *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva (12th. century). The *Āryāsaptaśatī* of his contemporary Govardhana is a stupendous work which was, perhaps, modelled on the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* of Hāla.

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1. *Naiṣadha-carita*, XIV.70.
2. *Ibid.*, XIV.51.
3. *Ibid.*, XII.35.

Padmanatha Misra (C. 16th. century) wrote the historical poem, *Virabhadradevacampū* in honour of his patron, Virabhadra (or, Rudra) deva, son of the Vaghela king Ramacandra of Ayodhya. The *Śūrjana-carita* of Candraśekhara (16th.-17th. century) describes the activities of Śūrjana, a descendant of Māṇikya, younger brother of Pṛthvīrāja, who was attacked by Akbar and finally succeeded in securing the friendship of the emperor, and got many lands from him in consideration of the fort of Raṇathambhor which he made over to Akbar.

The *Padyamuktāvalī* of Govind Bhattacharya is an eulogy of Asafkhan, Prime Minister of Shahjahan.

Among the hymns of which some are Buddhist while others Hindu, there is the *Bhaktiśataka* of Ramacandra who, in accordance with the *Bhakti* cult of the Hindus, eulogises the Buddha. Caitanya inspired some exquisite hymns of which the most important is the *Caitanyacaritāmṛta* of Prabodhananda, a contemporary of Caitanya. Rūpa Goswamin, another contemporary of Caitanya, composed the *Stavamālā*. There are other Vaiṣṇava eulogies too.

In the field of anthology, Bengali contribution is significant. Among the anthologies, discovered hitherto, the earliest is the *Subhāṣitartanakoṣa* of Vidyākara (12th. century). If it be the first work of its kind, then Bengal must be given the credit of creating a literary genre. Another anthology of Bengal is the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa (11th.-12th. century). The *Padyāvali* by the aforesaid Rūpa Gosvāmin is a Vaiṣṇavite work. The greatest importance of these anthologies lies in the fact that some poets otherwise unknown, are quoted in them. For example, Aṅgokos Dimboka, Lalitaka, etc. (in the *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa*), Lakṣmaṇasena, Keśavasena (in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*) and so on. In the latter, the poems of some unknown poet have been quoted as *Kasyacit*.

Of the minor anthologies of Bengal, the most well known is the *Udbhaṭacandrikā*, compiled by Candramohana Bhattacharya. The *Udbhaṭasāgara*, compiled by Pūrṇacandra De in recent times, also deserves mention. These two works quote verses of poets who are otherwise unknown.

It is not much known that Īśvara Candra Vidyāsāgara (A.D. 1820-1891) compiled an anthology, called *Ślokamañjarī*.

The *Meghadūta* served as a model for many later *Dūta-kāvya*-s. Several poems of the type were composed in Bengal. Of these *kāvya*-s of Bengal, some are Vaiṣṇavite while others are non-Vaiṣṇavite. Among the former are the *Manodūta* of Viṣṇudāsa (C. 13th. century), a *kāvya* of the same title by

Rāmarāma perhaps of the same century, the *Haṃsadūta* and *Uddhavasandeśa* of Rūpagosvāmin, the *Padāṅkadūta* of Śrīkṛṣṇa Sārvabhauma (17th.-18th. century), the *Kṛṣṇapadāmṛta* of the same author, the *Tulasīdūta* of Trilocana (18th.-19th. century), the *Uddhavadūta* of Mādhava (19th. century), the *Kokiladūta* of Haridāsa (18th. century) and the *Pānthadūta* of Bhotanātha.

The number of other less known Vaiṣṇavite *Dūtakāvya*-s is eight.

Of the non-Vaiṣṇavite *Dūtakāvya*-s, the most celebrated is the *Pavanadūta* of Dhoyi (12th. century). It contains the proposed sending of wind, by Kuvalayavatī in separation from king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal who fell in love with her during his invasion of the Deccan, to Gauḍa.

Another poem of the type is the *Bhramaradūta* of Rudra Nyāyavācaspati (15th-16th century). A third one is the *Candradūta* of Śrīkṛṣṇa Tarkālaṅkāra (18th. century).

There are four more poems of non-Vaiṣṇavite character.

Besides the above, there is the *Bhaktidūta* which does not fall under any of the above clauses. Composed by Kāliprasāda, its theme is the sending of *Bhakti* (devotion) by a devotee to his beloved *Mukti*.

There is a number of inscriptions containing verses of varying poetical value, which appear to have been composed in Bengal right from the Gupta age (C. 544-700 A.D.) down to the Sena period (C. 1050-1220 A.D.).

We know of a few prose works and *Campū*-s written in Bengal. The *Hitopadeśa* of Nārāyaṇa (not later than 14th. century), a version of the *Pañcatantra*, is the most well-known and widely read.

The *Vidvanmodataraṅgiṇī* and the *Mādhavacampū* are the two *Campū*-s attributed to Cirañjīva (18th. century). The former presents, in a humorous and satirical vein, the main doctrines of the orthodox and heterodox philosophical systems as well as of the various sects like Vaiṣṇava, Śākta, etc.

The other work deals with the exploits of Kṛṣṇa centring round his love for Kalāvatī and his finally settling at Mathurā.

A literary genre was created by the communication of instructions through letters. To such literature Bengal's contribution deserves notice. We know of at least two outstanding Bengali authors who wrote such letters. To Candragomin (5th-6th century) is attributed the *Śiṣyalekhadharma* which consists of 141 instructive verses addressed to a prince, infatuated by power and pelf, to make him follow righteous conduct.

Another such letter is the *Vimalaratnalekha* written by Atiśa Dīpaṃkara to king Nayapāla of Bengal.

Among poetical works of the miscellaneous type are the *Kādambarī-kathāsāra* of Abhinanda, *Cakrapāṇivijaya* of Lakṣmīdhara (C. 12th. century).

It is interesting to note that some Bengali women poets are known. One was Vaijayantī (17th. century) who assisted her husband in the composition of the *Ānandalatikācampū*. To her husband, who overstayed abroad, she amply wrote :

> *Jita-dhūma-sahasrāya jita-vyajana-vāyave* /
> *Maśakāya sadā kāyaḥ sāyamārabhya diyate* //

I give my body, since evening, to mosquitoes which have overcome a thousand columns of smoke and defied the breeze of fans.

One Priyaṃvadā wrote the *Śyāmārahasya Kāvya*-s of a miscellaneous nature, most of them being buried in manuscripts.

Bengal produced several dramas, some of which have Vaiṣṇavite themes. Of the non-Vaiṣṇavite dramas, the *Lokānanda* of Candragomin may be mentioned. Rūpagosvāmin is credited with the authorship of the Vaiṣṇavite dramas *Dānakelikaumudī*, *Vidagdhamādhava* and *Lalitamādhava*. There are over a dozen other dramas including the farcical *Kautukaratnākara* of Kavitārkika (16th. century) and the *Kautukasarvasva* of Gopīnātha of unknown date.

Several Purāṇic works, including the *Bṛhaddharma*, *Devī*, *Devībhāgavata*, etc., were written in Bengal.

In grammar, Bengal appears to have created some systems like the *Saṃkṣiptasāra* of Kramadeśvara (C. 15th. century), the *Cāndravyākaraṇa* of Candragomin (C. 5th-6th. century). There were other grammarians, some of whom commented on the *Aṣṭādhyāyi*. *Harināmāmṛta* of Rūpagosvāmin is a Vaiṣṇavite work in which the definitions and examples are marked with the *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. Bengal would have perhaps forgotten Pāṇini had not Īśvaracandra Vidyāsāgara written the *Vyākaraṇakaumundī* simplifying the *Aṣṭādhyāyi*. There is a number of short-cuts, *Dhātupāṭha*-s, commentaries on various grammars, etc.

To lexical literature Bengal's contribution is enormous. In this field we have the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* of Puruṣottama, the *Dvirūpadhvani-Saṅgraha* of Bharatamallika, the *Vācaspatyam* of Tārānātha, etc. The famous commentators of the *Amarakośa* are Sarvānanda (12th. century) and Rāyamukuṭa (15th,

century). There are some other lexicons and commentaries on the *Amarakośa*. In the 18th.-19th. century *Rādhākāntadeva*, a wealthy Zamindar, got compiled the huge *Śabdakalpadruma*.

To rhetoric and prosody Bengal made significant contribution. Among the works of the former class may be mentioned the *Alaṃkārakaustubha* of Kavikarṇapūra and the *Kāvyakaustubha* of Baladeva. There are several other original works and commentaries on noted works like the *Kāvyādarśa*, *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, etc.

Of the works on metrics, the most famous is the *Chandomañjarī* of Gaṅgādāsa (later than 9th.-10th. century).

The *Nāṭakacandrikā* of Rūpagosvāmin is the only work on dramaturgy.

The *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* of Rūpagosvāmin is indeed an ocean of Vaiṣṇava Rasaśāstra. His *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* justifies the title.

Bengal distinguished herself in Āyurveda. Besides original works, several Bengali scholars commented upon the works of the famous trio, viz. Caraka, Suśruta and Vāgbhaṭṭa. The well known Bengali authors are Mādhava (8th. century), author of the *Rogaviniścaya*; Cakrapāṇidatta (11th. century), author of the *Cikitsāsārasaṅgraha*; Gaṅgādhara (18th.-19th. century), author of the *Jalpakalpataru* commentary on Caraka; Gaṇanātha Sena (19th. century), author of the *Pratyakṣaśārīra*.

Caitanya gave a strong impetus to the study of Vaiṣṇava philosophy, theology and Bhakti cult. The *Ṣaṭ-sandarbha* (viz. *Tattva*, *Bhāgavata*, *Paramātma*, *Śrikṛṣṇa*, *Bhakti* and *Prīti*) of Jīvagosvāmin is an outstanding work in this field.

The *Haribhaktivilāsa* of Gopālabhaṭṭa is the standard work on the conduct, rites and rituals of the Vaiṣṇavas.

Bengali scholars deeply studied Vedānta. In this realm, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī (16th. century) made considerable contribution. His most well known work is the *Advaitasiddhi*. Bengal claims Gauḍapāda, the teacher of the great Śaṅkarācārya.

Several works on Mīmāṃsā were composed. Of these, the *Tautātitamata-tilaka* of Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, a pre-Raghunandana Smṛti writer, is well known.

In Sāṃkhya, Bengali contribution is not great in bulk. The *Sāṃkhya-padārtha-mañjarī* of Rāmānanda is an original work The *Sāṃkhyavṛttiprakāśa* and *Sāṃkhyakaumudī* of Tarkavāgīśa and Rāmakṛṣṇa respectively are commentaries on the *Sāṃkhyakārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa. Pañcānana Tarkaratna

wrote the *Pūrṇimā* commentary on the above work of Īśvarakṛṣṇa. Vijñānabhikṣu (16th.-17th. century) wrote *Yogavārtika* on Yoga philosophy.

Navya-Nyāya, Navya-Smṛti and Tantra are the three pillars on which rests the fame of medieval Bengal.

In Navya-Nyāya Bengal accepted the tutelage of Mithila. It was the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* of the Maithila Gaṅgeśa that gave rise to the schools of neo-logic, both in Mithilā and Gauḍa. By dint of her own genius Bengal made new contributions. It is generally believed that Raghunātha Śiromaṇi (15th. century) of Navadvīpa started the Bengal school of Navya-nyāya. The fact is that it arose earlier. We can place the works of this school in three distinct periods, viz. pre-Śiromaṇi period, Śiromaṇi epoch and post-Śiromaṇi period. The extant works of the first period are by Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma (15th.-16th. century), author of the *Anumāna-maṇi-parīkṣā*, exposition of the aforesaid *Tattvacintāmaṇi*; Jaleśvara (15th. century), author of the *Śabdālokoddyota* commentary on the *Śabdāloka* of Pakṣadhara Miśra; Kāśinātha (15th. cetury), author of the *Tattvamaṇi-vivecana*.

Raghunātha Śiromaṇi composed several works on *Vāda* (e.g. *Vājapeya-vāda*), original treatises on *Ākhyāta Tattvacintāmaṇi*. Janakanātha and Kaṇāda are some other writers of the period.

To the post-Śiromaṇi period belong Haridāsa, who commented on the *Kārikā* of the *Kusumāñjali* and on the *Āloka* of Pakṣadhara; Kṛṣṇadāsa, author of commentaries on the *Dīdhiti* of Śiromaṇi besides the Bhaṣāpariccheda and the *Siddhāntamuktāvalī*, the last two were long supposed to be the works of Viśvanātha. To this period belong also Rāmabhadra, author of some *Vāda-grantha*-s and the *Nyāyarahasya* commentary on *Gautama-sūtra*; Śrīrāma Tarkālaṅkāra, author of commentaries on some *Dīdhiti*-s of Śiromaṇi; Bhavānanda, author of commentaries on some works of Mathurānātha, author of the *Siddhāntarahasya* and commentaries on works of Gaṅgeśa; Pakṣadhara, Śiromaṇi, Udayana and Vardhamāna Jagadīśa, author of a commentary on the *Anumānadīdhiti* of Śiromaṇi, commentaries on the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* and the *Śabdaśaktiprakāśikā*, his epoch making original work. A stalwart of this period was Gadādhara who wrote commentaries on several works including some *Dīdhiti*-s of Śiromaṇi.

To Navya-Smṛti Bengal's contribution is vast. The greatest figure in this field is Raghunandana (15th.-16th. century) whose unwieldy contribution comprises 28 works on different topics. Among the pre-Raghunandana writers prominent were Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, Śūlapāṇi, Jīmūtavāhana, Vallālasena and Halāyudha. The stream of *Navya-Smṛti* continued to flow over

Bengal for a long time following Raghunandana. Raghunandana showed originality in suggesting new interpretations of texts. For example, while the marriage of the younger sister before the elder is prohibited, he provided that such a marriage is permissible if the elder sister's marriage is delayed by her uncouth appearance etc. To the Bengal school belongs the *Dāyabhāga* of Jīmūtavāhana who, differing from the *Mitākṣarā* which recognises inheritance by birth, declared that spiritual benefit is the criterion for eligibility. If a person offers *piṇḍa* to his ancestor, then only he can inherit the latter's property, mere birth does not entitle him to it.

Some scholars claim that Bengal was the home of Tantra. Be that as it may, Tantra, both Buddhist and Hindu, was highly developed in this province. Kṛṣṇānanda (16th. century) was a brilliant luminary in the firmament of Bengal Tantra. His *Tantrasāra* is an epitome of Tantra. Of the pre-Kṛṣṇānanda writers, prominent are Sarvānanda (*Sarvollāsa*) and Pūrṇānanda (*Śrītattvacintāmaṇi* and several other works). Of the writers following Kṛṣṇānanda the most renowned is Rāmatoṣaṇa whose *Prāṇatoṣiṇī* is comprehensive. The *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra* of this period is unique in some respects, e.g. recognition of a caste, called *Sāmānya*, besides the usual four castes, introduction of some legal matters, etc.

Coming to Mithilā we find that it produced several literary works. For example, the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* (tests of *Puruṣa*-s) of Vidyāpati is a celebrated prose work. The *Bhūparikramā* of the same author describes 65 countries and gives 65 stories. The *Gītagaurīpati* is a work of Bhānudatta who has some other poems to his credit. Among the dramas are the *Ānandavijaya* of Rāmadāsa (17th. century). *Amṛtodaya* (1693 A.D.) of Gokulanātha, the farcical play *Dhūrtasamāgama* of Jyotirīśvara (14th. century), the *Kuvalayāśva* (1783 A.D.) of Kṛṣṇadatta, etc. deserve particular mention.

There are some worsks on dramaturgy (e.g. *Rasamañjarī*) and poetics (e.g. *Alaṅkāratilaka*).

Mithilā distinguished hereself in Navya-Nyāya and Navya-Smṛti. In the domain of Nyāya, Gaṅgeśa is the giant. The development of this subject may be divided into three periods, viz. pre-Gaṅgeśa, Gaṅgeśa and post-Gaṅgeśa. Udayana (C. 11th. century), author of the *Kusumāñjali* is the most prominent writer preceding Gaṅgeśa. It was Gaṅgeśa who appears to have been the pace setter in Navya-Nyāya. He probably flourished about the 14th. century. Of the writers following him Gokulanātha (17th. century) was perhaps the earliest and most famous.

Mithilā's contribution to Navya-Smṛti field is great in bulk and quality. Some of the stalwarts in this field are Śrīdattopādhyaya (13th.-14th. century),

Caṇḍeśvara (14th. century), Vācaspati Miśra (15th. century), Rudradhara (15th. century), Madanasiṃha (15th. century) and Vardhamāna (14th. century). It is curious that Vidyāpati, the master-poet, whose poetry, like the moon, is above the reproach of wicked people, also wrote on the Smṛtiśāstra.

Knowledge and culture know no geographical barriers. Smṛti and Nyāya transcended the limits of Bengal and Mithilā. No provincialism could keep them apart. A mutual give and take is evident. In the domain of Navya-Nyāya we have seen that Mithilā was the innovator. In the realm of Smṛti, Mithilā not only gave but also took. There are countless references to and quotations from Maithila authors and works in Bengal Smṛti. For example, the *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī* of Vidyāpati exerted a great influence on the Bengal digests on *Durgāpūjā*. The Smṛti digests of Mithilā also refer to a quote from Bengal digests. *Bhīṣmatarpaṇa, Bhrātṛdvitīyā, Kojāgarī Lakṣmīpūjā, Daśaharā*—these are some of the topics which appear to have been favoured by Maithila writers from those of Bengal.

THE DEITIES OF ṚGVEDA VIII. 29.10

P. L. Bhargava

One of the most famous hymns of the *Ṛgveda* addressed to the Viśvedevas occurs in its book VIII. It is a collection of riddles in which each stanza describes a deity by his characteristic marks leaving his name to be guessed. Though consisting of riddles it is a remarkable hymn, the beauty of which lies in the fact that the features chosen by the poet are so characteristic of the deity described by him that no doubt remains about his identity. The hymn consists of ten stanzas, the deities of the first nine being Soma, Agni, Tvaṣṭṛ, Indra, Rudra, Pūṣan, Viṣṇu, Aśvins and Mitrāvaruṇa respectively. The tenth stanza is in the praise of a group of deities, and it is only with regard to the deities of this stanza that the opinion of scholars is divided. This matter, therefore, needs investigation.

This stanza is as follows—

अर्चन्त एके महि साम मन्वत तेन सूर्यमरोचयन्

Its English translation by Macdonell runs thus: "Singing some thought of a great chant: by it they caused the sun to shine". The most notable feature of the group of deities praised in this stanza is thus singing. Sāyaṇa in his commentary has identified this group of deities with the Atris. Macdonell, however, has rightly pointed out in his *Vedic Reader*[1] that "nothing is ever said of the singing of the chants of the Atris". He, therefore, identifies this group with the Aṅgirasas who are clearly mentioned as singers[2] and a few other verses.

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1. p. 152.
2. *RV.*, I. 62. 2.

Neither the Atris nor the Angirasas are, however, strictly speaking deities. Both of them are families of priests and sages. They, therefore, can hardly be included in a hymn eulogizing the chief gods of the Vedic pantheon. The question naturally arises: Is there a group of deities in the *Ṛgveda* whose characteristic mark is singing? The answer is in the affirmative. The Maruts are several times praised in the *Ṛgveda* as singers. A few instances may be quoted :

1. य उग्रा **अर्कमानृचुः** । I.19.4

2. **अर्चन्तो अर्कं** जनयन्त इन्द्रियम् । I.85.2

3. **अर्चन्त्यर्कं** मदिरस्य पीतये । I.166.7

4. मित्रश्च तुभ्यं वरुणः सहस्वोऽग्ने **विश्वे मरुतः सुम्नमर्चन्** । III.14.4

5. अनु यदीं **मरुतो मन्दसानमार्चन्निन्द्र** पपिवांसं सुतस्य । V.29.2

6. तुभ्येदेते **मरुतः सुशेवा अर्चन्त्यर्कं** सुन्वन्त्यन्धः । V.30.6

7. प्र श्यावाश्व धृष्णयाऽर्चा **मरुद्भिर्ऋक्वभिः** । V.52.1

8. **दिवो अर्का** अमृतं नाम भेजिरे । V.57.5

9. अग्ने **मरुद्भिः शुभयद्भिर्ऋक्वभिः** । V.60.8

10. शं नो भवन्तु **मरुतः स्वर्काः** । VII.35.9

The passages quoted above amply prove that one of the characteristic features of the Maruts was singing. This is, however, not the only thing. The other two things mentioned in this stanza are also attributed to the

Maruts. Besides singing, the deities praised in this stanza are also said to have thought of a great chant (*sāman*). The Maruts are clearly said to be manifold with chants in the *Ṛgveda*[1]. Lastly, the deities of this stanza are said to have caused the sun to shine. A similar feat is attributed to the Maruts in another verse of the *Ṛgveda*[2]. There can, therefore, be no doubt that the deities of the last stanza of this interesting riddle hymn are the Maruts.

1. X. 78.5.
2. VIII 7.8.



हिन्दी वाक्य-संरचना और बलयुक्त पद

कैलाशचन्द्र भाटिया

हिन्दी वाक्य-संरचना का सामान्यतः गठन ऐसा है जिसमें सर्वप्रथम कर्त्ता और अन्त में क्रिया रहती है। कर्म-पूरकादि शेष व्याकरणिक अंश इन दोनों के मध्य रहते हैं। इस निश्चित पद-क्रम[1] में आवश्यकतानुसार परिवर्तन भी हो जाता है। विशेषकर बल प्रदान करने के लिए इस पदक्रम को भंग कर बल-युक्त पद वाक्य के प्रारम्भ अथवा अन्त में रख दिया जाता है। अंग्रेज़ी[2] भाषा में भी बल प्रदान करने की सर्वसुलभ विधि यही है कि जिस शब्द/पद को महत्ता प्रदान करनी हो अथवा जिस पर विशेष बल डालना हो, उस शब्द/पद को अपने निश्चित स्थान से पूर्व/पर ही प्रयुक्त किया जाए और बन पड़े तो वाक्य के प्रारम्भ में रख दिया जाए। इस विधि से केवल इतना मन्तव्य है कि '**उस पद**' को अपने निश्चित स्थान से हटाकर किसी ऐसे स्थान पर रख दिया जाए जिससे वह विशेष रूप से प्रभावशाली बन सके। इसके लिए कभी-कभी प्रारम्भ अथवा मध्य से हटाकर उस पद को अन्त में रख दिया जाता है[3]। इस दूसरी विधि का प्रयोग तेज़ी से बढ़ रहा है। यह बोलचाल का स्वाभाविक रूप है। साथ ही मनोवैज्ञानिक प्रवृत्ति है कि मानव प्रायः ऐसे पद को सम्पूर्ण वाक्य के अन्त में कहता है जिससे एकदम श्रोता का ध्यान आकर्षित होकर उस पर ही केन्द्रित हो जाए। कैलोग[4], गुरु[5], रामचन्द्र वर्मा[6], आचार्य किशोरीदास बाजपेयी[7] आदि वैयाकरणों ने इस प्रवृत्ति की ओर निर्देश मात्र किया है। यह

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१. हिन्दी पदक्रम के लिए डा० ब्रजवासी लाल श्रीवास्तव, डा० सुधा कालरा, डा० यमुना काचरू तथा डा० सूरजभान सिंह के 'हिन्दी वाक्य रचना' सम्बन्धी कार्य द्रष्टव्य हैं।

२. स्वीट, एच०—ए न्यू इंगलिश ग्रामर, सन् १९४८, नियम १७६५।

३. वही, नियम सन् १७६६।

४. हिन्दी व्याकरण, सन् १९५५, नियम सं० ६७८ (३) अ तथा ९२३।

५. हिन्दी व्याकरण, संवत् २००९, नियम सं० ६६१।

६. अच्छी हिन्दी, संवत् २००७, पृ० सं० ५५।

७. हिन्दी शब्दानुशासन, संवत् २०१४, पृ० सं० ३३१-३३२।

प्रवृत्ति आजकल भाषा के उच्चरित तथा लिखित दोनों रूपों में बढ़ती जा रही है। प्रारम्भ तो भाषणों से हुआ पर जब बोलचाल की भाषा लिखित भाषा में व्यवहृत की जाने लगी तो आधुनिक कहानियों/उपन्यासों में यह प्रवृत्ति दृष्टिगत होने लगी। इस आधार पर ही इस प्रवृत्ति की ओर लेखक ने सर्वप्रथम शोधार्थियों का ध्यान सन् १९६१ में आकर्षित किया था। यद्यपि दो दशक पूर्व लिखे उस शोध निबन्ध* पर मेरे मित्रों ने पर्याप्त आपत्ति की थी पर मुझे लगा कि यह प्रवृत्ति पर्याप्त बढ़ गई है और अब उपयुक्त अवसर है कि इस प्रवृत्ति की ओर फिर से ध्यान दिलाया जाए। यह प्रवृत्ति ही 'शैलीविज्ञान' में विचलन अथवा विपथन नाम से अभिहित की जाती है। अभी कुछ महीने पूर्व श्रीमती मन्नू भण्डारी के बहुचर्चित उपन्यास 'महाभोज'[1] पढ़ने का अवसर मिला तो देखा कि यह प्रवृत्ति इस उपन्यास में भरपूर है। प्रस्तुत विश्लेषण में सभी उदाहरण इस उपन्यास से लिये गये हैं, अत एव पृष्ठ मात्र का सङ्केत दे दिया गया है। ऐसा नहीं है कि आदि स्थिति (प्रारम्भ) के उदाहरण नहीं मिलते यत्र-तत्र 'जवाब की प्रतीक्षा' वे नहीं करते, (पृ० २१) जैसे उदाहरण हैं पर आवृत्ति की दृष्टि से वाक्य के अन्त में बलप्रदत्त पद का प्रयोग अधिक किया गया है। यहाँ प्रवृत्ति मात्र दिखाने के लिए कुछ ही उदाहरण प्रस्तुत किये जा रहे हैं पर उपन्यास ऐसे उदाहरणों से भरा पड़ा है।

१.१ कर्त्ता का स्थानान्तरण

मूल वाक्य में से कर्त्ता को निकालकर वाक्य के अन्त में क्रिया के बाद रखना। कभी-कभी कर्म भी साथ चला जाता है। नीचे कुछ उदाहरण द्रष्टव्य है—

किसी की स्वतन्त्रता पर अपने को आरोपित नहीं करते **दा साहब**। (महा० पृ० १४)
इन्हें अपना पथ-प्रदर्शक और अपनी प्रेरणा मानते हैं **दा साहब**। (वही, पृ० १४)
चिंतन-मनन के क्षणों में अपने कमरे में ही बैठते हैं **दा साहब**। (वही, पृ० १४)
छोटे-से-छोटे आदमी को भी तरक्क़ी का पूरा मौक़ा देते हैं **दा साहब**। (पृ० १५)
मुंह की खायेगी **पार्टी**। (पृष्ठ १५)
तो सही किया है **जोरावर ने**। (पृष्ठ १८)
एक और तुरप का पत्ता चला **उसने**। (पृष्ठ २०)
उनके विश्वास पर ही टिकी हुई है **मेरी कुर्सी**। (पृष्ठ २०)
सबके सद्भाव पर ही ज़िन्दा हूं **मैं**। (पृष्ठ २०)
असहज-सा होने लगा **लखनसिंह**। (पृष्ठ २१)
तो इतनी बड़ी क्रान्ति की **हमने**। (पृष्ठ २३)
वाक्य पूरा नहीं करने दिया **दा साहब ने** (पृष्ठ २४)

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* वाक्य का एक नवीन मोड़, भारतीय साहित्य, वर्ष ६, अंक ३, जुलाई १९६१ ई०।
१, मन्नू भण्डारी—महाभोज, राधाकृष्ण प्रकाशन, नई दिल्ली—२, द्वितीय आवृत्ति सन् ८१

फिर सहज हो आये **दा साहब**। (पृष्ठ २४)
कैसे जान झोंककर काम किया था **उसने**। (पृष्ठ २४)
सारे वोट बड़ी आसानी से ले जायेंगे **मुकुल बाबू** (पृष्ठ २५)
स्नेहिल नज़रों में उसे सहलाया **दा साहब ने** (पृष्ठ २५)
एकाएक बहुत उत्साह में आ गया **लखनसिंह** (पृष्ठ २६)
समय के पाबन्द हैं **मुकुल बाबू** (पृष्ठ ३३)
चार साल तक काटी है **इसने जेल**। (पृष्ठ २२)
चुनाव जीतने के लिए सारा जोर लगा दिया है **सरकार ने** (पृष्ठ ३५)

१.२ कर्म का स्थानान्तरण

मूल वाक्य में से 'कर्म' को निकालकर वाक्य के अन्त में क्रिया के बाद रखना। इस दृष्टि से कुछ उदाहरण यहाँ दिये जा रहे हैं—

यह पद-लोलुपता कहां ले जाकर पटकेगी **देश को** (पृष्ठ १५)
हिला देना चाहता है **उन्हें**। (पृष्ठ २०)
कोसे जा रहा था **दा साहब को**। (पृष्ठ २१)
एक यही साधुई-मुद्रा खिझा देती है **उसे**। (पृष्ठ २१)
तनख्वाह दी जाती है **उन्हें**। (पृष्ठ २३)
बहुत उठक-पटक करनी है **दा साहब को** उसके लिए। (पृष्ठ २२)
आज का तुम्हारा आवेश देखकर अच्छा नहीं लगा **मुझे**। (पृष्ठ २७)
दा साहब के पासंग पर रखते हैं **मुकुल बाबू को**। (पृष्ठ २८)

१.३ सम्प्रदान का स्थानान्तरण

मूल वाक्य में से 'सम्प्रदान' को निकालकर वाक्य के अन्त में क्रिया के बाद रखना। कभी-कभी क्रिया के बाद कर्म भी उसके साथ रख दिया जाता है पर सम्प्रदान की स्थिति अन्त में ही बनी रहती है। इस प्रकार के कुछ वाक्य यहाँ दिये जा रहे हैं—

बड़ी हिम्मत और बूता चाहिए **उसके लिए**। (पृष्ठ १९)
बहुत उठक-पटक करनी पड़ी है **दा साहब को उसके लिए**। (पृष्ठ २२)
बायें हाथ का खेल है यह **उनके लिए**। (पृष्ठ ३०)
दुख शब्द तो बहुत हलका है **उसके लिए** (पृष्ठ ३३)
हार जीत का अन्तर ही मिट गया **मेरे लिए** (पृष्ठ ३६)
खड़ा हुआ हूं आप लोगों की लड़ाई **लड़ने के लिए**। (पृष्ठ ३६)
यह चुनौती है **आपके लिए**। (पृष्ठ १७९)

१.४ सम्बन्ध का स्थानान्तरण

वाक्य में सम्बन्ध की स्थिति विशेषणवत् होती है और उसमें आकारान्त विशेषण के अनुसार लिङ्ग-वचन में परिवर्तन भी होता है। यद्यपि इस प्रकार के पदों को क्रिया के बाद रखना बड़ा अटपटा लगता है, क्योंकि विशेष्य से पर्याप्त विच्छन्नता आ जाती है। यह प्रवृत्ति इस उपन्यास में पर्याप्त है। कुछ उदाहरण इस प्रवृत्ति के दिये जा रहे हैं —

केवल दो बड़ी-बड़ी तसवीरें टंगी हैं **दीवार पर गांधी और नेहरू की**। (पृष्ठ १४)
व्यर्थ के ढकोसलों में कतई **विश्वास** नहीं है **उनका**। (पृष्ठ १४)
उसूल है **दा साहब का**। पृष्ठ १५)
सब एक स्वर से **विरोध** करते हैं **लखन का**। (पृष्ठ १५)
हारने के बाद भी **रुतबा** है **उसका**। (पृष्ठ १५)
मन बहुत क्षुब्ध हुआ था **दा साहब का**। (पृष्ठ १५)
आत्मा बोलने लगी है **उसकी** आज। (पृष्ठ १८)
छूट × × × उलटा-सीधा जो मरज़ी आये, **छापने की**। (पृष्ठ १९)
कैसी-कैसी **तसवीरें** छापी थीं **उस आगज़नी की घटना की**। (पृष्ठ १९)
ज़बान की लगाम खींच दी **लखन की**। (पृष्ठ २०)
स्वभाव है **आदमी का**। (पृष्ठ २३)
क्या **जवाब** दे लखनसिंह **इस बात का**। (पृष्ठ २५)
बहुत जल्दी **हौसला** पस्त हो जाता है **तुम्हारा**। (पृष्ठ २५)
बहुत **असर** होगा **आपके जाने का** (पृष्ठ २८)
यही तो **सपना** था, **बापू का**। (पृष्ठ २६)
एकछत्र **राज** था **उनका**। (पृष्ठ २८)
पर **मन** बेहद क्षुब्ध हो गया है **उनका**। (पृष्ठ २९)
पर पूरे गांव और पंचायत में **दबदबा** है **उसका**। (पृष्ठ ३०)

१.४.१

कभी-कभी 'सम्बन्ध वाचक' शब्द पर और भी अधिक बल डालने के लिए द्विरुक्ति का प्रयोग कर दिया जाता है, और उसमें से दूसरे पद को वाक्य के अन्त में 'अल्पविराम-कामा' का प्रयोग कर क्रिया के बाद रखा जाता है, जैसे,

एक तरह **से मेरी** हत्या हुई है, **मेरी**। (पृष्ठ १९)

१.५ अधिकरण का स्थानान्तरण

अधिकरण को वाक्य में से अपने स्थान से निकालकर क्रिया के बाद में रखना, जैसे—
अजीब मायूसी छायी हुई थी **गांव में**। (पृष्ठ ३१)

अखाड़े के लठैत गश्त लगाने लगे **गांव में**। (पृष्ठ ३१)
······ मृत्यु बेहद सनसनी पैदा कर रही थी **सबके मन में**। (पृष्ठ ३१)

१.६ क्रिया विशेषण का स्थानान्तरण

सामान्यतः क्रियाविशेषण क्रियापद के साथ उससे पूर्व रहता है पर विशेष परिस्थितियों में क्रिया के बाद भी। ऐसी स्थिति में क्रियाविशेषण पद प्रधान हो जाता है, जैसे,

पर दा साहब की भेदक-दृष्टि तर्क पर ही नहीं अटकती-मंशा तक पहुंचती है **सीधी**। (पृष्ठ १५)

भीतर ही भीतर झल्ला रहा है **बुरी तरह**। (पृष्ठ २०)
फूहड़ भाषा का प्रयोग करते हैं **धड़ल्ले से** (पृष्ठ २८)
मस्त फक्कड़ हैं **एकदम**। (पृष्ठ २८)

२. 'डैश' का प्रयोग कर स्थानान्तरण

उक्त सभी उदाहरणों में केवल द्विरुक्ति के उदाहरण को छोड़कर क्रियापद के बाद किसी भी विराम चिह्न का प्रयोग नहीं किया गया है। नीचे कुछ उदाहरण डैश के प्रयोग के साथ हैं :—

पर मजमा चुप बैठा था—सूने-सपाट चेहरे लिये। (पृष्ठ ३४)
इन्हें तो चुनाव जीतना है—हर हालत में। (पृष्ठ ३४)
लोचन भैया ने पार्टी से भी त्यागपत्र दे दिया—स्वेच्छा से। (पृष्ठ १८२)
सक्सेना को देखती रही—इतना परिचित स्वर। (पृष्ठ १८३)
क़रीब पैंतालीस प्रतिशत वोट हैं जोरावर के—एकदम बंधे-बंधाये (पृष्ठ ३७)
कर्त्तव्य भी निभाना चाहिए अपना—देश के प्रति। (पृष्ठ ४९)
'मशाल' का अंक आया—बिल्कुल नये तेवर के साथ। (पृष्ठ ५३)

३.०

सामान्यतः बलाघात के लिए 'तक', 'ही', 'और', 'भी' निपातों का प्रयोग किया जाता है। पर जब सामान्य से अधिक 'बल' डालना हो तो इनका प्रयोग भी वाक्य में क्रिया के बाद कर दिया जाता है, जैसे,

शायद पिछली घटना का सबक़ भूले नहीं थे **अभी तक**। (पृष्ठ ३१)
मैं ही रोके हुए था **अब तक**। (पृष्ठ २४)
गाँव के धनी किसानों से वोट भी चाहिए **और पैसा भी**। (पृष्ठ ३४)
मनोरंजन का केन्द्र भी है, और **आतंक का स्रोत भी**। (पृष्ठ ३७)

३.१ 'ही' का प्रयोग

'ही' के प्रयोग के साथ 'नहीं' का प्रयोग भी मिलता है, जैसे,
मन हिसाब के आँकड़ों में रमता **ही नहीं**। (पृष्ठ १८)
बिसू के घर तो गये **ही नहीं**। (पृष्ठ ३८)

४. प्रश्नात्मक 'न' का प्रयोग

यह तो सामान्य नियम है कि इस प्रकार के 'न' का प्रयोग सदा क्रियापद के पश्चात् ही किया जाता है। वस्तुतः इसको स्थानान्तरण का प्रयोग नहीं माना जायेगा। पर जब कभी 'न' के साथ अन्य पद मूल वाक्य में से निकालकर वाक्य के अन्त में रख दिये जाएं तो स्थानान्तरण मानना चाहिए। इस प्रकार की प्रवृत्ति के कुछ उदाहरण द्रष्टव्य हैं :

दो बातों का ध्यान रखा गया है **न**? (पृष्ठ ७१)
मरता तो ग़रीब ही है **न**? (पृष्ठ ४७)
बाबू के साथ ही कोई समझौता हो रहा है **न**? (पृष्ठ ६३)
दत्ता बाबू ही नाम है **सम्पादक का**? (पृष्ठ २७)

यह प्रवृत्ति व्यक्तिगत पारिवारिक पत्रों तथा भाषणों में विशेषतः दिखाई देती थी पर अब नई कहानियों तथा उपन्यासों में बढ़ती जा रही है, जिससे सिद्ध होता है कि साहित्य की भाषा बोलचाल की भाषा के निकट आ गई है।

ON SOME OVERLOOKED REFERENCES TO SIX LOST LITERARY WORKS IN THE MAHĀ-VYUTPATTI

Biswanath Bhattacharya

The miscellaneous collection of words under Section 245[1] of the valuable *Mahā-vyutpatti* contains some overlooked references to six lost literary works as follows :—

1. 7627 (1359)[2]———Hkhar·—ba—(=*Kaṃsa*—) bsad·[3] (=-*hatam*> —*vadhaḥ*) [<*Kaṃsa-vadhaḥ*] ;

2. 7628 (1360)———Rin·—po·—che·—(=*Ratna*—) phrogs·—pa· [=-*hṛtam*> —(*ā*—) *haraṇam*] [>*Ratnāharaṇam*] ;

3. 7629 (1361)———Rol·—(=*lāṅgala-paddhati*—) brñed·—[4] (=-*labdha* —>—*labdhā*—) [>*lāṅgala-paddhati-labdhā*—>*Sītā*—] phrogs·-pa·[5] (=—*haraṇam*) [>*Sītā-haraṇam*] ;

4. 7630 (1362)———Yul·—gyi· (=*janapadasya*) bzaṅ·—mo· (=*kalyāṇi*) [>*Janapada-kalyāṇī*] ;

5. 7631 (1363)———Gser·—ldan·—mo·—[6]) (=*Rukmiṇi*—) phrogs·—pa· (=—*haraṇam*) [>*Rukmiṇi–haraṇam*] and

6. 7663 (1395)———Ñi·—ma·—(=*Sūrya*+) śar·—ba· (=+*uditam*> +*udayaḥ*) [>*Sūryodayaḥ*>*Sauryodayikā*].

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1. Skad·—go·—hdun·—gyi· miṅ·—la· .
2. The first numerical reference indicates the serial number of the entry in the *Mahā-vyutpatti* while the second one within brackets stands for the serial number of the entry in Section 245. The subsequent references have to be understood similarly.
3. Khar·—ba·—bsad·———sic. V.1. Khar·—bsad·—pa· .
4. o—rñed·—o———sic.
5. V. l. Rol·—sñed·—phrogs· .
6. o—ldan·—phrogs·—pa· (=*Rukmiṇī-haraṇam*)———sic.

No further particulars of these six literary works are found in the *Mahā-vyutpatti*. From the mere title one cannot determine with precision the type of the literary work in each case. Nevertheless, one can surmise to a certain extent that the "*Ratnāharaṇam*", "*Sītā-haraṇam*" and "*Rukmiṇī-haraṇam*" being titles in the neuter gender refer to some "*kāvyam*" or "*ākhyānam*". The title "*Kaṃsa-vadhaḥ*" is in masculine, and as such it appears to refer to some '*granthaḥ*'. The remainlng two, viz., the "*Janapada-kalyāṇī*" and the "*Sauryodayikā*", are titles in feminine, and so they seem to stand for some '*Kathā*'.

Of these the "*Sītā-haraṇam*" is evidently based on *Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa*. The "*Kaṃsa-vadhaḥ*", "*Ratnāharaṇam*" and "*Rukmiṇī-haraṇam*" are built no doubt on Bādarāyaṇa's *Mahābhārata* and *Hari-vaṃśa-Purāṇa*. But we are not in a position now to assess the points of deviation from the original Epic stories and the points of innovation introduced in these lost works. However, the plots of the "*Janapada-kalyāṇī*" and "*Sauryodayikā*" are not known to us at the present moment.

In any case, all these titles are anonymous literary works of unknown date.

Now, of these the "*Sītā-haraṇam*" has also been referred to by Jinendra-buddhi, Maitreyarakṣita, Hemacandra, Malayagiri, Yakṣavarman and Vardhamāna[1].

The "*Ratnāharaṇam*" has also been referred to by Bhāmaha in the *Kāvyālaṅkāra*[2].

We are also aware of Śeṣakṛṣṇa's *Kaṃsa-vadha-nāṭaka*"[3]. But it is not possible to ascertain whether the *Mahā-vyutpatti* refers to this drama.

About the "*Rukmiṇī-haraṇam*", "*Janapada-kalyāṇī*" and "*Sauryodayikā*" we have not found any other data as yet.

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1. For the details see the present writer's article entitled "References to Some Lost *Rāmāyaṇa*—based Works in the Sanskrit Grammatical Literature" accepted for publication in *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
2. *paryāyoktaṁ yad anyena prakāreṇā 'bhidhīyate /*
   uvāca Ratnāharaṇe Caidyaṃ Śārṅgadhanur yathā //
   gṛheṣv adhvasu vā nā 'nnaṃ bhuñjmahe yad adhītinaḥ /
   na bhuñjate dvijās tac ca rasa-dāna-nivṛttaye //
   (Ed. D. T. Tatacharya, Tiruvadi, 1934, 3.8-9, pp. 64-65).
3. Rāma-Pāṇivāda's "*Kaṃsa-vaho*" is a poem in Prakrit.

DOES THE WORD BHIKṢU-SŪTRA IN PĀṆINI MEAN THE BRAHMA-SŪTRA

Ram Shankar Bhattacharya

Pāṇini mentions '*Bhikṣu-sūtra*' in his *sūtra Pārāśaryaśilālibhyāṁ bhikṣu-naṭa-sūtrayoḥ*.[1] Commentators and modern scholars have expressed divergent views on the nature of the *Bhikṣusūtra*. Some are of opinion that the extant *Brahmasūtra* or *Vedāntasūtra* is the same as the *Bhikṣusūtra*.[2] These persons take the word Pārāśarya in the *sūtra*[3] as the patronymic name of the author who composed the well known *Brahmasūtra*. Others think that the word refers to the *sūtra*-s on *Sāṃkhya* by the *bhikṣu* Pañcaśikha.[4]

We are of opinion that (i) the *Bhikṣusūtra* is a class name and not the name of any particular work; that (ii) the word refers to any work by ancient teachers that deals with the rules of conduct of *bhikṣu*-s (i.e. the persons of the

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1. IV.3.110
2. "The *Bhikṣusūtra*-s of Pārāśarya (4.3.110) which probably devoted the earliest Vedānta treatises written in *sūtra* form" (Dr. V. S. Agrawala: *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 391; see also p. 338); "As Pārāśarya is a name of Vyāsa, the son of Parāśara, it has been supposed that Pāṇini meant by *Bhikṣu-sūtra*-s, the *Brahmasūtra*-s, sometimes ascribed to Vyāsa" (*Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, p. 127, ed. 1899). "Pāṇini alludes to the *Brahmasūtra*-s..." (*The Age of Patañjali*, p. 5). "भिक्षवः संन्यासिनः तदधिकारिक सूत्रं भिक्षुसूत्रं व्यासप्रणीतं प्रसिद्धम्" (*Bālamanoramā* on *Sid.Kau.*), Vide संस्कृत व्याकरण शास्त्र का इतिहास, Vol. I, p. 252.
3. IV.3.110
4. "On the other hand it is also probable that the *Bhikṣusūtra*-s of Pārāśarya referred to some *Sāṃkhya* treatise. Pañcaśikha is spoken of a *bhikṣu* and of Parāśara *gotra* (*Śānti*-p. 320 24) and being a historical teacher of outstanding merit in the *Sāṃkhya* tradition is believed to have written a work in prose *sūtra*-s in which his doctrine leaned more towards Vedānta (Keith: *Sāṃkhya System*)" (*India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 338); see also संस्कृत व्याकरण शास्त्र का इतिहास, Vol. I, p. 252.

fourth *āśrama*) ; that (iii) the extant *Brahmasūtra* or any work of similar nature cannot be called *Bhikṣusūtra* and that (iv) the *sūtra*-work of Pañcaśikha on *Sāṃkhya* was not called *Bhikṣusūtra*.

Following arguments are to be considered in this connection :

(A) The word *Bhikṣusūtra* cannot be interpreted to mean *Brahmasūtra* whose essential characteristic is to discuss the Vedānta-texts, if we compare the word with similar words like *Rathasūtra*, *Hastisūtra*, *Aśvasūtra*, *Yantrasūtra*, etc. (Some of these *sūtra*-s are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*.)[1] The word *Rathasūtra* means a work dealing with the construction etc. of chariots ; similarly *Hastisūtra* means a work dealing with the disease etc., of elephants. In the same way *Bhikṣusūtra* must mean a work dealing with *bhikṣu*-s, i.e. the conduct or duties (*caryā*) of *bhikṣu*-s. As the conduct of the *bhikṣu*-s is not the subject of the *Brahmasūtra* it cannot be called *Bhikṣusūtra*.

(B) Some may say that the word *Bhikṣusūtra* can well mean *Brahmasūtra*, for the study of the *Brahmasūtra* is prescribed for the *bhikṣu*-s ; i.e. the word *Bhikṣu-sūtra* means a text in *sūtra* form to be studied by *bhikṣu*-s. In this sense the word falls under the *Śākapārthivādi* group of Pāṇini (भिक्षु-अध्येतव्यं सूत्रम्—भिक्षुसूत्रम्). To us this explanation seems to be far-fetched, for the simple reason that we hardly find words of similar nature (i.e. names of works based on the names of their readers) in the vast literature of Sanskrit. Moreover, we find no śāstric authority to hold that only *Bhikṣu*-s are eligible to study the *Brahmasūtra*. Had it been so, learned householders would not have composed expositions on the (extant) *Brahmasūtra*.[2] 'If at all we are to take *Bhikṣusūtra* as a word of *Śākapārthivādi* group we would think it better to analyse it as भिक्षुविषयकं सूत्रम् where the word *bhikṣu* stands for *bhikṣucaryā* (the conduct, i.e. the duties of *bhikṣu*-s).

(C) To say that the extant *Brahmasūtra* may be called *Bhikṣusūtra* as it helps one attain the stage of a *bhikṣu* (*bhikṣutva-sampādaka*) is fanciful, for it cannot be held that the act of attaining bhikṣuhood is the chief subject[3] of the *Brahmasūtra* or the chief purpose of the composition of the *Brahmasūtra*, in spite of the fact that the third and fourth chapters of the *Brahmasūtra* con-

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1. *Sabhā*, 5.121.122
2. That the householders are eligible for the study of Vedānta is clearly stated in various works; स्वकर्मणामनुष्ठानाम् सम्यगात्मनिदर्शनात् । वेदान्तानां परिज्ञानाद् गृहस्थोऽपि विमुच्यते ॥ Yogiyājñavalkya, 11.45 quoted in Aparārka on *Yāj. Smṛti*, 3.57.
3. The subject of the *Brahmasūtra*-s can be known from the following statement of Śaṅkara —वेदान्तवाक्यकुसुमग्रथनार्थत्वात् सूत्राणाम् । वेदान्तवाक्यानि हि सूत्रैरुदाहृत्य विचार्यन्ते" । *Śārīrakabhāṣya*, 1.1.2.

tain discussion on *sannyāsa* and similar subjects. Moreover, had the *Brahmasūtra* been called *Bhikṣusūtra* on account of the aforesaid reason, it must have been composed by a *Bhikṣu*. It would be too much to assume that the author of the extant *Brahmasūtra* or the authors of the ancient *Brahmasūtra*-s (now lost) were *bhikṣu*-s, i.e. these teachers composed their *sūtra* works while they were in the fourth *āśrama*.

(D) We have a much weighty argument against taking the *Bhikṣusūtra* of Pāṇini as identical with the extant *Brahmasūtra*. It is the absence of the application of the rule of *tadviṣayatā*[1] in referring to the extant *Brahmasūtra*. To be explicit: the rule of *tadviṣayatā* is applied not only to the field of the names of the Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas, but also (to some extent) to the field of the *Kalpasūtra*, *Naṭasūtra* and *Bhikṣusūtra*[2]. If the rule of *tadviṣayatā* is applied, we cannot have much expression as वैयासिकी उत्तरमीमांसा (or शारीरकमीमांसा) but we will be compelled to add another secondary suffix after the word Vaiyāsikī in the sense of *tadadhīte* or *tadveda*[3] and to use the word thus derived in the plural number only (cf. ऐतरेयिणः, तैत्तिरीयाः etc.) Do we find this process at the time of referring to the *Brahmasūtra* in any authoritative works ? This shows that the well known *Brahmasūtra* does not fall under the category of *Bhikṣusūtra* mentioned by Pāṇini.

(E) According to us the word *Bhikṣusūtra* is a class name and it refers to all those ancient works that deal with the conduct (*caryā*) of *bhikṣu*-s (persons of the fourth *āśrama*). These works in *sūtra*-s (laconic statements) were composed by such ancient sages as Devala, Hārīta, and others. Though these *sūtra* works by the most ancient teachers appear to have been lost yet we find a few passages of these works as quotations (sometimes verbatim and sometimes even in incorrect forms) in the Digests or in the commentaries on *Dharmaśāstra*.[4]

(F) Though we have not found a *sūtra* work by Pārāśarya on *bhikṣucaryā*, nor have we found any statement by Pārāśarya quoted in any Digest, etc. yet the existence of a *Bhikṣusūtra* by Pārāśarya may be inferred from the statements of Parāśara on *bhikṣudharma* quoted in some Digests. It is quite likely

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1. *Aṣṭādhyāī*, IV.2.66.
2. *Mahābhāṣya*, IV.2.66.
3. *Pāṇini*, 4.2.59.
4. Vide कृत्यकल्पतरु, मोक्षकाण्ड, p. 42, 50, 78, 85, etc. where *sūtra*-s of Devala and others have been quoted.

that in some cases, if not in all the printed form Parāśara is corrupt and the correct form is Pārāśarya.

It should be clearly noted that as the rule of *tadviṣayatā* is associated with a *sūtra*[1] we are to use the word Pārāśarin in the plural number only; i.e. we are to use the word पाराशरिण:(भिक्षव:) and not पाराशरी (in the singular number). If Pārāśarya composed a work on *Smṛti* we may refer to the work by the word *Pārāśarī Smṛti.* This very expression can be used even if the name of the author is Parāśara, so far as the grammatical process is concerned.

It cannot be said definitely that the word Pārāśarya refers to the *bhikṣu* Pañcaśikha, though he is said to be a *Pārāśaryasagotra* in *Śāntiparvan*[2] for the expression simply means 'a man belonging to the *gotra* called Pārāśarya' (This *gotra* is not the *gotra*—a technical word of grammar). Even if the word Pārāśarya is taken as referring to the *bhikṣu* Pañcaśikha (for which independent evidence is required), the word *Bhikṣusūtra* cannot be taken in the sense of the '*sūtra*-s on *Sāṃkhya*' for the simple reason that these *sūtra*-s do not deal with *bhikṣucaryā.*

(G) As to who was this Pārāśarya is almost impossible to ascertain. The word Pārāśarya has two significations: (i) It means a *gotra* (i.e. any descendent beginning with the grand-son, a *gotrāpatya* as is usually called in grammar) of a person named Parāśara. There may be any number of Pārāśarya-s and unless distinctive epithets are used to distinguish one Pārāśarya from the other, it is practically impossible to identify persons bearing the name Pārāśarya. (ii) It also means a man belonging to the *gotra* called Pārāśarya. This *gotra* is *laukika* i.e. it is not in the Pāṇinian sense of *gotrāpatya* as shown above. If the texts on *gotrapravara* mention Pārāśarya as a name of a *gotra,* then all persons belonging to this *gotra* will be called Pārāśarya. According to our age-old custom a person of Pārāśarya-*gotra* is usually called *Pārāśaryasagotra* (i.e. a स is added before the word *gotra*).

In the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to identify Pārāśarya mentioned by Pāṇini. Though we have Purāṇic references to a few Pārāśaryas yet no Purāṇic passage speaks of their authorship of the *Bhikṣusūtra.* We have a Brāhmaṇic reference[3] which shows that there was a certain Pārāśarya who was different from a certain Bādarāyaṇa (a *gotrāpatya* of a certain Badara; there may be any number of Badaras.[4] It is unfortunate that we find no mention of his authorship of the *Bhikṣusūtra* in any *Brāhmaṇa*-work.

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1. IV.3.110
2. 320.24
3. *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa,* III.9.3
4. Pāṇini, 4.1.99

THE GUJARATI PASSIVES IN—ā—

H. C. Bhayani

1. In Modern Gujarati the passive verbal base is derived from the active one by suffixing *-ā-* to the latter. For example:

kar-, 'do' : *karā-* 'be done'
karāv- (caus.) : *karāvā-* (pass. of caus.)

The passives have usually several other shades of meaning also, like 'be able', 'be permitted' etc. The past passive marker in standard Gujarati is *-y-*, the same as it is for the active. But dialectally (e.g. in Gohilwadi) we have *-ṇ-* for the past passive. For example for dir.n.sing. we have

karyāyũ (standard) : *karāṇũ* (dial.)

The past. passive form in *-y-* is an innovation. It was created on the analogy of the active form. In Old Gujarati we have past passive forms in *-ṇ-* only, which have been conserved in modern dialects.

The *-ā-* passives have been noted also from Medieval Awadhi and Bengali. But now all the NIA. languages except Gujarati have periphrastic passive, instead of the suffixal passive we find in OIA. and MIA.[1] For Gujarati also prior to Medeilval Gujarati we do not find the *-ā-* passives. The problem is how this new passive originated.

We already have in this matter several suggestions, most of which are possible guesses at the best. A. F. R. Hoernle derived the *-ā-* passives from Sanskrit causatives[2] in *-āy-* (e.g. Sk. *pāyayati*, 'causes to drink'). This view was accepted by G. A. Grierson and L. P. Tessitori. But J. Bloch did not find Hoernle's suggestion attractive, though he had no definite alternative expla-

1. Bloch, J., *Indo-Aryan* (A. Master's English translation), 1965, p. 238.
2. *Indo-Aryan*, pp. 237-238, 292-293.

nation to offer. He believed, the form originated in MIA under some analogical influence.[1] P. B. Pandit mentions the various solutions noted by Bloch along with T. N. Dave's view, but he finds all of them unsatisfactory and leaves the matter at that[2]. Dave has suggested[3] that the present form of the -ā- passive (e.g. Medieval Gujarati *mukāi*, 'is released') is an analogical formation from the past passive participle in -*āṇau*(e.g. *mukāṇau*, 'was released'). The latter itself Dave derives from the present participle suffix -*āna*- found with Sanskrit medio-passive bases (e.g. *bhuñjāna*- 'eating' from *bhuj*- 'to eat'). As far as the phonology goes, this would be alright, but the semantic difficulties, viz., the present and active developing into the past and passive seem insuperable.

2. The derivation offered, however, by K. K. Shastri[4] provides a satisfactory explanation, although he has not examined fully all the implications of his suggestions, and has also not undertaken to discuss the issues involved. Shastri has traced back the -*ā*- passives to the -*āy*- denominatives of Sanskrit. He sees the Gajarati denominatives in -*ā*- e.g. *gandhāvũ*, 'to smell (intr.)' from *gandh*, 'smell', *sukāvũ*, 'to dry (intr.)' from *sũkũ*, 'dry' etc. Secondly he proposes to connect the past particile suffix -*ṇa*- with Sanskrit past participle suffix -*ṇa*- an allomorph of -*ta*-. Both these sugestions appear to be sound. Only we have to work out and demonstrate all the interrelationships involved.

3. One of the six classes of Sanskrit denominatives, viz., the *kyaṅ* class, has -*y*- as the stem-formative, and it takes medio-passive endings. These denominatives have as a rule the distinctive meaning 'to act or behave like X', the X standing for the basic noun. For example, *sphuliṅgāyate*, 'acts like a spark', *samudrāyate*, 'behaves like an ocean'.

There is, however, a subgroup within this class of denominatives which have rather a different shade of meaning. They signify not 'to act or behave like X', but 'to experience X', 'to be in X', 'to become X'. or 'to serve as X', where X stands for the basic noun or adjective that signifies some mental state or quality. The examples are as follows :

mālāyate, 'serves as a garland'
śighrāyate, 'becomes speedy'

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1. *Ibid.* p. 238; D. P. Tessitori, 'Notes on the Grammar etc.', *Indian Antiquary*, 1914-1915. § 140.
2. Pandit, P. B.; *Gujarati Bhaṣā-nū Dhvanisvarūp ane Dhvaniparivartan*', second edition, 1974, pp. 234-235.
3. Dave, T. N., *A Study of Gujarati Language*, 1935, p. 47.
4. Shastri, K. K., *Gujarati Rūparacanā*, 1958, pp. 216-217.

lohitāyate, 'reddens (intr.)'
mandāyate, 'slows down'
utsukāyate, 'becomes eager'
śithilāyate, 'loosens (intr.)'
adharāyate, 'suffers defeat'
durmanāyate, 'is depressed'
taralāyate, 'suffers grief'
maṇḍalāyate, 'becomes circular'
dhūmāyate, 'gives out smoke'

We cannot miss the 'passive' thrust of meaning of these medio-passive denominatives.

Secondly, there is a group of monosyllabic, intransitive verbal roots in Sanskrit ending in *-ā-*, which has the generally shared meaning of 'to assume or suffer a state' : For example :

glāyati, 'feels fatigue'
mlāyati, 'withers'
śyāyati, 'congeals'
styāyati, 'collects (intr.)'
pyāyate, 'fattens'
vāyati, 'dries up'
drāti, 'runs'
nidrāti, 'sleeps'
āghrāti, 'smells'

These roots form their past passive participle with the suffix *-na-* :
glāna, *mlāna-*, *śyāna- styāna-*, *pyāna*, *vāna-*, *drāna-*, *nidrāṇa-*, *āghrāṇa-*.

In Middle Indo-Aryan, and especially in Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa, we have similar correlations of present forms and past passive participle forms of some intransitive verbs with their roots ending in *-ā-*. For example :

milāyai : *milāṇa-*
gilāyai : *gilāṇa-*
niddāyai : *niddāṇa-*
viddāyai : *viddāṇa-*
vijjhāyai, *vijjhai* : *vijjhāṇa-*
palāyai : *palāṇa-*
agghāyai : *agghāṇa-*
nivvāi : *nivvāṇa-*
uvvāyai, *uvvāi* ; *uvvāṇa-*
sammāi : *sammāṇa-*

Besides, we have some new intransitive verbs with similar forms and 'passive' meanings. For example :

orummāi, 'dries up'
vikkāyai, 'sells' (intr.)
ulhāi, 'is extinguished'
kummāṇu, 'withered'
dhaṇāi, 'is kind to'

We can see continuation of this type of verbs in Modern Gujarati verbs like :

bujhāvũ, 'to be extinguished'

samāvũ, 'to be contained'

oḷāvũ, 'to be extinguished'

Modern Hindi verbs like *aghānā*, 'to be fed up' are also comparable here.

Thus on the one hand there was in continuous use throughout the OIA., MIA. and Old Gujarati periods a set of intransitive verbs with roots ending in *-ā-* and generally signifying 'to feel, experience or suffer some mental state', 'to be in a feeling state', 'to occur'. Side by side, with this there was in use the past passive participles with the special suffix *-na-* (Ap. *-ṇau*). This gave rise, by reinterpretation and metanalysis, to *-ā-* as a verbal suffix. This process got support from two other morphological developments. The Prakrit passive formative *-ijja-* fell together with the *-ijja-* of the potential and thereby weakened its communicative power. The alternative passive marker *-iya-* gradually lost its passive meaning, and due to several developments in syntax and the present system, came to be reinterpreted as the marker of present first person plural active. The communicative gap, created by these developments was filled up by *-ā-* which got established as the passive marker, with *ṇau* as its special past participle formative.

This *-ā-* formative, however, has also preserved its original roles of (a) forming denominatives from nominal bases signifying mental states, and (b) of occurring as a marker of such intransitive verbal roots[1]. This may be illustrated with a few examples :

bharam, 'delusion' — *bharmāvũ*, 'to be deluded'
śaram, 'shame', — *śamāvũ*, 'to be ashamed'
lobh, 'covetousness', — *lobhāvũ*, 'to be covetous'
lālac, 'temptation', — *lalcāvũ*, 'to be tempted'

ris, anger, *riśavũ*, 'to be angry'
kaṣṭa, 'pain', *kaṣṭāvũ*, 'to be pained'
gandha, '(foul) smell', — *gandhāvũ*, 'to emit foul smell'
ghā, 'wound', — *ghavāvũ*, 'to be wounded'
kāṭ, 'rust' *katāvũ*, 'to be rusted'

The following have no separable nominal base :

ghabrāvũ, 'to be nervous'
pastāvũ, 'to regret, to be repentant'
mujhāvũ, 'to be confused'
ribāvũ, 'to be tortured'
sidāvũ, 'to be depressed'
vilāvũ, 'to be extinguished'
g̃uglāvũ, 'to be suffocated'

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1. For various semantic functions of *-ā-* as a verbal formative in Modern Gujarati see Bhayani, H. C., *Thoḍok Vyākraṇ Vicār*, Third edition, 1978, pp. 132-139.

SOME NOTES ON SANSKRIT ETYMOLOGY

T. Burrow

1. *aráṇi–* 'firestick'

The two sticks rubbed together to produce fire are usually used in the dual, but when referred to singly they are distinguished as *uttarāraṇí-* and *adharāraṇí-*. Their operation is thus described in *ṚV*[1] :

agním náro dī́dhitibhir aráṇyor

hástacyutī janayanta praśastám.[1]

"Men by their skills generate *Agni,* the praised one, with movement of the hands". The effort involved in this process was considerable, as a result of which the god Agni was known as *sáhasaḥ sūnúḥ,* 'son of force', i.e. of the force used in the production of fire by this process. There were two ways of procuring fire. It could either be got from an existing fire kept alight for the purpose, or it could be produced by the use of the firesticks. These alternatives are referred to in *Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra* : (*agním*) *dhriyamāṇam vā prajvālya araṇimantam vā mathitvā*[2]. i.e. "Either having caused to flare up a fire which has been kept going, or having produced by friction the fire which is in firesticks."

Some unsatisfactory suggestions have been made about the derivation of this word, and in particular about the identity of the root involved. Boehthlingk and Roth connected it with their verbal root *ar-*, a root of multiple origin and meaning but in this case having the meaning 'sich eng anschliessen'. A similar derivation was given in *The Sanskrit Language*[3]. The objection here is that the root *ar-*, 'to fit' would be suitable in the case of

1. 7.1.1.
2. 2.2.
3. P. 157.

something fitted in and staying fitted, but is not appropriate to the vigorous action described above. Another suggestion recorded by Mayrhofer[1] is that of R. Hauschild, which would connect it with the IE root *al-*, 'to nourish'. The objection here is that it is the generation of fire that is involved in this process, not its strengthening. There is another IE root which provides a more satisfactory derivation for the word *aráṇi-* than either of the two previously suggested. This is the root *al-*, 'to grind' which I suggested as an alternative to my previous suggestion in *The Problem of Shwa in Sanskrit*[2]. This root has the exact meaning suitable to the process of producing fire from the firesticks by grinding one against the other. Its appropriatness is so obvious that there can be no doubt as to superiority of this derivation to the others which have been proposed.

The IE root *al-*, 'to grind' is not very widely distributed. The comparative dictionary of J. Pokorny[3] quotes it in verbal use only from Greek and Armenian. To these are now to be added Iranian where a corresponding root *ar-*, 'to grind' is richly represented[4]. When a new comparative dictionary of Indo-European is produced, these forms will have to be added.

This is not the only derivative of this root in Indo-Aryan. It was recognised early that the Hindi word *āṭā*, 'meal, flour' was derived from this root[5]. This was correctly derived from MIA *aṭṭa-*, and ultimately from *alto-*, 'ground'. More evidence has been added since, notably NW Prakrit (Niya) *aṭa* (i.e. *aṭṭa-*), and a sanskritisation of a MIA *aṭṭa-* listed in the dictionary *Medinī* and given the meaning 'food'. As regards the stages of development of this word, I wrongly stated in *BSOAS*[6], that in this word, and in *paṭṭa-*, 'cloth' that "-lt- has been assimilated to produce the double cerebral, as opposed to the usual rule stated above, according to which normally the single cerebral results". This process can be more precisely stated. There was a dialectal variation in old Indo-Aryan in the treatment of IE *l*. In one dialect it remained, while in another it was changed to *r* as in Iranian. In the literary language both these treatments are found, with a preponderance of *r*-forms in the *Ṛgveda*. When *-l-* was followed by *-t-*, and it was preserved, Fortunatov's law operated, and the combination was replaced by single *-ṭ-*: *paṭa-*, 'cloth' <*palta-*. When, however, the *-l-* was changed to *-r-*, the com-

1. *EWA*, I.47.
2. P. 90.
3. *IE*, pp. 28-9.
4. H. W. Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, p. 22.
5. Wackernagel, *Altindisehe Grammatik*, I, p. 170, quoting E. Leuman, *KZ*, 30.355.
6. 35, p. 539.

bination remained at the old Indo-Aryan stage thus giving *parta-*. Assimilation took place only at the Middle Indo-Aryan stage producing the alternative form *paṭṭa-* <*parta-*. In the same way *-l-* developed to *-r-* in *arta-* <*alta*—<*alto-*, and at the middle Indo-Aryan stage this was assimilated to *aṭṭa-*.

The root in question is a disyllabic root (*alē*). In Greek this invariably appears as disyllabic with the reduced grade of final vowel, i.e. *ale-*, in such forms as *aléō*, 'grind', *aletōn*, 'mill', *alear*, 'flour', etc. It was pointed out in *The Problem of Shwa in Sanskrit*[1] that a similar disyllabic base is to be assumed in Skt. *aráṇi-*, which is, therefore, to be analysed as *ará-ṇi-*. By contrast a monosyllabic form of the root appears in *aṭṭa-* <*arta-* <*alto-*. This also goes back to the base *alē-* but in this case we have not a reduced grade as in the Gk. forms and in *ará-ṇi-* but a zero grade in which the final long vowel of the disyllabic base has been elided. Such forms are not uncommon, as can be illustrated by derivatives of the root *jan-* (IE disyllabic *ĝenē-*) such as *jantú-*, 'offspring, creature', *jàntva-*, 'to be born', and *jánman-*, 'birth', and similar forms from other roots[2].

As a final note on this word reference may be made to the fact that in *TPS* 1946[3], I suggested a derivation from Dravidian, Ta. *arai*, 'to rub, grind', etc. (*DED* 191). This was rightly rejected by M. Mayrhofer[4] and it was later ignored in *DED*. Dravidian etymologies should not be sought when a perfectly good IE derivation is available, and in any case they are not likely to be found among the ancient terms of Indo-Aryan ritual.

2. *alají-*, 'inflammation of the eye'.

The word occurs in this form in the *Atharvaveda*, and there is an alternative form with long *-ī* in the medical literature (*alajī*). For this word also a Dravidian etymology was proposed in *DED* 234[5]. The same objection applies here as applied in the case of the proposed Dravidian etymology of the preceding word; that is to say that there exists an Indo-European root *al-*, 'to burn' for which see J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Worterbuch*[6]. This root occurs also in Skt. *alāta-*, 'firebrand', and in Lat. *adoleo*, 'to burn, consume by fire', *altāre*, 'altar', etc. As regards the formation of Skt. *alají-* the probability is that we have here also a disyllabic root, and

1. *Loc. cit.*
2. *The Problem of Shwa in Sanskrit*, p. 7.
3. P. 22.
4. *EWA*, I, p.47.
5. Ta. *aṛalci* from *aṛal*, 'to burn, be hot'.
6. P. 28.

that the word is to be analysed *ala-jī-*, containing the full grade I of such a root. That the root is a disyllabic root is also indicated by the word *ūlmuka-*, 'torch' which etymologists have agreed to put here. The form of the root in this word, *ul-*, is derived from the double zero form of the root (represented by Brugmann by a long sonant *l*, and by others in various different ways). This becomes *ul-*. not *il-* on account of the following labial nasal *-m-*, and since the *-l-* is preserved, and not changed to *-r-* there is no lengthening of the vowel as there is when *-r-* is involved (*pūrṇa-*, etc.).

A word derived from the same IE root, in which the same development of meaning occurs, although the stem-formation is quite different, occurs in Khotanese Saka : *arādā*, 'inflammation'[1].

3. *alasāndra-*, 'Dolichos catjang'.

This Sanskrit word is recorded in the lexicon *Vaijayantī*[2]. Of the synomyms quoted here, *rājamāṣa-* is attested in texts, and may, therefore, be regarded as the usual Sanskrit name of this plant, while the others are quoted only from lexica, and in the case of *alasāndra-* the word is known only from this lexicon. The word is to be connected with an entry in the *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, namely no. 205, Ka. *alasāndi*, *alasānde*, etc., Te. *alasandelu*, *alasandiyalu*, etc. Other related forms are Ma. *alaśaṇṭe* and Tu. *alasaṇḍè*,'id'. Ardhamāgadhī Prakrit has *ālisaṃdaga-*, *ālisaṃdaya-* vaguely rendered 'a kind of crop (*dhānyaviseṣa-*)', but which obviously belong here in form and meaning. A modern IA derivative of this is seen in Mar. *aḷsũdā*, 'a creeper bearing a kind of bean'.

In addition to these forms the Malayalam lexicon provides a form corresponding exactly to the Sanskrit : *alasāndram* 'a kind of pulse'. In this we may recognise a loan word from the Sanskrit word as attested in the *Vaijayantī*, and one which confirms the existence of the Sanskrit word recorded in that lexicon. The fact that it is not elsewhere recorded is, no doubt, due to the fact that it was a specifically South Indian word as is evidenced by the distribution of the words listed above. As regards the etymology of the word the Malayalam Lexicon has a suggestion to the effect that the plant is so called because it was an import from the West and, therefore, named after the city of Alexandria. We know from Pāli texts that the form this city name took in India was, in its middle Indo-Aryan form, *alasanda-*. The corresponding Sanskrit form one would expect to be *alasāndra-* and although

1. See the remarks on this word by H. W. Bailey in his *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, 7.
2. *alasāndre rājamāṣo niṣpāvas śvetaśimbikā*, p. 126, 1.92.

it is not attested as the name of city it is made clear by the Pāli evidence that it must have been the form which Alexandria acquired in Sanskrit. It is this form which has been preserved in the Sanskrit lexicon, and in the Malayalam loanword, as the name of a crop imported from the West.

4. *avaṭīṭa-*, etc.

Three terms meaning 'flat-nosed' are laid down by Pāṇini[1] according to which the suffixes *ṭīṭa-c*, *nāṭa-c* and *bhraṭa-c* are added to *ava* to produce words of this sense : *avaṭīṭá-*, *avanāṭá-*, *avabhraṭá-*. Apart from Pāṇini the only text so far from which any of these words can be quoted is the *Harṣacarita* which has the compound *avanāṭa-nāsika-*. With the word *avabhraṭā-* we may compare the Vedic adjective *an-avabhra-* which occurs in the compound *anavabhrárādhas-* 'whose gifts are not inadequate'[2]. The adjective *avabhraṭa-*, 'depressed (of the nose)' is to be analysed *avabhra-ṭa-*, a form in which the suffix *-ṭa-* has been added, the *avabhra-* which is seen in the Vedic adjective *avabhra-* which is attested in the above compound. The suffix *-ṭa-* is a colloquial suffix, not much attested in Sanskrit, but well developed in Prakrit in the form *-ḍa-*[3]. Such forms were obviously avoided in standard Sanskrit, but an example like this shows that the suffix had already come into being in sub-standard speech by the time of Pāṇini. Another well known example, also figuring in the gammatical literature, is *vadhūṭī*[4], 'young woman of marriageable age'.

Yet another example is to be found in another word in the above list, *avanāṭa-*, to be analysed *avanā-ṭa-*. This form is in fact Middle Indo-Aryan, *avanā-* having developed at this stage from *ava-nās-*, 'having a depressed nosed', with the regular loss of the final *-s*. To this *avanā-* the secondary suffix *-ṭa-* has then been added.

The final *-ṭa-* of *avaṭīṭa-* cannot be analysed in the same way since an *avaṭī-* would produce no meaning. The explanation is quite different, and, possibly, a good deal more interesting. This *-ṭīṭa-* which follows *ava-* in this subjective has a noteworthy resemblance to the Hittite word for 'nose', *titita-*. The fact that the *t's* of Sanskrit are retroflex causes no difficulty, since sporadic retroflexion has been shown to be very common in Sanskrit, and consequently we may safely restore the original form of this element of the word as *-tīta-*. The connection of this with the Hittite word

1. 5.2.31.
2. *ṚV*, 1. 166.7, etc.
3. J. Bloch, *L., Indo-Aryan, p.* 165
4. cf. p. 4.1.20 *Vārtt.*

can best be explained by assuming that in the latter case we have a reduplicated form *ti-tita-*.

The usual IE word for 'nose', represented by Sanskrit *nās-/nas-*, etc., meant originally 'nostril' as can be seen from the use of the dual in Vedic *nasoḥ*, and from forms like-Lat. *nārēs*, etc. The meaning 'nostril' is primary and the meaning 'nose' secondary to this. This being the case it would not have been surprising if there had been in Indo-European another word for 'nose', not dependent on a word meaning 'nostril', which was in due course supplanted by derivatives of the latter. A comparison of this *-ṭiṭa-* of Sanskrit with Hitt, *titita-*, suggests that we may have such a word here.

5. *aṣṭi-/aṣṭhi-*, etc.

These words are defined as 'kernel, stone of fruit', which is somewhat inaccurate, since the stone of a fruit, and the edible portion inside it (e.g. of mango stone) are not the same thing. The meaning in fact is simply 'stone of fruit'. The two forms of the word are rare, since *aṣṭhi-* is only lexical, and the form *aṣṭi-* occurs only in the late *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The variation between the aspirated and non-aspirated form is probably textual rather than linguistic and to judge by *aṣṭhīlā* 'nut'[1] and the other forms quoted below, it is probable that of the two forms the aspirated form is the correct form (*aṣṭhi-*). Concerning the derivation of *aṣṭhi-* the *Petersburg Dictionary* has the following remarks : "Wohl verwandt mit *aśan-* und *aśman-*; davon abgeleitet sind wahrscheinlich *aṣṭhīlā* und *aṣṭhīvánt-*. Auch eine Zusammenstellung mit *asthi*, das aber n. ist, lässt sich denken". Of these two alternatives the second seems usually to have prevailed. This is the view Mayrhofer[2], though without much certainty. It is also adopted by R. Hiersche in *Untersuchungen zur Frage der Tenues Aspiratae im Indogermanischen*[3]. Nevertheless, a derivation from the root *aś-* signifying 'hardness' as in *aśman-*, 'stone', etc. provides a satisfactory source for the meaning of the words in question, namely *aṣṭhi-*, 'stone of fruit', *aṣṭhīlā*, 'pebble; nut, hard fruit; hard swelling' and *aṣṭhīvánt-* 'knee-cap' all of which are characteristically hard things.

There are reasons why a connection with *ásthi*, 'bone' has been thought of, in spite of the evidently correct derivation just stated, which goes back to the *Petersburg Dictionary*. In first place the word *asthi*, 'bone' is also used in the sense of 'stone of fruit', as in *āmrāsthi*, 'mango stone'. This development

1. *Mbh.*, 3. 133.9.
2. *EWA.* I, p. 63,
3. pp. 58-59.

of meaning is natural, and has parallels. The *Petersburg Dictionary* quotes Russian *kost́* as meaning both 'bone' and 'stone of fruit', and a Dravidian parallel is found in *DED* 3619 where there are words combining both meanings are found (e.g. Kui *pṟēnu*, 'bone; stone of fruit'). So purely from the point of view of meaning there would be no difficulty in explaining Sanskrit *aṣṭhi-* as derived from a MIA *aṭṭhi-*. In the second place the word for 'bone' appears in Pāli with retroflexion in the form *aṭṭhi*. This word means both 'bone' and 'stone of fruit', and in view of this retroflex form, and the combination of the two meanings, it might seem natural to regard the rare Sanskrit *aṣṭhi-* as a Sanskritisation of this, and therefore, ultimately derived from *aṣṭhi*. In Prakrit both the dental and retroflex forms are found, *atthi* and *aṭṭhi*, the former being the more common. According to the dictionaries *aṭṭhi* means 'hard, unripe fruit'[1] and 'stone of fruit is *aṭṭhiya-*. The dental variant means only 'bone'. In modern IA the retroflex forms of the word for bone are mainly represented in the NW languages[2] while in the central languages, where the words for 'bone' go back to a form *haḍḍa-* of unknown origin, the words listed by Turner under *aṣṭi-* preserve the meaning, 'stone of fruit'.

If *aṣṭhi-* were the only word to be considered, it would be reasonable to conclude that it was a Sanskritisation of a middle IA *aṭṭhi-*. But this explanation cannot apply to the other words in question, namely *aṣṭhīvánt-* and *aṣṭhīlā*. Sanskrit has only *ásthi*, 'bone', and the later retroflex forms, Pā. *aṭṭhi*, etc. have to be explained as MIA developments, and cannot be used to account for the Vedic *aṣṭhīvánt-*. There is no old Indo-Aryan *aṣṭhi*, 'bone', and since *aṣṭhīvánt-* has a perfectly straightforward alternative etymology, there is no reason to assume one. In the case of *aṣṭhīlā* the range of meaning—'pebble, gravel; nut or hard fruit; hard swelling' is not such as can reasonably be derived from the word meaning 'bone'. On the other hand it gets a simple derivation from the root *aś-*, along with *aṣṭhīvánt-*. As regards *aṣṭhi-*, 'stone of fruit' it obviously belongs to these words, so that a derivation from MIA *aṣṭhi* becomes unnecessary. On the other hand, there is the fact that *aṣṭhi* does have the combination ofmeanings 'bone', 'stone of fruit', and it may very well be that the retroflexion in Pāli and Prakrit, which is phonetically irregular, is due to a confusion between *asthi* > *atthi*, 'bone; stone of fruit' with *aṣṭhi-* > *aṭṭhi*, 'stone of fruit', with the latter form taking over from the former even in the meaning 'bone'.

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1. Cf. the meaning of *aṣṭhila*.
2. Listed in Turner, *CDIAL* under *aṣṭhi*, 'bone'.



WAS THE MANCHU CANON A KANJUR OR A TRIPIṬAKA*

Lokesh Chandra

The Manchu *Tripiṭaka* was known so far through references in Chinese texts. No physical verification of its contents had been possible. By a lucky coincidence Professor Charles R. Bawden[1] has come across a volume which enlightens us about its contents and thereby affirms the history of its translation.

The details of the Manchu *Tripiṭaka* in the Wei-tsang t'ung-chih and the contents and physical description of its only available single volume given by Bawden enable us to define its character precisely :

(1) According to the Wei-tsang t'ung-chih[2], the *first* 14 volumes of the Manchu *Tripiṭaka* contained the Ta-pan-jo ching or *Mahā-Prajñāpāramitā* which is the title given by Hsüan-tsang to his translation of 12 different *Prajñāpāramitā* texts completed in A.D. 659.

(2) Though these 12 *Prajñāpāramitā* texts were brought together in a collection and given a collective title, the distinctive character of each text was stressed by assigning consecutive 'Book' (*hui*) numbers from 1 to 12. The twelve texts are :

Book 1 *Śata-sāhasrikā* in 1,00,000 *śloka*-s
Book 2 *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā* in 25,000 *śloka*-s
Book 3 *Aṣṭādaśa-sāhasrikā* in 18,000 *śloka*-s
Book 4 *Daśa-sāhasrikā* in 10,000 *śloka*-s
Book 5 *Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā* in 8,000 *śloka*-s
Book 6 *Devarāja-pravara-prajñāpāramitā*
Book 7 *Saptaśatikā* in 700 *śloka*-s

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*"and the fact that, according to Fuchs, the Manchu translation was based to a great extent on Chineses originals, leaves open the question as to whether one should refer to it as a Kanjur or a Tripiṭaka" (Bawden 1980; 65).

1. 1980 : 65-84.

2. Bawden 1980 : 76.

Book 8 *Nāgaśrī-paripṛcchā* or *Pañcaśatikā* in 500 *śloka*-s
Book 9 *Vajracchedikā* in 300 *śloka*-s
Book 10 *Adhyardhaśatikā* in 150 *śloka*-s
Book 11 *Pañcapāramitā-nirdeśa* in 1800 *śloka*-s
Book 12 *Suvikrānta-vikrami-paripṛcchā* in 1200 *śloka*-s.

As these were lumped under a single collective title by Hsüan-tsang, it has created confusion in the minds of Tibetologists and Mongolists who are accustomed to the Tibetan and Mongolian Kanjurs wherein they are treated as independent texts and assigned separate titles following the Sanskrit originals.

(3) The discovery of a volume of the Manchu *Tripiṭaka* confirms that Manchu followed Hsüan-tsang's version. It is evident that serial numbers of 'Books' (*hui*) of Manchu follow the Chinese precisely. Here below we give the correspondence of available Manchu books to Chinese :

Book 5 *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*[1].
Book 6 *Devarāja-pravara-prajñāpāramitā*, a part of the *Suvikrānta-vikrami-paripṛcchā*[2].
Book 7 *Saptaśatikā* spoken by *Mañjuśrī*[3].
Book 8 *Nāgaśrī-paripṛcchā*[4].
Book 9 *Vajracchedikā*[5].
Book 10 *Adhyardha-śatikā* or *Prajñāpāramitā-naya*[6].

(4) In the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*, these 12 *Prajñāpāramitā* texts are found in several translations. For instance, Book 2 of Hsüan-sang's version, namely the *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā*, was translated three times before him: by Mokṣala in A. D. 291[7], by Kumārajīva in A. D. 404[8], and by Dharmarakṣa in A.D. 286[9]. These earlier translations are treated as independent titles, and they occur in the Ming *Tripiṭaka* as serial numbers 2,3,4. While dealing with the Manchu, references to these earlier translations becomes misleading. We have to be careful in correlating the Manchu with the Chinese titles. This question arises because of the comments of Bawden[10]: "This title may be

1. Nj. le, Kl. 5, T. 220.5.
2. Nj. lf, Kl. 6, T. 220.6
3. Nj. lg, Kl. 7, T. 220.7.
4. Nj. lh, Kl. 8, 220.8.
5. Nj. li, Kl. 9, T. 220.9.
6. Nj. lj, Kl. 10, T. 220.10.
7. Nj. 2, K2.
8. Nj. 3, K3.
9. Nj. 4, K4.
10. P. 72.

reconstructed as 五會般若波羅蜜多經. It differs from those which precede it in not containing words corresponding to 'eight thousand', and in apparently belonging to a series of texts, of which it is the fifth". As already indicated above, Manchu refers to the Chinese translation by Hsüan-tsang, whose fifth book is the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*. When there are two or more Chinese translations of a particular *Prajñāpāramitā* text, Manchu follows the version of Hsüan-tsang and hence his numeration of the books in Manchu.

Bawden[1] points out that Book 6 *Devarāja-pravara-prajñā-pāramitā*, a part of the *Suvikrānta-vikrami-paripṛcchā*, is similar to text 231 in the Taisho *Tripiṭaka*, which was translated by Upśūnya in A.D. 565[2]. The Manchu does not correspond to Upaśūnya's translation[3] but to Hsüan-tsang's.[4] The details of Manchu Books 5,6,7,8,9, and 10 given by Bawden confirm beyond doubt that Hsüan-tsang is being followed and no other translation.

(5) The question arises: which edition of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* begins with the *Mahā-prajñāpāramitā*. The Ming edition of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* commences with this title. Thus we come to the surmise that the Manchu *Tripiṭaka* was based on the Ming *Tripiṭaka*. This surmise is confirmed by the fact that the Manchu *Tripiṭaka* was preceded by the appropriate transliteration of 10,402 *ḍhāraṇī*-s in 451 *sūtra*-s of the Ming *Tripiṭaka* into four scripts in the following order: Manchu, newly created unified system of Chinese transcription, Mongolian and Tibetan.

(6) A word of caution is essential. Scholars refer to the Taisho edition of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*, as it is a widely accessible edition. It has changed the traditional sequence of texts, and thereby curtailed its utility for a comparative study with the Manchu *Tripiṭaka*, and to solve related problems. A photomechanic reproduction of the Ming *Tripiṭaka* is a *sine qua non* for Manchu, Mongol and other literary as well as artistic developments during the Ch'ien-lung period. It should be undertaken at the earliest. It will impart a new dimension to our studies and at the same time resolve quite a few enigmas.

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1. P. 79.
2. K8, Nj. 9.
3. Taisho 231.
4. Taisho 220.6, Nj. 1f, Kl. 6.

(7) The Manchu Canon has been termed the Manchu Kanjur by Fuchs[1] in keeping with its popular nomenclature. This appelation goes back to the times of Changcha Hutuktu who was instrumental in getting the Manchu translation completed. Before the commencement of the Manchu translation an intensive planning was undertaken under the leadership of the Changcha Hutuktu. The counterparts of the Chinese *sūtra*-s must have been traced in the Tibetan and Mongolian editions of the Kanjur to facilitate their translation into Manchu. We know for certain that *dhāraṇī*-s that occurred in the Ming edition of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* were compiled and corrected with the help of Tibetan. They were published as a quadrilingual collection of *dhāraṇī*-s in Manchu, Chinese, Mongolian and Tibetan. It deserves notice that the Manchu text comes first, thus emphasizing that the collection was intended to be a Manchu work. It bears the title in four languages as follows :

Manchu :	*han-i araha manju nikan monggo tanggût hergen-i kamchiha ambag'anjur nomun-i uheri tarni.*
Chinese :	*yü chih man han meng-ku hsi fan ho pi ta tsang ch'üan chou.*
Mongolian :	*qaγan-u bičigsen manǰu kitad mongγol töbed kelen qabsuaγsan bügüli ganjur-un tarni.*
Tibetan :	*rgyal-pos mdzad-paḥi mañdzu ragya hor bod yig bzhi-yi skad śan-sbyar-baḥi bkaḥ-ḥgyur-gyi sṅags tshaṅ-bar bkod-pa.*

In all the titles the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* is termed Kanjur : Manchu *g'anjur*, Mong. *ganǰur*, Tib. *bkaḥ-ḥgvur*. The Chinese title has *Va-tsang* 大藏 which is the usual term for the *Tripiṭaka*. When I started to publish this quadrilingual collection in 1966 under the title *Sanskrit Texts from the Imperial Palace at Peking*, I was faced with the problem of finding out the Sanskrit titles from the Tibetan Kanjur and/or from the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*. I could not trace them back to the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* as all the Chinese titles had been changed to accord with the Lamaist tradition. It was futile to try to trace back the Tibetan titles to the Tibetan Kanjur. The Tibetan titles were translations of the Chinese, though externally they bore such a deluding Lamaist garb that I was always tempted to try my luck to locate them in the Tibetan Kanjur. In 1966-68 I completed the reproduction of

1. 1930 : 388.

the first two cases comprising 20 fascicules with a general indication of their contents. It was impossible to correlate them to specific titles in the Tibetan or Chinese Canons. For seven years (1969-1975) I struggled to correlate the *dhāraṇī* collection. In the meantime I got interested in Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue of the Ming edition of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*, and in 1976 I discovered to my great delight that the *dhāraṇī* collection followed the precise sequence of the Ming *Tripiṭaka*. Immediately I set out to reproduce the remaining six cases with the title of every text correlated to Nanjio's Catalogue and its corresponding number in the Taisho edition. Bunyiu Nanjio had fortunately catalogued the Ming *Trpiṭaka*, which was the basis of the Manchu *Tripiṭaka* and of other Buddhist studies and translation projects in China during the Ch'ien-lung period. Its use is a must to understand the academic achievements of this long and eventful reign in the domains of Tibetan, Mongolian, Manchu and Chinese Buddhism.

It is important to observe that the *dhāraṇī* collection was redacted during the years 1748-1758, and its printing was completed in 1773. The plan of the translation of the Manchu *Tripiṭaka* was finalised in 1773[1]. It means that the Manchu transcriptions of *dhāraṇī*-s in the Ming edition of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* were finalised *before* its Manchu translation was undertaken. The correct pronunciation of the *dhāraṇī*-s was important. This reinforces the fact that the Manchu *Tripiṭaka* was translated from the Chinese. Had it been translated from the Tibetan or Mongolian Kanjur the redaction of the transcription of the *dhāraṇī*-s was unnecessary and would not have been undertaken.

(8) When Manchu was closer to Mongolian than to Chinese what was the reason for taking the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* as the basis of the Manchu *Tripiṭaka*. Majority of Manchu literature was a translation from Chinese. To translate from Chinese into Manchu was a well established tradition. Professional translators from Chinese to Manchu abounded. A project of the vastness of the Manchu *Tripiṭaka* demanded a host of translators. Availability of manpower, the predilection of Manchu literati to transcreate from Chinese and the developed linguistic technology of translating from Chinese into Manchu were some of the primary factors that influenced the Imperial decision to prepare a Manchu *Tripiṭaka* on the basis of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*. Is it also an indication of the extent of sinification of the Manchus by the time of Emperor Ch'ien-lung?

(9) The designation of the Manchu Canon as the 'Manchu Kanjur' poses the question of its relationship to the Tibetan and/or Mongolian

1. Fuchs 1930 : 391.

Kanjurs. The Ch'ien-lung edition of both the Tibetan and Mongolian Kanjurs are exactly identical in contents and sequence. They have the same number of texts and in the same sequence. Each volume of the Mongolian Kanjur has the same texts as that of the corresponding Tibetan Kanjur. Both begin with the tantra division and end with the *vinaya*. Both the Kanjurs begin with the *Mañjuśri-nāma-saṅgīti*. Had the Manchu *Tripiṭaka* been a 'Kanjur' in the strict sense of the term, the first texts would have been the tantras commencing with the *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti*, and not with the *Prajñāpāramitā*-s.

(10) The Manchu *Tripiṭaka* was accorded a Lamaist milieu in its collective appellation, *pothi* style, size of the volume, binding style, the total number of 108 volumes, editorial forms, manner of illustrations, the Tibetan-Mongolian system of giving the title of the work in original languages: Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese and Manchu. The name of the personage on the panel of the front cover is written in Manchu script and language on the left, and on the right in Tibetan script and language[1]. The cover panels are similar to the Mongolian Kanjur, "specifically to those in volumes 46 and 47, which are, in content, those most closely comparable with the present work, and which have been examined". The close conformity of the Manchu *Tripiṭaka* to the Lamaist traditions was a natural consequence of its redaction under the supervision of the Changcha Hutuktu. This was due to the Manchu Emperors being basically Lamaist in their faith and in deference to the commanding personality of its redactor the Changcha Hutuktu who was a close friend of Emperor Ch'ien-lung as well as the Imperial Preceptor. Thus it came to be known as the Manchu Kanjur. For the Tibetans and Mongols, Kanjur is their Buddhist Canon and by semantic extension any Buddhist Canon. When the quadrilingual collection of *dhāraṇī*-s was compiled from the Ming *Tripiṭaka*, the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* was designated Kanjur in its extended meaning. The size, the *pothī* style, the cover boards, miniatures on the front and back boards, detailed by Bawden clearly point to the Tibetan/Mongolian Kanjurs as the prototype and inspiration of its *external* format. On the end board of the available volume of the Manchu *Tripiṭaka* the following goddesses are illustrated : Zhal-bzaṅ-ma, Blo-bzaṅ-ma, Mgrin-bzaṅ-ma, Hgro-bzaṅ-ma. They are four of the Five Long-life Sisters. They clearly belong to Lamaism. They simply do not exist in Chinese Buddhism.

The extant volume of the Manchu *Tripiṭaka* gives the titles in Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese and Manchu. It is a normal practice in the Tibetan

1. Bawden 1980 : 68.

Kanjur to give the Sanskrit and Tibetan titles. The Mongolian Kanjur gives the Sanskrit, Tibetan and Mongolian titles. The Manchu follows the same Lamaist usage: Sanskrit, Chinese and Manchu. The citation of the Sanskrit and Tibetan titles in the Manchu *Tripiṭaka* was from the Kanjur. In Chinese practice the Sanskrit title was never cited in transliteration, nor was it ever translated verbatim : the Sanskrit title had no special sanctity. It was changed to conform to Chinese literary sensibilities. For example, the *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* has three different titles not translated from Sanskrit :

Nj. 2 Fang Kuang pan-jo-po-mi ching
Lit. : *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (with the first chapter on) emitting light.

Nj. 3 Mo-ho-pan-jo-po-lo-mi ching
Lit. : *Mahā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra.*

Nj. 4 Kuang tsan pan.jo-lo-ui ching
Lit. : *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (with the first chapter on) the praise of light.

Lamaist proclivity is visible already in the precursor project of the quadrilingual *dhāraṇī* collection. This predilection to impart a Lamaist flavour is further evident in the re-translations of the titles of the Chinese *sūtra*-s in this collection. The *sūtra*-s are not given the titles of the Tibetan Kanjur though that was possible, but they are provided with new Tibetistic titles. The distinction between the Kanjur and the *Tripiṭaka* titles was thus maintained alongside the Lamaist impress.

The Imperial Forword to the Manchu *Tripiṭaka*[1] says that the first translation of Buddhist *sūtra*-s is in Tibetan, the second in Chinese and the third in Mongolian. Though the Manchu dynasty had ruled over China for a century, how was it possible that there was no Manchu Canon. It points out that the Manchu translation of the Chinese Canon was undertaken in A.D. 1773 after the Emperor Ch'ien-lung had attained 60 years of age, and that he was apprehensive if he would ever live to see it completed. Two decades later, the Emperor was delighted to see the Manchu *Tripiṭaka* concluded in A.D. 1790, when he was 80 years of age. His gratitude to Heaven was beyond words: "how fortunate am I that the work has been accomplished in accordance with my wishes".

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1. Fuchs 1930 : 395-6.

In the Imperial Memorandum on the "Commission for the Manchu Canon" (*Ch'ing-tzŭ ching kuan*) the Emperor pondered that the *dhāraṇi* and *gāthā* were available in the Chinese *sūtra*-s only in transcription. Their deep and profound import can be better understood in Manchu and therefore, a "Commission for the Manchu Canon" was established within the Hsi-hua-men, under the direction of Changcha Hutuktu. The translation was completed in about ten years, followed by their xylographic blocks for printing.

The Imperial Edict[1] of A.D. 1790 states that princes and dignitaries were delegated to the Commission for the Manchu Canon, who were proficient in translation techniques, who could compare the Chinese and Mongolian versions of the Canon, and who could translate them into Manchu. Changcha Hutuktu was commissioned to supervise the project. As a volume was ready, it was revised and finalised, and then readied for printing. The Changcha Hutuktu made a direct petition to the Emperor wherein he stated that the 108 volumes of the Tibetan Kanjur comprise *sūtra*-s spoken by Lord Buddha and in the 225 volumes of the Tanjur are found the works of Indian sages who had attained *bodhi*. The Chinese Kanjur (note the term Kanjur for the *Tripiṭaka*) has all sorts of works including those by Chinese monks. I am deciding now to translate in full the *sūtra*-s of the classes on *Prajñāpāramitā*, *Ratnakūṭa*, *Mahāsannipāta*, *Avataṃsaka*, *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, *Madhyamāgama*, as well as *Mahāyāna Vinaya*. Eight works of the *sūtra*-s of the sects out of these "5 great classes" as well as of Hīnayāna *Vinaya* are all written by holymen and seers of India; among them itself there are many repetitions and one should actually shorten them and delete them. The Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna *Abhidharma* contain now altogether 3676 chüan; and yet there are the works of later patriarchs from our country and actually no utterances of the Buddha and it is worthless to translate such words.

My late Imperial father had entrusted me to publish the complete Canon. ... It is now for the first time that the Ch'ing-tzŭ ching kuan issues proper instructions and guiding principles; because if there are no firm prescriptions the monks take over uncritically the ideas of others, and plagiarise; then they also find correlation (of these false works) to (the real) Canon, and complicate the holy script and spread ideas of the esoteric teaching through the medium of errors.

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1. *Ibid* 1930 : 399.

The aforesaid three Imperial documents (namely: the Memorandum, Foreword and Edict) confirm that Manchu was translated from the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* with the help of Mongolian. The sequence of classes of Chinese *sūtra*-s given in the Imperial Edict confirms to that of the Ming edition[1]. Duplicate Chinese translations, commentarial texts by Indian teachers and exegetical works by Chinese masters were omitted. The supervision of the Changcha Hutuktu ensured that the Manchu *Tripiṭaka* was in general consonance with the Lamaist tradition of the Kanjur.

Another fact that emerges is that the Manchu Canon was commenced to commemorate the completion of 60 years of Emperor's life which is the *ṣaṣṭi-pūrti* celebration in India. The Manchu *Tripiṭaka* was completed when the Emperor had attained the ripe age of 80 years: another landmark in one's life when one becomes a *sahasra-candra-darśī* i.e. 'one who has seen a thousand full-moons'. It may be pointed out that the translation of the Manchu *Tripiṭaka* had been achieved in a decade, but its consummation was

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1. The sequence of *sūtra*-s in the Ming *Tripiṭaka* is as follows:

FIRST DIVISION: *Sūtra-piṭaka*.

Part I. Mahāyāna *Sūtra*-s.

- Class I. *Prajñāpāramitā* class.
- Class II. *Ratnakūṭa* class.
- Class III. *Mahāsannipāta* class.
- Class IV. *Avataṃsaka* class.
- Class V. *Nirvāṇa* class.
- Class VI. *Sūtra*-s of duplicate translation, excluded from the preceding five classes.
- Class VII. *Sūtra*-s of single translation, excluded from the five classes.

Part II. Hīnayāna *Sūtra*-s.

- Class I *Āgama* class.
- Class II *Sūtra*-s of single translation, excluded from the preceding class.

Part III. *Sūtra*-s of Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna, admitted into the Canon during the Northern (960-1127) and Southern (1127-1280) Sung and Yüan (1280-1368) dynasties.

SECOND DIVISION: *Vinaya-piṭaka*.

Part I. Mahāyāna *Vinaya*.

Part II. Hīnayāna *Vinaya*.

THIRD DIVISION: *Abhidharma-piṭaka*.

Part I. Mahāyāna *Abhidharma*.

Part II. Hīnayāna *Abhidharma*.

Part III. Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna *Abhidharma* admitted into the Canon during the Northern and Southern Sung and Yüan dynasties.

FOURTH DIVISION: *Miscellaneous Works*.

Part. I. Works of the sages and wise men of India.

Part II. Works of China (Nj. p. ix, x).

postponed to time with the 80th year of the Emperor. Both the 60th and 80th years are momentous milestones in the fullness of a life span, duly consecrated in the eternity of *dharma*.

In this connection we have to remember that eminent personages were always presented with triple presents reflecting the three planes of *sku*, 'body' or *kāya*, *gsuṅs*, 'word' or *vāk*, and *thugs*, 'spirit' or *citta*. The sacred objects are called *rten gsuṅ* that is "supports of the physical, verbal and spirituals plane ... The images, statues or paintings, are the *sku*, the body, of that essence... A book is the *gsuṅs rten*, the voice, the word, the verbal revelation; the *mchod rten* corresponds to the *thugs*, to the spiritual plane[1]. The rejoicings on birthdays provided an opportune occasion for the publication of vast collectanea which entailed tremendous effort and liberal expenditure. The Emperor showered his Mother with pious gifts on her 60th, 70th and 80th birthdays: so we are informed by Hsü Sung in his *Tung-ch'ao ch'ung-yang lu* wherein he lists the gifts received by her. This work deserves to be translated as it would shed valuable light on the literature and art of the Manchu period, and provide chronological landmarks for Mongolian, Manchu and Tibetan studies.

Prof. Bawden[1] speaks of a "four-language *Tripiṭaka* described in Wei-tsng t'ung-chin"[2]. The Chinese does not refer to a four-language *Tripiṭaka*, but to translations of the Canon in 108 volumes in four languages which were Tibetan, Mongolian, Chinese and Manchu. The Tibetan, Mongolian and Manchu Canons were in 108 volumes each in *pothi* style. The number of 108 volumes as applied to the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* can be taken in the sense of a complete set, though we will have to find out the number of cases in the Ming *Tripiṭaka*.

To conclude, the Manchu *Tripiṭaka* was a selective version of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* in the Ming edition, couched by intention in a Lamaist garb as if it were a Manchu Kanjur.

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HERO OF THE MUDRĀRĀKṢASA

Siddheswar Chattopadhyaya

To a student of Sanskrit drama and dramaturgy, the *Mudrārākṣasa* poses some problems. Like many other works in Sanskrit, it is of uncertain date. Next comes the problem whether it is a *Nāṭaka* or not. The third problem is : who is the hero of the play. And the fourth one is : whether the play was at all composed for the ancient Indian closed stage as prescribed by Bharata, or for the open and a bigger stage. The last problem has been discussed by the present writer elsewhere[1]. Here we propose to discuss the third problem with reference to the second one; both are interrelated and one cannot be dealt with without any reference to the other.

The word hero in English has come down from Greek hērōs through Latin almost unchanged. In ancient Greek legends the word was used to denote very powerful demi-gods. In course of time, through the process we call extension of meaning, the word came to denote a powerful one with many good qualities and in the next stage; the main character of a story, novel or play. In Sanskrit, the word *nāyaka* is generally used to denote this sense. Abhinavagupta while commenting on the verses *ye nāyakā nigaditā* ... and the succeeding one *nāyaka-devī* .... of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*[2], takes the word *nāyaka* in its derivative sense to refer to the hero, his allies and foes, i.e., all major characters[3]. Sāgaranandin also gives a similar interpretation of the

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1. Stage and Stage-Craft as Revealed in *Abhijñāna-śākuntala*, *Uttara-rāmacarita* and *Mudrārākṣasa*, *A Corpus of Indian Studies.* (Essays in Honour of Professor Gaurinath Sastri), Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, Calcutta, 1980.
2. GOS., XVIII.17-18.
3. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, GOS., Vol. II; p. 418 : *dhīrodāttādayo vijigīṣu-tanmitra-prabhṛtayo vā ye nāyakāḥ ..nayati prāpnotītivṛttaṃ phalaṃ veti...nāyakā mukhyāḥ patākādayaḥ devyo mahādevī-prabhṛtayaḥ* |

word occuring in the same context[1]. Generally speaking, the word in its plural form is used in Sanskrit dramaturgy to denote all the major characters of a play and in its singular form the word refers to the hero. The word *netā* is also used to mean hero in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. In particular cases where there are possibilities of confusion, Abhinavagupta uses the term *nāyaka* or *netā* with such adjectives as *mukhya* or *pradhāna*. In our discussion we shall use the term hero to mean this *mukhya* or *pradhāna-nāyaka* or *adhikārī* as used by Dhanañjaya[2].

Now, we are to discuss briefly the opinions of authors of Sanskrit dramaturgy regarding the essential qualities of a hero in a play called *Nāṭaka*, i.e., a play with mythical or historical theme. According to modern critics and our common sense view, he is the hero of the play who takes a dominant role in the development of the plot and also occupies a greater space in the body of the play, i.e., who takes more time on the stage than any other character and whose personality or fortune is the principal subject on which our interests are centred from beginning to the end of the play concerned. Ancient Indian theorists also, practically say the same in a different way. About *Nāṭaka* the *Nāṭyaśāstra*[3] enjoins that it should be *prakhyāta-vastu-viṣayam* and *prakhyātodātta-nāyakam*, i.e., the plot of the *Nāṭaka* should be based on a renowned story and the hero should be a renowned and magnanimous one. So far as the plot of the *Nāṭaka* is concerned, the word *prakhyāta* is generally interpreted as 'taken from the *Rāmāyaṇa-Mahābhārata*, or the Purāṇas'. The hero also should be the scion of a renowned family and himself famous for his beauty, valour etc. Commentators and later writers, however, differ regarding the significance of the word *udātta* in *prakhyātodātta* of the above. Some opine that the hero of the *Nāṭaka* should always be of the *Dhīrodātta* type. Abhinavagupta, on the other hand, maintains that by *udātta* here, only the hero of a play with heroic as the dominant sentiment is meant for: *udātta iti vīra-rasa-yogya uktaḥ*. He further states that in *Nāṭaka*-s, there may be other types of heroes, viz., *Dhīralalita*, *Dhīroddhata* and *Dhīrapraśānta*; according to the dominant sentiment[4]. It is evident that Abhinava gives no stress on the point that hero of the *Nāṭaka* should always be a Kṣatriya, as he himself says that *Dhīrapraśānta* includes Brahmins etc. The *Nāṭyaśāstra*[5]

1. *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa*, Ed. (with Bengali trans. and notes) S. Chattopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1385 B. S. pp. 29-30.
2. *Daśarūpaka*, N. S. P., Fifth Ed., I/12.
3. GOS., XVIII.10.
4. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Op. cit.*, p. 411 : *udātta iti vīrarasayogya uktaḥ / tena dhīrlalita-dhīra-praśānta-dhīroddhata-dhīrodāttaḥ catvāro'pi gṛhyante /* p. 414 : *dvijātīnāṃ dhīrapraśāntatvameva.. /*
5. GOS. XIII.10.

simply states that the hero of *Nāṭaka* should be one of the family of royal sages. Candragupta certainly, did not belong to such a family[1]. Later writers in general, are of opinion that the hero of a *Nāṭaka* should always be *prakhyāta* and *udātta*[2]. Dhanika has given a good interpretation of the term *udātta* : *audāttyaṃ hi nāma sarvotkarṣeṇa vṛttiḥ*.[3]. It signifies that hero of the *Nāṭaka* should be such as to surpass other characters of the drama in merits. It may be noted here that according to Dhanañjaya the hero of *Nāṭaka* should be *Dhīrodātta*[4]. It is also to be taken into account that Dhanañjaya in determining the hero gives stress on *phala*, ultimate result of the incidents of the play, and he who enjoys it, is the hero, *Adhikārī*[5].

So far as the entire plot of the *Mudrārākṣasa* is concerned, it may unhesitatingly be taken as an invented one. Ancient Indian literary traditions maintain that Maurya Candragupta occupied the throne of Magadha by defeating the Nandas with the help of a Brahmin named Kauṭilya, also called Cāṇakya and Viṣṇugupta[6]. Thus far and nothing more; no trace of the play is found in those traditions. In the commentary *Avaloka* on *Daśarūpaka*, Dhanika says : *bṛhatkathāmūlaṃ mudrārākṣasam*. Then two verses are quoted[7] which are found in the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*[8] of Kṣemendra whose literary activity falls in a period (second half of the eleventh century A.D.) after at least fifty years of the same of Dhanika. So, the entire portion is undoubtedly a case of interpolation. Moreover, the story of the fall of Nandas, as related in the available Sanskrit versions of the *Bṛhatkathā*, do not at all form the basis of plot of the *Mudrārākṣasa*. The account of the fall of Nandas, the rise of Maurya Candragupta and the role of Cāṇakya therein, as found in the *Cāṇakyakathā* of Ravinartaka tallies a bit with the same we find in the *Mudrārākṣasa*[9]. But historicity of this late work is questionable and the similarity also is of insignificant value, so far as the entire plot of the play is concerned. For the same reason, the account given by Dhuṇḍirāja in his commentary of the play may be overlooked. We are not concerned

1. For further details on the point see *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa in the Perspective of Ancient Indian Dramaturgy* (Calcutta, 1974) of the present writer, Ch. I.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Daśarūpaka, Op. cit.*, p. 37.
4. *Ibid.* See also III.22.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Raychaudhuri, Dr. H. C., *Political History of Ancient India,* Fifth Ed , Cal. Uni. pp. 265-70.
7. *Op. cit.*, p. 34.
8. II. p. 216-17.
9. *Cāṇakyakathā*, Cal. Oriental Series No. 6. O. BT, i, 1921,

with the controversies regarding the pedigree of Candragupta. It is, however, a fact that according to earlier Indian literary tradition Maurya was the name of a Kṣatriya clan[1]. From the soliloquy of Rākṣasa in the Second Act[2] of the play, it is apparent that Viśākhadatta takes Candragupta as a son of the last Nanda, but by caste a low one, i.e., Śūdra. This is obviously due to his reliance on the story that derives Maurya from Murā, a Śūdra wife of the Nanda king. It is interesting to note in this connection that Abhinavagupta[3] maintains,—the son inherits the *Gotra* of the father and *Kula* of the mother. This is certainly a traditional view. According to this view, we can say that by *Gotra*, Candragupta belonged to one of the Kṣatriyas and by *Kula*, he was a Śūdra. In the *Mudrārākṣasa* Cāṇakya always addresses Candragupta as a Vṛṣala and this word in Sanskrit means a Śūdra. But this meaning of the term in this case cannot be accepted. A king and a dear disciple cannot be addressed as Śūdra by his loving preceptor and minister, at least in public. The word in this context may be taken to mean a young bull (*vṛṣa-la*), i.e., powerful. Bull in ancient Indian art and literature symbolises power and strength. Words like *puruṣarṣabha* and figures of bull on Aśokan pillars can be cited as examples. Viśākhadatta himself compares Candragupta with a young bull more than once[4]. It may also be supposed that Viśākhadatta derived the word from Greek *basileos* meaning a king.

From the above it is evident that there is a valid ground of debate on the problem whether the *Mudrārākṣasa* is a *Nāṭaka* or a *Prakaraṇa* with an invented plot. Viśākhadatta calls it a *Nāṭaka* in the prelude and Abhinavagupta and other theorists accept it so[5]. For our present discussion, let us accept it as a *Nāṭaka*. In the play there are three major characters, viz., Rākṣasa, Candragupta and Cāṇakya each of whom can claim the status of hero. We are to discuss the validity of this claim of each, one by one.

Let us begin with the case of Rākṣasa. By caste, as depicted in the play, he is a Brahmin and we have seen that according to Abhinavagupta a *Dhīrapraśānta* Brahmin can be featured as the hero of a *Nāṭaka*. The character of Rākṣasa in the play is undoubtedly endowed with the merits like *dhīratva* (sobriety), *audāttya* (magnanimity) and *vinaya* (politeness) etc. He is

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1. **Raychaudhuri, *Ibid.***
2. **Verses 6, 7 and 8.**
3. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, GOS., Vol. I (Second Ed.), p. 301 : *gotraṃ pitṛsantānādi/kulaṃ mātṛsantānaṃ sūcayati /.*
4. **Cf. Verses 3, 18 of Act III.**
5. Abhinavagupta, *Op. cit.* (Vol. II) p. 410; *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa, Op. cit.* p. 44.

valiant, truthful and values honour more than his own life. Moreover, he is depicted as possessing some rare humanitarian qualities. He is a loving friend and extremely faithful to the Nandas whom he once served, even after their total annihilation. These highly valued humanitarian qualities of Rākṣasa have been purposely delineated in the drama by the author. All these have been utilised as the main reasons of his defeat. Cāṇakya himself is full of praise for these qualities of Rākṣasa and at the same time, takes maximum advantage of them. If the ultimate gain (*phala-lābhā*) is taken to be the main criterion of heroship, then it may be pointed out that Rākṣasa ultimately gets the post of *pradhānāmātya* of Candragupta. The title of the play also goes to support the claim of Rākṣasa. Sāgaranandin says: *pradhāna-vastu-nirdeśād bhavati hi nāṭakādināṃ nāma*[1], i.e., the title of the plays should be indicative of name of the hero or the plot itself. This is the general practice found to be followed. In the present case, the hero and the theme both may be said to be indicated in the title *Mudrārākṣasa*. It is also to be noted in this connection that the *Bharata-vākya* here is put in the mouth of Rākṣasa, a privilege found to be enjoyed generally by the hero in the ancient Indian dramatic tradition.

Against the above arguments, it may be pointed out that Rākṣasa's ultimate gain in the play is shown as achieved neither through the efforts of his own, nor through his victory, but through his defeat. This sort of gain cannot be accepted as *phala-lābha*, as understood by the authors of Indian dramaturgy. Rākṣasa is depicted as obeying the dictates of Cāṇakya in accepting the post of *pradhānāmātya* of Candragupta. It is neither desired by Rākṣasa, nor achieved through his own efforts, as the playwright depicts. So, we are to admit that following the theories of ancient Indian dramaturgy, Rākṣasa cannot be called the hero of the play. From the standpoint of modern criticism, however, it can be argued that he is a tragic hero and the *Mudrārākṣasa* depicts tragic end of all the ideas and aspirations of a noble and honest character. This idea of tragedy in English drama came in vogue from the time of Henrik Ibsen. Against this argument, we can say that from the side of the playwright no attempt is found to be made for rousing pity or sympathy in the minds of the spectators at the defeat of Rākṣasa. Viśākhadatta very cleverly has managed the evaporation of tragic feelings through the behaviour of Rākṣasa himself. In the Last Act, at the very sight of Candragupta Rākṣasa is made attracted towards him. He, with his heart-felt sincere affection, utters: *aye eṣa candraguptaḥ/bāla eva hi loke'smin sambhāvita-*

1. *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa, Op. cit.* p. 42.

mahodayaḥ etc. Here ends the very possibility of tragedy. Moreover, the playwright has nowhere given any supremacy, or control of Rākṣasa over the action of the play. He depicts Rākṣasa as if following the dictates of Cāṇakya first through ignorance, then unwillingly and at last willingly. He swallows all the baits offered not by fate as the hero of a Greek tragedy, but by Cāṇakya, his opponent. In a word, Viśākhadatta depicts the total defeat of Rākṣasa and complete victory of Cāṇakya, and the former at last accepts his defeat as if willingly with affection for Candragupta, the protege of his dire enemy. Rākṣasa's object, as depicted in the play, is nothing but a strong determination for taking revenge against Cāṇakya. The Nandas are totally uprooted. So, he cannot be credited with any noble ambition too. He sides with Malayaketu whom he himself calls an *adravya* (worthless) in the last Act. So, we are to conclude that from no stand point Rākṣasa can be said to be the hero of the *Mudrārākṣasa.*

Next comes Candragupta. His case is supported by traditional theorists and commentators. As Viśākhadatta depicts him, he is a descendant of the Nanda family. He also gains the *phala* in the form of a throne having none to oppose together with an able minister like Rākṣasa. Ḍhuṇḍirāja calls him a *Dhirodātta* hero. He is *dhīra* (sobre) no doubt, but the playwright practically gives him no scope for the display of his *audāttya* (magnanimity). He is fully dependant on Cāṇakya and is a king whose success is due to his minister, *sacivāyatta-siddhi*, as Cāṇakya himself states[1]. So, according to theory we call him hero of the play.

Against the above view, it can be pointed out that as a character in the play, Candragupta is absolutely colourless. He is depicted as fairly intelligent and an obedient disciple. He is nothing more than a meek and gentle good boy, a doll so to say, in the hand of Cāṇakya. Even his pulse-beats, as the play shows, are regulated by Cāṇakya. One fails to understand in what sense he is *pradhāna.* Morever, there is nothing in the play from which we can say that the *phala* he receives at the end is at all desired by him. He is no better than the left side of a drum, Cāṇakya beats the right side and he simply resounds. In the Third Act of the play, he is depicted as foolishly nervous. He really becomes upset knowing well that the quarrel is a sham one. Viśākhadatta has given him no scope for establishing Candragupta's superiority in any part of the action. In no sense he can be said to be the hero of the play except the one that he gains the ultimate fruit. But an objection may be raised against this also. What is the *phala* of the

1. Act III.

play? The answer is certainly making Rākṣasa accept the post of minister (*rākṣasa-grahaṇa*), from this standpoint. But the dramatist nowhere says that this is the desired object of Candragupta. It is desired by Cāṇakya. On the other hand, the play begins with the strong determination of Cāṇakya for the fulfilment of his vow and ends with the same fulfilled : *pūrṇa-pratijñena mayā* etc., as Cāṇakya himself says. So, it can reasonably be doubted whether Viśākhadatta himself likes to portray Candragupta as the hero of the play. It is also to be noted in this connection that the *Bharata-vākya* is not allotted to Candragupta, as pointed out before. It thus appears that neither from the viewpoint of common sense, nor from the standpoint of Indian dramaturgy, we can issue a blank cheque in favour of Candragupta's heroship of the play *Mudrārākṣasa*.

Now we take up the case of Cāṇakya. Viśākhadatta portrays him as dominating over the entire course of action of the play. The magnanimity of this character is unquestionable. It is not sufficient to say that this crafty, sharp and highly intelligent Brahmin is a perfect politician in the truest sense of the term. Other traits of his character should not be overlooked. Cāṇakya in the *Mudrārākṣasa* is a politician, but humanist. He fully realises the worth and dignity of Man. He has been depicted as always trying to avoid unnecessary bloodshed in wars. He appreciates the merits of Rākṣasa and that is why he is so much alert to keep him unhurt and also exerts his all resources to employ him in the service of Candragupta. Very often in the play we find him rude and even cruel. But all these are mimicry of a master politician. Many times we hear him praising Rākṣasa as : *sādhu amātya, sādhu śrotriya* etc. He is fully conscious of the best human qualities. In the First Act of the play we see him threatening Candanadāsa with dire consequences. But at heart he praises him for his faithfulness and compares him with king Śivi of purāṇic fame. In the Last Act he pacifies Rākṣasa very tactfully with politeness and modesty. He discloses here all stratagems he adopted to win over Rākṣasa, so that the latter can accept his present position with a clear heart. And at last, he begs adieu to all leaving behind all power and glory like a handful of ashes. Throughout the play, he is depicted as fighting for a noble cause : establishment of a stable government in the Magadhan empire after total annihilation of the Nandas. The entire action of the play is shown to be developed as desired by Cāṇakya. So, from all standpoints, Cāṇakya is to be taken as the hero of the play. It has already been shown that the Brahmin may be featured as *Nāyaka* in *Nāṭaka* according to Abhinavagupta. Cāṇakya is also the *Adhikārī*, one who gains the fruit, and the fruit is to be found in his utterance : *pūrṇa-*

pratijñena mayā kevalaṃ badhyate śikhā, in the Last Act. The play begins with the reiteration of his vow and ends with that vow fulfilled. A question can still be raised. According to the traditional view, the desired end (*phala*) of a *Nāṭaka* should be in the form of one or more of *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*, i.e., the *Trivarga*. What is the gain of Cāṇakya ? It is certainly not that of a beatiful wife. Prosperity he abhores, as the play presents him. The question of religious merit is inconsistant with this type of play. Thus, Cāṇakya gets nothing of the above three, and as such, he cannot be said to be the hero. Now, are we to conclude that the *Mudrārākṣasa* is a play without a hero, as done by Michael Macmillan[1] while dealing with a similar problem regarding the play Julius Caesar of Shakespeare ? Our answer is, no; simply because the above argument does not stand. The fulfilment of Cāṇakya's vow can be said to be the gain of both *Dharma* and *Kāma*, i.e., religious merit and the object of desire. *Kāma* here is taken in a broader sense. It is one's religious binding to perform what one vows to and Viśākhadatta's Cāṇakya does it fully. Thus, we cannot say that the *Mudrārākṣasa* is a drama without a hero. We cannot also say that the drama does not chain our attention to any one principal figure. Here the principal figure is Cāṇakya. It is his towering personality with strong determination, shrewd machination and noble aim which are the subjects on which our interest centres from the beginning to the end.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that what we get in the character of Cāṇakya of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, is nothing but a dramatic exposition of the ideals of Indian polity,—*Bhāratīya Daṇḍanīti*. In other words, Cāṇakya is personified ancient Indian *Daṇḍanīti*. The play depicts the stabilisation of the newly founded Maurya dynasty by the best utilisation of the first three means of the four, viz., *Sāma*, *Dāna*, *Bheda* and *Daṇḍa*, enumerated in order of preference in the works of ancient Indian *Daṇḍanīti*. In this sense, we can say that the hero of the *Mudrārākṣasa* is *Bhāratīya Daṇḍanīti*. After all, it is a fact that the play is not fashioned in the traditional model. It belongs to a class of its own and does not follow the traditional form. So, whatever may be the views of theorists and commentators, there is scope for fresh thinking from modern and traditional standpoints.

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1. Sen, Prof. M. *Julius Caesar*, Cal., 1933, Introduction—xxxix. A. C. Bradley, however, says "Caesar, whose murder comes in the Third Act, is in a sense the dominating figure in the story, but Brutus is the 'hero' : *Shakespearean Tragedy* (Macmillam, Paperback), 1971; p. 2, f. n. 1.

TWO WIVES OF THE SUN-GOD

Sadashiv Ambadas Dange

The Vedic tradition records a myth about the god Vivasvat and his wife Saraṇyū, stating that the latter went away from the god (as she could not bear the lustre that marked the god); and, while running away, she kept another one in her place. The oldest reference to this myth is to be found in the *Ṛgveda*.[1] The later version of the myth has that Saraṇyū took the form of a mare when she ran away from home, which is not directly attested by the *Ṛgveda*. Sāyaṇa comments upon the nature of Saraṇyū, identifying her with the dawn;[2] but, then, what is the nature of the other one that stayed in the place of the runner? There has been no satisfactory explanation on this point. The Ṛgvedic version, or rather reference (for, there is no elaborate myth at this stage) states simply that Saraṇyū runs away; but, it does not speak about the form of the mare in respect of Saraṇyū. The first-hand information that we get from the *Ṛgveda* is that Saraṇyū, the daughter of Tvaṣṭṛ, was given in marriage to Vivasvat; he produced Yama (and Yamī) from her; then she went away from Vivasvat; the gods concealed her for (or, "from" if we do not follow the traditional rendering) the mortals; they gave another one to Vivasvat; this another one was of the same form (or rather status, *savarṇām*) as Saraṇyū herself bore the twins to Vivasvat; the twins came to be called the Aśvins; the twins were left by Saraṇyū. The *Ṛgveda* speaks of two twins[3], which are Yama-Yamī and the two Aśvins.

The details in the *ṚV*, as noted above, do not say that Saraṇyū herself placed the "other one" in her own place; it was the act of the gods.[4] The

1. X. 17. 2.
2. See also Macdonell A. A., *Vedic Mythology* under Uṣas, Hindi Tr., Chaukhamba, Varanasi, 1961, P. 95
3. *dvā mithunā, ṚV.* v. 2
4. *apāgūhan amṛtām martyebhyaḥ, kṛtvī savarṇām adadur vivasvate. ṚV.*, v. 2ab

expression[1] may also indicate that the *savaraṇā* fostered the twins, after Saraṇyū left. The expression "they concealed the immortal woman *for* the mortals" (*martyebhyaḥ*) has been understood by Durga[2] and Sāyaṇa to indicate the birth of the mortals from her; but, there is nothing to support it in the verse. On the contrary, it is not clear why the gods should conceal her for that purpose! The later versions of the myth also do not support this point. This would indicate that the concealment is not for later mortal progeny. That Saraṇyū herself placed the *savarṇā* in her own place seems to be from a popular version of the myth, as it is recorded by Yāska[3] "placing another one of her form, SHE took the form of a mare and ran away"; this contrasts with the original expression, "THEY fashioned the *savarṇā* and gave her to Vivasvat".[4] The tone of the expression indicates that herein the word THEY has some unique importance. Except for this tone, the verses that refer to the myth are quite simple; and the myth originally seems to have Saraṇyū herself acting as placing the *savarṇā*. This is the position in almost all references to the myth in the whole tradition. Who are these "THEY"? Sāyaṇa says that they are the gods (*devā upanītavantaḥ*; *devā adaduḥ*). This is in consonance with the style of the *ṚV*, which speaks of the gods (*devāḥ*) performing wonderous deeds; but these "gods" appear to be the earthly gods (the sacrificer-seers). In such a concept also lies the seed of the later identification of the priests with the gods.[5] The reference to the myth in the *ṚV*, thus, appears to mark a stage where there is division as the popular version and its application in a probable ritual. It is against the background of a ritual that the words "they concealed the immortal one and gave the *savarṇā*", with the over-tone of deliberateness, get clear. The purpose for this deliberation is the weal of the mortals (*martebhyaḥ*); it has nothing to do with the "production" of the mortals (as Sāyaṇa and Durga say)!

As for the popular version of the myth, it may be pointed out that it is not restricted to the Vedic or Hindu tradition. We have the myth of Poseidon, the sun-god of the ancient Cretans, who is said to have assumed the form of a stallion and ran after Demeter who had taken the form of a mare. From their union is said to have been born the horse Arein, having the faculty of human speech. We may compare the birth of the Aśvins.

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1. at Ib.c *utāśvināv' a-bharat.*
2. *Nirukta, XII. 11.*
3. *Op. cit. loc. cit. sā savarṇām anyām pratinidhāya āśvam rūpam kṛtvā pra-dudrāva.*
4. v. 2b.
5. देवा ह वै देवाः । अथ ये ब्राह्मणाः शुश्रुवांसोऽनूचानस्ते मनुष्यदेवाः । *Śat. Br.*, II. 2. 2. 6.

But, Demeter is the Corn-mother (or, rather Barley-mother; *deai* is the Cretan word for barley)[1]. According to Pusanias[2] the figure of the Black Demeter made of wood and having the mare's head was regularly worshipped in the cave of Phigalia. To mark its identification with the earth, figures of serpents were shown above her head. This would indicate that the earth-mother was conceived as the mare, in her aspect of the spouse of the sun-god. It is not quite easy to explain all details in the myth; but, the kernel is clear. The case of the running Demeter, and her black form, must be understood in her aspect of the earth-mother and the goddess of fertility. As such, the running away must indicate the change of her form in a particular period of the year. The similarity between the Poseidon-Demeter myth and the Vivasvat-Saraṇyū myth indicates the Indo-European origin of the myth; and, though the *ṚV*-version has no mare, there can be little doubt of its being current in the *ṚV*-times. This gets support from Yāska, as noted above. As such, we will not be far from truth if we take Saraṇyū also as a form of the earth-goddess, her another form being indicated in the term *Savarṇā*. Let us see the post-Vedic phase of the myth.

The *Mahābhārata* has Sañjnā in the place of Saraṇyū, who is practically wiped out by the former; for, the name Saraṇyū never occurs in the Purāṇic literature, though Sureṇu is apt to remind one of Saraṇyū[3]. The *Mahābhārata* mentions the mare-form of Sañjnā; but does not mention the *savarṇā*[4]. The myth is current in the Purāṇic records, more or less in the same fashion; but, there is an effort to identify the wives of the sun-god. The most common name for the *savarṇā* is Chāyā. As Manu Vaivasvata (from Vivasvat), Yama and Yamī, and the twin-gods Aśvins are the sons of Sañjnā (Saraṇyū), the issues of Chāyā are Manu, called Sāvarṇi (the son of Sāvarṇā=Chāyā) the planet Śani (Saturn) and the river Tapatī.[5] The *Brahma P.*, at another place identifies Chāyā with the earth, and says that she is the wife of Viṣṇu.[6] According to the account, Viṣṇu once performed a *śrāddha* (a ritual for the manes) in his form of the Boar; and Chāyā participated in it. According to the rite, he gave the plate containing the offering-ball (*piṇḍa*) to Chāyā, who divided each into two, further dividing each into three parts. The middle portion of one was given by Viṣṇu-Varāha to Chāyā to be partaken of, whereby she became

1. Donald Mackenzie, *Myths of Crete and Pre-Hellenic Europe*, London, P. 177 ff.
2. VIII. 12.
3. *Bhaviṣya P.*, I. 79. 17-19.
4. *Ādi*, 66.35; *Anuśāsana*, 150.17-18.
5. cf. *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, 77.11-35; *Brahma P.*, 6.9 ff; *Śiva P.*, V. 35.32-34; *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, I. 2. 36.96 ff etc.
6. 219.71-115.

pregnant. From her was born Bhauma, the famous Narakāsura. Here Chāyā-Savarṇā is identified with the earth, though there is no identification of Sañjnā-Saraṇyū. In the *Bhaviṣya P.*[1] we have more details of the 'family' of the sun-god. Apart from Sañjnā and Chāyā we have mention of Rājñī and Niṣkubhā as the two wives; and it is said that Rājñī is the Sky, Niṣkubhā being the earth. On the dark 7th of the month Śrāvaṇa the sun-god is said to unite with Rājñī, while on the dark 7th of Māgha he unites with Niṣkubhā. The fructification of Rājñī by the sun-god results in the generation of rain, while the fructification of Niṣkubhā makes her ready for the crops. Niṣkubhā is also called Mahī in this context, which is also the well-settled name of the earth. On the said day in the month of Māgha the earth (Niṣkubhā=Mahī—Chāyā) is said to be fresh from her menstrual bath; hence this is the period for her fructification.[2] Māgha being the period of the seeding of the earth by the sun-god falls in line with a tradition that goes back to the Vedic period; and the Horse-sacrifice is an excellent example in this case. The rite was a symbol for it; and the queen represented the earth, while the Horse the sun-god. It should be noted that the rite started in the month of Māgha on the 5th or the 7th.[3] Another example in this connection is that of goddess Kāśmīrā, the deified form of the region of Kashmir, who is believed to be in menstruation about the same period, which also marked the commencement of the ploughing season.[4] Hence, there is no doubt regarding the identification of Chāyā=Niṣkubhā. But, the case of Sañjnā (Saraṇyū) has to be noted in more details.

The identification of Rājñī (probably a corruption for Sañjnā) with the sky appears happy, due to the fact that the rain-water comes from the sky; and the *garbha* of the Sky-female is the rain. This concept of the *garbha* of the sky is seen as early as the *ṚV* and is continued further.[5] The *ṚV* speaks of the sun's two wives (females) in the form of the sky and the earth[6] and, in another context, the two wives (here of Kaśyapa) are Sky and Earth in the famous story of Suparṇī (Vinatā) and Kadrū, who are, respectively, the

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1. *Brahmakhaṇḍa* 79.4-8.
2. सौम्यमासस्य सप्तम्यां द्यावार्कः सह युज्यते । माघकृष्णस्य सप्तम्यां मह्या सह भवेद्रविः ॥ भूरादित्यश्च भगवान्गच्छतः संगमं तदा ॥ ऋतुस्नाता मही तत्र गर्भं गृह्णाति भास्करात् । द्यौर्जलं सूयते गर्भं वर्षास्विह भूतले ॥ *Bhaviṣya P., Brahmakhaṇḍa* 79.5-6
3. *Śat. Br.*, XIII.4.1.1 ff.
4. *Nīlamata P.*, vv. 655-668, the period being *Phālguna* dark 8th.
5. *ṚV*, I.6.4; III.1.10; Bhaṭṭotpala on *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* 21.35; also Siddhasena on the same.
6. X.27.13cd where we have the concept of the Urdhvā, the "Upper one" and the Bhūmi.

mother of Garuḍa and the serpents.[1] But further probe is necessary. Though the verses in discussion may have been studied together with the other two[2] on the basis of such words as *martya* and *amartya* (here the words are *apāguhann amṛtām martyebhaḥ*)[3], there can be no real, and inherent, commonness of thematic motif between this passage[4] on the one hand and the other two mentioned above. The point to be remembered is that, unlike the other two hymns, where there is a somewhat fuller material, this passage has two wives of one person; in the other two hymns the man is one and so is the woman (or, wife if we may so say). The effort to see even here the theme of the mortal man and the immortal woman is not successful.[5] Vivasvat cannot be said to be a mortal in the strictest sense of the word, say like Purūravas. But, then, it has to be accepted that the primary reason for the survival of any Vedic hymn is its liturgical function, as says Kosambi.[6] The point is, what could this liturgical function be? The liturgical function is the necessity of a ritual for a certain gain in the interest of general weal (as I have shown elsewhere, in the case of the account of Purūravas-Urvaśī and Yama-Yamī).[7] Yamī asserts that she comes on the terrestrial plane in a different form (*viṣvarūpā*) ; and so does Urvaśī for Purūravas, the mortal sacrificer[8], where the ritual-context is quite prominent.[9] In such cases the liturgical background is set in the ritual, which is the *sukṛtasya yoniḥ* (to use the Vedic expression employed in another such context).[10] In the two other hymns the immortal woman (i.e. the divine power) is herself said to have taken another form, while in the present context, the gods or the divine one (the immortal one) places another one in her place ; but, the motif of the terrestrial plane is the same. And this terrestrial plane is that of the

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1- द्यौरासीत्तत्र विनता सुपर्णी भूमिस्तु नागी—अभवत्कद्रुनामा ।। *Suparṇādhyāya* (in Jarl Charpentier, *Die Suparnasage*, Uppsala, 1920 I.11.1
2. *ṚV*, X.10, Yama-Yamī and X.95 Urvaśī-Purūravas.
3. Abel Bergaigne, *La Religion Vèdique*, Paris, 1963, P. 98; M. Bloomfield, "Contribution to the Interpretation of the Veda", *JAOS* XV, PP. 172 ff; R. Goldman, "Mortal Man and the Immortal Woman", *J. Oriental Instt*, Baroda, XVIII.4, June 1969, PP. 273 ff.
4. X. 17.1-2.
5. R. Goldman, *Op. cit.*
6. *Myth and Reality*, Bombay, 1962; also N. Brown, "The Gambler's Lament", *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, XX-XXI, 1960-61.
7. *Sexual Symbolism from the Vedic Ritual*, Delhi; 1979, pp. 117-136; 176-212.
8. *yad virūpā caram martyeṣu.* X.95.16a
9. *Ibid*, PP 190 ff.
10. X. 61.6.

sacrifice. It is here that the expression, "they concealed etc.", becomes meaningful; for, it indicates a clear effort and purpose. The *savarṇā* and Saraṇyū, hence, can never be the daily Dawn or any natural phenomenon. Savarṇā has to be the ritual-image of the concealed Saraṇyū, for the benefit of mankind (*martyebhyaḥ*), though concealed from them (the same *martebhyaḥ*). In other words, the *savarṇā* is the ritual-woman, representing the earthly aspect of Saraṇyū. Was, then, Vivasvat a ritual-person in the context of this particular Vedic reference? There seems to be no doubt, if we compare the case of Indra-Indrāṇī at the Vṛṣākapi hymn[1] and other such places where ritual is clear.[2] In the present context, however, ritual is not so prominent, as we have only two verses to help us. Now, the question is: Did this (probable) ritual give rise to the later mythical account of the mare-faced Saraṇyū (or the later Sañjnā) running away etc.? Or, was it the other way round? The latter seems to be the case. We have already noted that the full legend of Saraṇyū (Sañjnā) is known to Yāska far before the record in the Purāṇas, and, in spite of the fact that the *Mahābhārata* does not mention the legend as such, mentioning only Sañjnā and completely dropping the *savarṇā* or Chāyā.[3] The cryptic and passing references in the *Mahābhārata* only show that it takes the legend to be well known, like many other old legends. The popular account known to Yāska maintains Saraṇyū as the name of the immortal one, and not Sañjnā. It also shows that Saraṇyū went away as the Mare-face. This would show that there is nothing to believe that the seer of the *ṚV* who refers to the account in a passing way[4] did not know the popular myth of the mare-face of Saraṇyū. This would also show that the Mare-face was not necessarily suggested from, and given currency on the basis of the Aśvins ("Horse-gods"), but that the already known mare-faced goddess was adjusted with the Aśvins, whose name suggests a close association with horses (*aśva*). The point would be made clearer further in our discussion. The Cretan Demeter was an earth-goddess with the mare's face, as has been noted above; and the sun-god Poseidon took the form of the horse. Though Poseidon was already conceived as a horse, it cannot be said that the mare-face of Demeter was suggested from Poseidon's horse-facedness. The face (of the mare and that of the horse) appears to be the common, and easy, factor for the later association of the two deities. On the Indian scene the process seems to have been more certain, though the Mare-goddess as

1. X. 86.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 11-59; also my book, *Vedic Concept of the 'Field' and the Divine Fructification*, Bombay Uni. pbn,, 1971, pp. 48-67.
3. *Ādi*, 66.35; *Anuś.*, 150.17-18.
4. X. 17. 1-2.

such is absent in the older texts. Before we probe the point further, it has to be noted that the identification of Uṣas with Saraṇyū, first indicated by Sāyaṇa and Durga, and followed later by Macdonell and others, is untenable; for, Saraṇyū is said to be the mother of Yama;[1] and Uṣas does not figure in the accounts of Yama. We have already seen that the running away of Saraṇyū does not indicate the daily drama on the theatre of the sky.

Now, there are at least two clear instances where the Mare-face is restricted to the terrestrial region; and their being from the later (Purāṇic) texts should be no reason to devalue them. At one place the Sarasvatī is said to reside in her aspect of Gaurī, but in the form of a mare.[2] Here we have a mixed concept. Gaurī is known as the symbol for the earth;[3] and, in the present case, the Mare-faced Sarasvatī is being identified with the later known earth-goddess, Gaurī. Special propitiation of this goddess is enjoined on the 3rd bright of Māgha, the month marked for fertility rites even from the Vedic times, as noted above. This propitiation is said to bestow progeny upon women and weal upon the people. Another instance of the Mare-face is that of one Subhadrā. It is said that once a brahmin girl slept on the bed of Viṣṇu, through mistake. When Lakṣmī saw this, she cursed her to be a mare, as she behaved like a mare. Brahmā took pity on her and replaced her mare-face with that of woman, in the next birth when she was born with the mare-face. Her mare-faced idol became a resort for unfortunate women, who gained the love of their husband and issues after worshipping it.[4] Here Subhadrā, like Sarasvatī-Gaurī, is the goddess of progeny and fertility being also the aspect of the productive earth. It may be noted that one Subhadrā (called Kampīlavāsinī) already comes in the Vedic ritual of the Horse-sacrifice with whom the ritual-Horse is said to sleep.[5] Though Subhadrā there is not a goddess, nor is she an actual mare, the motif of her sleep with the Sun-horse is to be marked. The sleep of Subhadrā, the Mare-face in the Purāṇic account, with Viṣṇu is nothing but the underlined union of the

1. *yamasya mātā* at X·17.1c
2. *Skanda P.*, VII. 185.2.
3. She is Śatarūpā, *Vāmana P.* 33.34cd; She is Maṅgalā-gaurī, the mother of Maṅgala, the planet Mars, who is called Ku-ja, *Bhaviṣya P.*, *Brahmakhaṇḍa*, 31.17, where the birth of Maṅgala is said to be from the blood-drop (*rajas*) of Umā who was having sex with Śiva; the drop fell on the earth and gave birth to Maṅgala. The motif of 'running away from the husband' is associated with her also, as she is called Kālī ("Dark") by Śiva; cf. *Śiva P.*, VII. 1.24 29-39 and elsewhere. Here also Gaurī and Kālī are the aspects of the earth.
4. *Skanda P.*, VI. 84.15-19.
5. *Mait. Sam.*, III. 12. *20; Vāj Sam.*, *XXIII.* 18 etc.

goddess of fertility with the sun-god; and this shift of the male god in this account corroborates with the Chāyā-Earth detail where the original sun-god is changed to the Varāha form of Viṣṇu, as noted earlier. The difference, however, is that Chāyā-Earth is the later form of the Vedic *savarṇā*, while the Mare-face corresponds to Saraṇyū-Sañjnā. The old myth, it will be seen, develops two aspects: (i) Creation-myth, with the birth of personalities and planets; and (ii) Fertility-myth, with stress on the earth. In the first aspect, the two wives are Sky and Earth; in the second, they are both the aspects of the earth, the Mare-face having nothing to do with the sky and being completely identified with the fertile earth (Viṣṇu's bed-mate, Subhadrā) and the fructifying river-goddess Sarasvatī turning to be the goddess of fertility.[1] It should be noted that the change of the Sarasvatī to the Mare-faced goddess of the Puraṇic period is not an up-start. It has its roots in the Vedic ritual context. Thus, at a sacrifice to the god Apām-napāt, who was believed to be the Horse in the water and was localised on the Indian scene on the confluence of the Sarasavtī and the Dṛṣadvatī, a mare was a special gift to the high priest.[2] It may also be noted that Aśvinī, said to be the wife of the gods Aśvins in the *ṚV*,[3] gets identified with the Sarasvatī, who is said to be the wife of the Aśvins at the *Vājasaneyi-Sam.*[4] This not only makes clear the association of the Sarasvatī with the horse on one side, through her relationship with the Aśvins, but also that she is the veritable mare, independant of the Aśvins, being lorded over by the Horse-in-water Apām-napāt. Thus, the concept and the ritual-association of the Mare-face as the independent fertility goddess obtains from the Vedic period itself. This continuity, however faint, has to be taken note of though the Mare-face changed her names. The point seems to be that Saraṇyū is no real name; it is as symbolic as the name *savarṇā*. These words indicate the nature of the two 'wives' of Vivasvat. Who were they? About the *savarṇā* there is a clear concept; she is the earth, as is noted from various references above. Saraṇyū-Sañjnā is generally said to be the sky; and this is also borne out, as noted above, by the concept of the 'two women' of the sun mentioned in the *ṚV*.[5] But, as we have just seen, her mare-face gets associated with the

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1. See my article, "The Horse-faced Goddess", contributed to the *Prof. V. P. Bapat Fel. Vol.*, Varanasi, for further details.
2. Keith A.B., *Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas and the Upaniṣads*, London, 1925, P. 352 (in Vol. II); also *Pañcaviṃśa Br.*, 35.10.13-22.
3. V. 46.8.
4. 19.94.
5. Urdhvā and other described as *uttānā*, being called Bhūmī, which gives the image of the extended earth, X. 27.13cd.

Sarasvatī and Subhadrā who are terrestrial in the ritual-tradition, and are the aspects of the fertile earth. It cannot be said that the earth was not believed to be divine and that Saraṇyū is referred to as *amṛtā*. The earth was divine and she was referred to as such.[1] When the gods are said to conceal the *amṛtā* and give the *savarṇā*, the latter is not referred to as *martyā*, though she is said to be given to the mortals! Again, as the *savarṇā* of the immortal one she could never be thought as essentially different from the immortal one. The two forms of the same entity fits in the general concept of dualism of the Ṛgvedic seers[2].

If we take the indication of later accounts, it is clear that the sun-god mates with the Mare-face in the north (Uttara-kuru). Again, according to the same tradition, Sañjnā is unable to bear the lustre (heat) of the sun-god. This shows that this part of the legend reverts to the Uttarāyaṇa. Now, the ritual-tradition of the propitiation of the Mare-face marks the same period. The mare-faced Sarasvatī-Gaurī and Subhadrā are enjoined to be worshipped in the month of Māgha, as noted above. The same is the period for the Vedic Horse-sacrifice, as noted already. Saraṇyū-Sañjnā, then, indicates the aspect of the Earth-goddess in the Uttarāyaṇa. A step further and we may waft a conjecture : This mating would result in the birth of Yama-Yamī and the Aśvins *after a reasonable period*. This would connect with the month of Āśvina coming after about eight months, and also the Festival of lights in Kārtika, which has an important day (Yama-dvitīyā) in the memory of Yama and Yamī. The *savarṇā* is so called as she is of the same status as that of Saraṇyū-Sañjnā; but her name Chāyā would indicate her aspectless lustrous. This indicates the earth in the Dakṣiṇāyana, when the sun is less in his heat, and is marked by the rainy season and the sowing season.[3] Though it may be said that Saraṇyū-Sañjnā is the Sky that showers rain,[4] the sky cannot be said to be the flying one, as there is no marked change in its form like the earth. Again, the Mare-face's identification with the earth cannot be set aside. This identification is to be seen not only in the Indian tradition, but also in the Cretan legend.

The myth of Vivasvat and his two wives, thus, seems to have been known as that of the sun-god and the two phases of the earth. It is futile to discuss

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1. *devī amṛte* for the sky and the earth *ṚV.*, III. 25.3
2. cf. the concept of *vavri*, *ṚV.*, I.46.9; 164.7; the concept of the double *Ṛta*, *ṚV.*, IV. 3.9 etc.
3. See note 5 on p.112; Bhaṭṭotpala quotes to say that the *garbha* starts forming in the second half of *Kārtika* (Dakṣiṇāyana) and gets released in the rainy season.
4. *Bhaviṣya P.*, *Brahma-khaṇḍa*, 79.5.

whether it travelled from India to the west, or it was the other way. The safest thing would be to say that it was the myth of the Horse-taming Aryan people, for whom the earth was symbolized as the mare. In the Cretan ritual-tradition the earth-mare got settled as Demeter. Though in the Hindu tradition the idol of the Mare-face is mentioned quite late, there is every probability of the deity being known as such to the Ṛgvedic seer-sacrificers. The Vedic ritual-tradition did not favour idol-worship; but enacted the divine on the terrestrial plane of the sacrifice. The gift of the *savarṇā* to Vivasvat by the 'gods' appears to be the employment of the human female representing the aspect of the earth to a ritual-person representing the divine sun, on the lines of other such rituals like the Horse-sacrifice or that of Indrāṇī and Vṛṣākapi,[1] thus enacting the popular myth in the holy sphere of the sacrifice for the weal of mankind. As the verses refer to the exit of Saraṇyū, the ritual may be placed in the Dakṣiṇāyana; it may be the counterpart of the *Māgha*-ritual like that of the Horse-sacrifice. It may be of some use to note that even to-day the story of Āditya-Rāṇubai (=Rājñī) is related as a charm at a fertility-ritual for women; it starts in *Śrāvaṇa* on the bright seventh, is to be observed on every bright seventh till the bright seventh of *Māgha*, the first and the last seventh corresponding to the two days, according to the *Bhaviṣya P.* (noted above), on which the sun unites with his two wives.

1. X.86; See note 2 on p. 114, *Vedic Concept. . . . loc. cit.*

THE STAGE OF BHARATA—SOME SYMBOLIC RITES

Smt. Sindhu S. Dange

The problem of the origin of the Indian Drama, or Sanskrit Drama, has been discussed at great length by A. B. Keith[1]. The author has rightly pointed out that "the Vedic ritual contained within itself the germs of drama, as is the case with practically every primitive form of worship. The ritual did not consist merely of the singing of songs or recitations in honour of the gods; it involved a complex round of ceremonies in some of which there was undoubtedly present the element of dramatic representation; that is, the performers of the rites assumed for the time being personalities other than their own"[2]. This statement gets testified in more than one instances. Thus, we have the ritual of the purchase of Soma and the rituals in the Mahāvrata. The ritual-dialogues called '*Brahmodya*' prove the rudiments of the elements of drama. Enactment of the divine by the mortals on the ritual-plane was the essence of Vedic rites; and many of the Vedic myths get connected with rituals, getting enacted as a charm for the desired result[3]. The songs of the *Sāmaveda* and the use of ceremonial dances were other elements helping the concept of drama, which were well rooted in the ritual tradition, though the Sanskrit drama in a full fledged form developed in later times[4], which show both male-troupes and entirely female-troupes[5].

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1. A. B. Keith, *The Sanskrit Drama*, London, re-print 1954 (1924).
2. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
3. For which see Dange, S. A., *Sexual Symbolism from the Vedic Ritual*, Delhi, 1979, pp. 30-48.
4. Keith, *op. cit.* p. 31ff.
5. The *Kuṭṭanīmata* states that the roles were played by a troupe of women. See A. M. Shastri, *India as seen in the Kuṭṭanīmata of Dāmodaragupta*, Delhi, 1975, p. 228; for a woman playing the role of a man and a man playing the role of a woman. See *Nāṭyaśāstra*, XII.166-168,

Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the first attempt of its kind, dealing with the rules relating to theatrical performance, or the science of stage, has this very ritualistic tradition in view. In the first three chapters it deals with the origin and greatness of theatrics, the forms of the stage and rules for their construction, the auspicious ceremonies at the foundation of the stage and on the opening day. Only then are prescribed the details of the *Pūrva-raṅga*; and other instructions follow later. Hence, though the drama is spoken of as a 'plaything' (*krīḍanīyaka*), which is both *dṛśya* (to be seen) and *śravya* (to be heard), it is embedded in the religious atmosphere, with all its beliefs and superstitions.

The tradition tells that when Viśvakarmā constructed the first play-house, Brahmā asked all the gods to protect it by placing the portions of their lustre in it. The important gods thus came to be associated with the play-house[1]. How this lustre was represented is not quite clear, though image-worship was prevalent at the time of Bharata which follows the *Sūtra*-period (600 B.C. to 200 B.C.). After the construction of the play-house a sacrificial ritual is to be performed in the main hall and offerings are to be placed[2]. The constellations in this context are Hasta, Tiṣya and Anurādhā. Also mentioned are Saumya, Viśākhā and Revatī. It is not known if these constellations had any specific beliefs attached to them; but there can be the least doubt for such beliefs being attached. The Purāṇa-tradition records belief for every constellation. The *Garuḍa P.*[3], for example, classifies the constellations as *Adhovaktra*, *Ūrdhvamukha* and *Pārśvamukha*, mentioning also the acts to be under each or joint constellations. Revatī, Hasta and Anurādhā are *Pārśvamukha*, according to it[4], and are useful for undertaking expeditions, while the *Adhovaktra* are useful for digging tanks, temples etc. The Viśākhā (two in number) is the *Adhovaktra* (*Adhomukha*) one. Here, in this constellation, the Purāṇic belief tallies with the one from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* indicating the construction of the theatre.

Interesting details are associated with the measuring cord for measuring the lay-out of the play-house. The propitiation of the brahmins and the recitation of the "praise-formula" (*puṇyāha-vācana*) by them forms a very important detail. The owner of the construction has to offer the "pacificatory water" (*śānti-toya*) in this connection, prior to the start of the measuring[5]. Not only the various rites are to be accompanied by auspicious

1. *Nāṭya Ś.*, I.83-98.
2. *Ibid.*, I.120, 121 and 124.
3. I.59.16 ff.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Nāṭya Ś*, II.32-33.

musical notes, sounds of conches, kettle-drums, tabors and other instruments including the *paṇava*, but also care is to be taken to remove religious hypocrites wearing tawny garments[1]. There are regular instructions regarding the measuring cord. It is ordained to be prepared from the *muñja* grass, reminding one of the customs at the Vedic initiation or consecration for sacrifice. The alternates are cotten and *balbaja* grass, or even the bark of trees. Special persons had to prepare the cord; and it had various superstitions attached to it. It is said that if the cord broke in the middle, the owner of the theatre is sure to die. If it broke at one-third point, there would be a great turmoil in the country. If it broke at the one-fourth point, it is indication of the death of the chief builder. If it fell from the hand of the measurer, the indication is of loss or decline of the prosperity of the owner[2]. We may compare similar beliefs from the later literature. Thus, according to the *Matsya Purāṇa*[3], while constructing a temple, or the dwelling, or an altar, if the measuring-cord gets cut the indication is death; and if the peg attached to the end of the cord turns upside down, it indicates disease[4]. This would indicate that the thread was closely associated with life, and it was not merely instrumental for measuring. The *Matsya P.* even goes to record the belief that if a dog or a jackal crosses the cord when measurihg is in progress, or if a donkey yells, it is like a thorn in the holy atmosphere[5].

The various colours had their own importance in the construction of the theatre. The colours had association with the deities as well as with the castes (*varṇa*). Food is ordained to be offered at the four main quarters of the stage, or the theatre when it is being put to lay-out. White food is to be offered in the east; black (blue; *nila*) in the south; yellow in the west and red in the north. It is said that the food should correspond to the respective deity; and the offering should be accompanied by the chanting of hymns[6]. It is said that the lay-out of the *maṇḍapa* should be completed when the constellation called Mūla is ruling and also the day be the lunar one (Monday=Somavāsara)[7]. On the stage proper, four columns are enjoined to be erected; and they are said to represent the four *varṇa*-s. With the erection of each column special offering is mentioned. Thus, at the erection

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1. II.36-38.
2. *Ibid.*
3. 255.19.
4. *Ibid.*, 21.
5 *Ibid.*
6. *Nāṭya, Ś.* II.39cd; 40ab.
7. *Ibid.*, 42cd; 43ab.

of the Brāhmaṇa column, the offerings are enjoined to be all white; at that of the Kṣatriya, red clothing and red garments; at that of the Vaiśya, yellow; and at that of the Śūdra they should be black (or blue, *nīla*)[1]. This would indicate the presence of all the four *varṇa*-s as the support for the stage; and the concept is comparable with the one from the *Puruṣa-sūkta*[2], where the society, symbolized as the Primeval MAN=sacrifice, is indicated to form the whole. The association of the colours mentioned above with the four *varṇa*-s has been well-rooted in the Gṛhya tradition also. *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* points out that even for building a house the ground should be white for a Brāhmaṇa, of red colour for a Kṣatriya, of yellow colour for a Vaiśya, and so on[3]. Slightly corresponding to the colours, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* points out that golden ear-rings should be placed at the base of the column meant for the Brāhmaṇa, those made of copper at that meant for the Kṣatriya, those made of silver at the base of the column meant for the Vaiśya, and those made of iron for the Śūdra. Alternately, gold is enjoined to be placed at the base of all the columns[4]. The columns are, then, to be fixed in position; and care is to be taken to see that they do not move or shake, or even turn! It is said that if any of the columns moved, there will be no rains; if it turned, death will follow; and if it shook, it would give rise to fear from the enemy[5].

The preparation of the stage was a ritual of great importance; and it resembled the preparation of the altar. It is ordained that the surface of the stage should be filled with black earth; and this was done tilling the ground with a plough. White bullocks (a sign of auspiciousness) are enjoined to be yoked to the plough for this purpose; and the men who handle the plough are to be without any bodily defect. For clearing the dug-up earth new baskets are enjoined to be used[6]. After the tilling and prior to the arrangement of the earth precious stones are enjoined to be placed at the inner layer.

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1. *Ibid*., 46-50.
2. *Ṛgveda*, X.90.
3. *Āśv. Gṛ. S.*, II.7.6-8; cf. *Gobhila Gṛ. S.*, IV.7.5-6; the allocation of various colours to the various quarters is seen even out of the Indian context. Ancient Egypt : East-golden or green; West-Black; South—White; North—Red. Tibet : East-White; West-Red; North-Green; South-Yellow. China : East—Green; West-White; South-Red; North-Black; Java : East-White; West-Yellow; South-Red; North-Black : etc. for which see Donald Mackenzie, *Myths of Pre-Columbian America*, London, p. 72.
4. *Nāṭya Ś.*, II. 50-53.
5. *Ibid.* 56-57.
6. *Ibid.* 70-71.

It is also enjoined that diamonds be placed in the east, Lapis Lazuli in the south, Quartz in the west and Coral in the north. In the centre gold is ordained to be placed[1]. This compares the *sambhāra* of the Vedic altar[2].

When the whole theatre is completely constructed, cows and brahmins should be made to stay there for seven days. The brahmins are supposed to be reciting Vedic *mantra*-s for all these days[3]. One interesting ritual is that of the breaking of a jar placed earlier in the middle of the stage. The jar should be filled with water, and its neck be decorated with a wreath. All musical instruments are to be arranged properly; the various deities are to be worshipped and offered to. The staff called *Jarjara* is also to be worshipped. The preceptor of the dramatic science (*nāṭyācārya*) then enters the stage, after due fast for three days; he breaks the jar with a stroke, signifying the destruction of the enemies and evil spirits[4]. The owner illuminates the whole stage with the help of a lighted lamp, while various sounds are being produced about the stage, along with jumping and running noisily. There also should be sham fights indicating the fight between evil and good forces. Also scenes of cutting, wounding and even bleeding are enjoined[5]. The fight and the various sounds are probably an enactment of the concept connected with the Vedic sacrifice, wherein at various places the competition of the Asuras and the gods is referred to. But, it is more probable that this is the relic of folk-practices and religious dances, getting fused with the Vedic altar-rituals. The *Jarjara* symbolized the staff of destruction for the evil. But, there seems to be more in it.

The *Jarjara* is associated not only with the destruction of the evil spirits and imaginary demons, but also with the very beginning of the performance. The first performance of the drama is said to have been accomplished at the *Indramahotsava*, which is called also the *Indradhvaja* festival[6]. The destruction of the demons that tried to spoil the performance is said to have been accomplished by Indra with his own staff, which came to be called *Jarjara* as it rendered the demons *jarjarita* (shattered)[7]. If we remember that the evils and demons were only imaginary, the *Jarjara*, like the wooden sword

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1. *Ibid.* 74-74.
2. This is the case in the ritual of *Agnyādhāna*, described at almost all ritual-texts. *Taittirīya Br.*, II.1.2.6;
3. *Nāṭya Ś.*, III.1.
4. III.88-89.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.* I.54ff.
7. *Ibid.* 70-73.

(*sphya*) at the Vedic sacrificial ritual, was only a symbolic staff. On the other hand, the *Indradhvaja* is said to have been given to Vasu Uparicara by Indra along with the wreath (*indramālā*) with a view to success in war and well-being of the subjects. The *Indradhvaja* bears the name of Indra and is said to be the bamboo-staff[1] which was to be erected ritually every year for the same purpose. The *jarjara* is said to be infused with the thunderbolt of Indra and with various gods[2]. Thus, as the *Indradhvaja* was the emblem of Indra, so was the *Jarjara*; but, the latter represented also his *vajra* (thunderbolt). Both were staffs. *Indradhvaja* was to be erected; the *Jarjara* was to be held in the hand. What appears to be probable is that the *Jarjara* was a staff to be ritually handled at a ritual dramatization in folk-tradition. Its identification, or association, with the thunderbolt of Indra is a later phase. In this we have to compare it with the belief in such staffs, the Vedic sacrificial-staff (*yūpa*) being one type. It is to be noted that the staff indicated, in the beliefs of most people, the beginning of creation, and was used at rituals at the start with the same belief. A few instances would support the point; and, though the *yūpa* or the *Indradhvaja* or the *Jarjara* would appear to be far removed from the original concept, the basic motiff remains the same. Thus, the Siberians fixed willow-sticks at the rituals and round the house; and more particularly to the eastern end of the dwelling[3]. In a changed form it is seen in the churn-staff of Izanagi and Izanmi, the Japanese primeval brother-sister couple[4]. A very polished form of the same is the Vedic *yūpa*, the *stūpa* of Varuṇa[5] and even the churn-staff Mandara that churned the milky ocean creating the various planets. The *Jarjara* has to be viewed in this light. At the performance of the first drama it symbolised not only the destruction of the 'enemies' but also the creation of a neat perfomance.

1. *yaṣṭiṁ ca vaiṇavīm. Mahābhārata, Ādi.*, 63. 17ab
2. *Nāṭya Ś.*, I.92.
3. Donald Mackenzie, *Myths of China and Japan*, London, p. 330.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 350.
5. *Ṛgveda*, I.24.7.

WOMAN IMAGES IN KĀLIDĀSA'S ṚTUSAṂHĀRA

R. M. Das

Simile occupies a unique place among the figures of speech in Sanskrit literature. It forms the basis of almost all the figures of speech of sense (*Arthālaṅkāra*-s)[1].

Kālidāsa is a poet of the highest rank. To him the soul of poetry is *rasa*, which is much above mere poetic ornamentation. Many a poet after him laid undue stress on the external artifices of style at the cost of the inner sense. But Kālidāsa does not make his narrative 'a mere peg from which he could luxuriously, hang his learning and skill for mere show and display'.

Kālidāsa never cheapens the essential dignity of his thought. There is not the least tinge of labouredness in his style, his expressions are quick and spontaneous and his verbal embellishments add to the excellence of his poetry.

Kālidāsa is the master of all kinds of figures of speech. But he excels all other poets in his skill in the use of apt and graceful similes which for their graphic beauty, spontaneity and appropriateness stand unparalleled in the literatures of the world. But his love for similitude never makes him employ it as a mere verbal artifice but it is rather made a natural concomitant of the emotional content for suggesting more than what is expressed.

One particular characteristic of Kālidāsa's similes is that he takes for his standard or comparison the most familiar objects around us. It is not the

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1. Appaya Dīkṣita in his *Citramīmāṃsā* categorically says that *Arthālaṅkāra*-s are nothing but the modification of *Upamā:*
   Upamaikā śailūṣī samprāptā citrabhumikābhedāt|
   Rañjayantī Kāvyaraṅge nṛtyantī tadvidāṁ cetaḥ||
   By way of illustration he names twenty-two figures of speech as directly based on *Upamā*.

novelty of the images but the manner of their presentation wherein lies the secret of the grandeur of his similes. The most trivial things when touched by the magic-wand of the poets' fancy reach the height of magnificence. In personifying inanimate objects, Kālidāsa is the master. The soul of Kālidāsa's similes is the suggestion of the sentiments and the wealth of ideas and images which imprint the pictures evoked by the poet's words indelibly on the imagination of the reader.

Ṛtusaṃhāra is a youthful production of Kālidāsa. It presents before us a highly sensous and colourful picture of the six Indian seasons and paints their varied beauties with all the grace of the passions they awaken in the minds of the lovers. It strings together pictures of the kissing clouds, the embracing creepers, the wildly rushing streams, moon-lit night full of shining stars and other tokens of amorousness in nature as well as the effect and the significance of the different seasons for the lover. It shows flashes of effective phrasing and an easy flow of verse and sense of rhythm and diction quite free from elaborate complications.

Ṛtusaṃhāra is remarkably rich in similes. In the present paper we propose to deal with the woman-images which dominate the galaxy of images appearing in this work.

A young woman under the influence of passion, first comes as an image for the charming and amorous gait. The slowly moving autumn rivers with beautiful *śafarī*-s (a kind of fish) leaping in their water, with rows of white birds lining their banks and with their broad sandy banks are compared to amorously walking women in their white garments, with their jingling girdle-bands and beautiful round buttocks. Here passionate women moving amorously stand as an image for slowly flowing autumn rivers, their girdle-bands for leaping *śafarī*-s, their white garments for white birds sitting in rows and their round hips for sandy and rising banks.[1]

Again a young and passionate lady slowly and steadily growing into a full woman comes as an image for the waxing autumn night. The waxing autumn night with numerous stars, the uncovered moon and the silvery moonshine is compared to a bright-faced passionate lady in fine clothes and glitter-

1. *Cañcanmanojñaśafarīrasanākalāpaḥ,*
Paryantasaṃsthitasitāṇḍajapaṅktihāraḥ|
Nadyo viśālapulināntanitambabimbā
Mandaṃ prayānti samadāḥ pramadā ivādya||
R. S., 3.3.

ring ornaments, budding into a full woman. Here the young passionate lady tending towards womanhood is an image for the waxing autumn night, her ornaments for shining stars, her beautiful face for the moon and her lovely thin and white clothes for the moon-shine.[1]

Further, an intoxicated lady is an image for the autumn season, on account of her grace giving pleasure to all those coming in contact with her. The autumn season with the blooming red lilies, the expanded blue lotus, the white *kāśa* flowers and the charming beauty of the *kumuda* flowers is like an intoxicated lady of exquisite beauty, with reddened face, darkish eyes and white garments. Here the joy-inspiring intoxicated lady stands as an image for the pleasant autumn season, her reddened face for the blooming red lily, her dark eyes for the expanded blue lotus, her white garments for white *kāśa* flowers and her exquisite beauty for the attractive charm of the blooming *kumuda*-s.[2]

A beautiful lady decorated with sparkling colourful jewels and putting on cat's-eye gems stands as an image for the earth full of grass-blades, leaves of *kandalī* plants rising above the ground and the *indragopa* insects. Here, a beautiful lady is an image for the earth, splintered cat's eye for the blades of green grass, and red and green jewels worn by the lady for the *indragopa* insects and the leaves of *kandalī* plants respectively.[3]

At another place a young lady separated from her lover comes as an image for the *priyaṅgu* creeper. As a young lady when separated from her lover, turns pale; loses the warmth of her body and shivers on account of the pangs of separation from her lover, so is the condition of the *priyaṅgu* creeper, being constantly shaken by cold and snowy winds of the winter.[4]

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1. *Tārāgaṇapravarabhūṣaṇamudvahantī,*
   Meghāvarodhaparimuktaśaśāṅkavaktrā/
   Jyotsnādukūlamamalaṃ rajanī dadhānā,
   Vṛddhiṁ prayātyanudinaṁ pramadeva bālā// *Ibid.*, 3.7.
2. *Vikacakamalavaktrā phullanīlotpalākṣī,*
   Vikasitanavakāśaśvetavāso vasānā/
   Kumudarucirakāntiḥ kāminīvonmadeyaṃ,
   Pratidiśatu śaradvaścetasaḥ prītimagryām// *Ibid.*, 3.28.
3. *Prabhinnavaidūryanibhaistṛṇāṅkuraiḥ,*
   Samācitā protthitakandalīdalaiḥ/
   Vibhāti śukletararatnabhūṣitā,
   Varāṅganeva kṣitirindragopakaiḥ// *Ibid.*, 2.5.
4. *Pākaṃ vrajantī himajātaśītaiḥ,*
   Ādhūyamānā satataṃ marudbhiḥ/
   Priye priyaṅguḥ priyaviprayuktā,
   Vipāṇḍutāṃ yāti vilāsinīva// *Ibid.*, 4.11,

A bride in a beautiful attire and glittering ornaments stands as an image for the early autumn season for her captivating youthful and virgin charms. As a beautiful bride of lovely and slim body, decorated with fine garments and twinkling anklets pleases all by her charming appearance, so does the autumn season with blooming lotuses, chucklings of the infatuated swans and beautifully bending and ripening ears of corn.[1]

Again the bride in her red garments, bending under the weight of her heavy hips and plumpy breasts and trembling on account of her hard-breathing, born of her heightened emotions, stands as an image for the earth covered all over, during the vernal season, with red *kiṃśuka* groves bending with blossoms waved by the wind.[2]

Wanton women for their rash movements and uncontrolled behaviour stand as an image for the unruly rivers of the rainy season. Passion-flurried women going hurriedly to their lovers, breaking all rules of decency and decorum and thereby calumniating their entire family, come as an image for the rivers of the rainy season which rush forth impetuously to the sea felling every where the trees on their banks by the currents of their turbid water rushing with great force.[3]

Till now we had been dealing with cases where woman as a whole appears as an image. Now we shall look into such cases where the different parts of her body or her actions appear as an image.

The face of a woman comes as an image for its captivating beauty, charms and bloom. The beautiful lilies in bloom, surpass the beauty of

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1. *Kāśāṃśukā vikacapadmamanojñavaktrā,*
Sonmādahaṃsaravanūpuranādaramyā/
Āpakvaśālirucirāhatagātrayaṣṭiḥ,
Prāptā śarannavavadhūriva rūparamyā // *Ibid.*, 3.1.
2. *Ādīptavahnisadṛśairmarutā' vadhūtaiḥ,*
Sarvatra kiśmukavanaiḥ kusumāvanamraiḥ/
Sadyo vasantasamayena samāciteyaṃ,
Raktāṃśukā navavadhūriva bhāti bhūmiḥ// *Ibid.*, 6.21.
3. *Nipātayantyaḥ paritastaṭadrumān,*
Pravṛddhavegaiḥ salilairanirmalaiḥ/
Striyaḥ suduṣṭā iva jātivibhramāḥ,
Prayānti nadyastvaritaṃ payonidhim// *Ibid.*, 2.7.
See Kālidāsa's *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* (5.21) where the same simile occurs in a reverse order i.e. whereas against the present case *upameya* is a wanton woman (*Śakuntalā*) and the *upamāna* is a flooded river.

the moon-like faces of women.[1] Being opened in the morning by the rays of the sun, the expanding lotus looks like the face of a charming woman brightening up at the touch of her loving husband.[2] On the contrary a woman's face losing its glow on account of the departure of her husband comes as an image for the lily closing at the setting of the moom.[3] Faces of charming women with their bloomy loveliness is an image for the beautiful and newly appearing blossom of the *kurabaka* tree.[4] In all these cases the face of woman, in all its charms is an image for beautiful flowers.

Slender and beautiful arms of a woman decked with glittering ornaments and bending under their weight come as an image for the shoots of the *śyāmā* creeper bending under the weight of beautiful flowers.[5]

The darkish plumpy breasts of an expectant woman comes as an image for the sky overcast with dark clouds.[6]

The darkish and beautiful eyes of a woman stand as an image for the blue lotuses ;[7] her eyebrows, charming and moving in quick succession, for the restive ripples of the river ;[8] her beautiful lips, for the ***bandhūka*** flower ;[9] her shining teeth, for the white *kunda* flower ;[10] her soft and red palms, for tender leaves of plants ;[11] her amorous gait, for the beautiful gait of intoxicated swans ;[12] her sweet talks, for the sweet sound of cuckoo[13] ; jingling of her girdle, for the sound of swans[14] and her fair-complexioned and sandal-besmeared

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1. .. *ambhoruhairvikasitairmukhacandrakāntiḥ*. *Ibid.*, 3.17.
2. *Divasakaramayūkhairbodhyamānaṃ prabhāte,*
   Varayuvatimukhābhaṃ paṅkajaṃ jṛmbhate'dya *Ibid.*, 3.25.
3. *Kumudamapi gate'staṃ līyate candrabimbe,*
   Hasitamiva vadhūnāṃ proṣiteṣu priyeṣu// *Ibid.*, 3.25.
   Cf. *Antarhite śaśini saiva kumudvatī me,*
   Dṛṣṭiṃ na nandayati saṃsmaraṇīya śobhā/Śākuntalam. 4.3.
4. *Kāntāmukhadyutijuṣāmacirodgatānāṃ,*
   Śobhāṃ parāṃ kurabakadrumamañjarīṇāṃ/ *Ibid.*, 3.18.
5. *Śyāmā latāḥ kusumabhāranatapravālāḥ,*
   Strīṇāṃ haranti dṛtabhūṣanabāhukāntiṃ/ *Ibid.*, 3.18.
6. *Kvacitsagarbhapramadāstanaprabhaiḥ,*
   Samācitaṃ vyomagaṇaiḥ samantataḥ/ *Ibid.*, 2.2.
7. *Nīlotpalairmadakalāni vilocanāni...* *Ibid.*, 3.17.
8. ...*bhrūvibhramāśca rucirāstanubhistaraṅgaiḥ*. *Ibid.*, 3.17.
9. *Adhararuciraśobhāṃ bandhujīve....* *Ibid.*, 3.26.
10. ...*smitadaśanamayūkhānkundapuṣpaprabhābhiḥ*. *Ibid.*, 6.13.
11. *Karakisalayakāntiṃ pallavairvidrumābhaiḥ*. *Ibid.*, 6.31.
12. ...*haṃsairjitā sulalitā gatiraṅganānāṃ*... *Ibid.*, 3.17.
13. *Parabhṛtakalagītaiḥ hrādibhiḥ sadvacāṃsi*... *Ibid.*, 6.31.
14. ...*kvaṇitakaṇakakāñcīṃ mattahaṃsasvaneṣu*. *Idid.*, 3.26.

slender and beautifully bending body, for the ripe and bending ears of paddy.[1]

Kālidāsa wrote his *Ṛtusaṃhāra* when he was a young man full of youthful vigour and enthusiasm. As was quite natural, the eyes of the young poet had a fancy for and were attracted by the amorous charms of a young lady. He was so passionately inclined towards her and emotionally and psychologically overpowered by her feminine grace and charm, that to him the whole world appeared woman-oriented. For him the inanimate nature pulsates with life and in it he feels the presence of youthful lady and in its various acts he sees nothing but her amorous activities. Thus in slowly moving autumn river he finds the gait of a passionate woman; in waxing autumn-night, a young lady growing to womanhood; in autumn season, the amorous gait of an intoxicated woman; in the earth full of grass blades, *kandali* plants and *indragopa* insects, a beautiful lady decked with glittering ornaments and coloured attire; in winter-smitten *priyaṅgu* creeper, a lady separated from her lover; in beautiful vernal season, a bride; in the unruly river of rainy season, a rashly moving wanton woman; in blooming lily, expanding lotus and the blossom of a *kurabaka* tree, her brightened up face; in shoots of *śyāmā* creeper, her lovely arms; in the sky overcast with dark clouds, her dark and plumpy breasts; her blue lotus, her darkish eyes; in ripples, her restive eyebrows; in *bandhūka* flower, her lips; in *kunda* flower, her teeth; in tender leaves, her palms; in swans, her amorous gait; in cuckoos, her sweet talks and in ripe and bending ears of corn, her beautifully bending body.

At the time of composing *Ṛtusaṃhāra* Kālidāsa had not developed that mature and all-pervasive attitude towards woman which is the result of long and varied experience of the world and which leads one to look into and realise and appreciate the inner and sober aspects of woman's personality.

1. *Āpakvaśālirucirānatagātrayaṣṭiḥ* . *Ibid.*, 3.1.

A BUDDHIST NOVICE'S ETIQUETTE

J. Duncan M. Derrett

The subject of etiquette is of immense interest to any hierarchical society. It is not surprising that before the Buddhist *saṅgha* could be happily established a very large number of rules of conduct which we should classify as etiquette should actually be laid down in so precise a form that they appear in the last section ofthe *Pātimokkha*; and indeed many rules in the earlier sections could be classified similarly. It is not impossible that many rules to be found scattered in various places in Indian normative literature[1] may have been spread by the *saṅgha*, which apart from other functions, was certainly an educational agency. Many items of Indian etiquette (such as using the right hand for giving and receiving) are a mystery to Europeans; and when a visitor to the East from the West attempts to acclimatise himself he needs an orientation course in etiquette—much to the disgust of 'cosmopolitanised' Asians, who like to pretend that the remarkable paucity of etiquette in the West is a birthright into which they too have entered. Indeed once upon a time Indian etiquette was really elaborate.

It is well known that the Buddhist novice must take ten vows of abstention[2]. I have attempted to deal with these in a summary and experi-

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1. I have only grazed the surface. 'Avalokanīyāni in Tamil guise: the *Ācārakkōvai*', *Bhārata Manishā Quarterly*, II.4, 1977, 13-26, now reprinted at my *Essay in Classical and Modern Hindu Law*, IV (Leiden, 1978), 380ff. Also the *chalas* discussed by me at 'Some features of public law in *smṛti* sources', *Adyar Library Bulletin*, 42 (1978), 1-31, at pp. 21ff. To the references given in that artiele one should add J. Jolly, *Hindu Law and Customs* (Calcutta, 1928), 268-270, and L. S. Joshi, *Dharmakośa*, *Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa*, 131-2 (include *Śukranīti*).
2. *Mahāvagga*, I.56.

mental way in previous articles[1]. The text I have been using, Śrīghana's text, *Śrīghanācāra-saṃgraha*, available only, without the *śloka*-s, in the commentary of Jayarakṣita[2], is extremely troublesome to read because of the loss of the *śloka*-s; and many portions are probably corrupt, since this defect has encouraged scribes to depart from what was already a concise commentary's wording. After the ten abstentions have been explained in sufficient detail, with an extraordinary casuistry, the author adds, as an afterthought, comments on the general behaviour of the novice, with special reference to etiquette. I am very much afraid I may have misunderstood what is about, as represented by Jayarakṣita, himself far from perspicuous in places. Because I do not have comparative material to hand I should be grateful if any reader who can see his way through the material would publish such improvements as he feels are called for. What follows is a draft translation, made on the basis of pp. 74-77 of the edition.

"Now he takes up another precept of conduct incidentally. 'Verse, fighting' etc. (He deals with misbehaviour). 'Verse' here means 'comic verse', 'fighting' means wrestling or quarrelling (exchanging abuse?). 'Eating tooth-sticks', chewing tooth-sticks. The rest is easy. 'verse-fighting, etc.' is a cumulative compound. The action spoken of (reading *sā tathoktā*) is 'verse, fighting, chewing tooth-sticks' on the part of an ascetic (conceivably a novice) who belongs to the elders' end (of the hall). (Presumably he should not do it.). 'Sleeping, drinking, eating and reciting' are sleeping-drinking-eating-'praising'—one 'absorbed', i.e. taking occasion to do so (reading *prāptāvasaro*). The compound can be further resolved into 'one absorbed in sleeping, etc., and one naked and one wearing only one piece of clothing'. Such an ascetic and the previously mentioned are surely (not) to be saluted by another ascetic: he will say. 'Pottery', etc. One who is occupied with pottery, i.e. takes occasion to be so, he who 'quickly', speedily ..(?) stands on (reading *upatiṣṭhati*) a *vihāra* of two or three stories, or walks 'quickly', fast, and one who is cooking a meal, one occupied with robe-affairs, such an elders–end ascetic (i.e. senior member) should surely (not) be saluted by an ascetic while he is standing on a *vihāra* of two or three stories

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1. '*Adattādānam* : valuable Buddhist casuistry', *Indologica Taurinensia* 7 (1979 : appeared 1980), 181-194; '*Mṛṣā-vāda-virati* : a piece of Buddhist casuistry *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal* 18 (1980), 277-284.
2. *Sphuṭārthā Śrīghanācāra-saṅgraha-ṭīkā*, ed. Sanghasena (Patna, 1968). On the work see A. S. Altekar, 'Cultural importance of Sanskrit literature preserved in Tibet', *A. B. O. R. I.* 35 (1954), 54-66 at 63ff. The name Śrīghan is also used (I believe) as a fancy name for a Buddhist novice.

or cooking a dish. 'Grinding', etc. One who is employed in the task of grinding, or cloth—(robe-) making or cleaning clothing or vessels, or anointing his eyes, or inhaling smoke (medicinal smoke?), or writing a book, or teaching recitation—he must not be saluted. 'Ordure, urine'. etc. If a novice goes to the hut for defecation or to the hut for urination, or directs another to them, or stands in the 'dark', in a dark spot, or puts on an under-garment, or puts on the upper-garment, that elders-end ascetic, while going to the hut for defecation, or putting on the upper garment (etc.), is not to be saluted. (Now he alludes to the reason why these exemptions are listed).

"Now he explains that a junior ascetic must never salute when he himself is situated in particular ways. 'Wrapped up', etc. 'Wrapped up' means covered up; *śīrṣā*=head—by an ascetic whose head is covered or he is entirly covered (?)—can one be saluted? (i.e. no). He will explain. An ascetic whose feet wear shoes is 'wearing shoes', i.e. by one who stands on shoes. One knee plus the other equals 'knees' : one should not make a smacking sound with the shaven head against the (elder's) lower legs. Like what? 'As by a sheep'. 'Sheep' means ram. An ascetic should not salute on the lower leg like a person being struck by a ram (*meṇḍak*?) on the shank of both knees. But the Rev. Dharmāvalokita-mitra says, one who wears shoes should not salute—like what?—like the sun (reading *ravinā* instead of *avinā*). Just as the sun is standing upon shoes, so an ascetic who has his shoes on should not salute. He explains the text making the *a* coalesce. Is the reverend commentator's opinion to be adopted? No. The simile of the ram is the *vinaya* and must, therefore, be followed. He explains the method. 'Settled', etc. The two feet of the ascetic who is settled and seated should be taken crab-wise, and one should salute with the head. If the settled and seated ascetic is suffering from some disease of a foot there is no harm in his being saluted without the crab-wise grasping.

"If any arriving (monk) addresses one settled and seated, the latter should say to him, 'Life-possessor! How many years are you (from your ordination), which is your *nikāya*, how many divisions are there in your *nikāya*, and which is your *sāmayikā* (assembly-time?)?', etc. And if he is an Āryamahāsāṃghika he should say, 'I am an Āryamahāsāṃghika'. Here are their divisions :

> "Vādins, Ārthasiddhārthas, Śailadvayanivāsins, Bhādrāyanas, and Haimavatas; the Mūlasāṃghikas are of six kinds.
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> "The novice must know that there are five (?) assembly-times, the Long, the Winter, the Summer, the Yearly, and the One Beyond that".

(The Mahāsāṃghikas are already divided into sections). Anything not corresponding to these should be avoided, One should be saluted by one's junior; and then the senior says, 'Be in health'! What is the meaning of *ārogya*? When the mind, sweat, mucus, etc., are provoked to the extent of oppressing one, these are called illnesses. Just as the passions are afflictions so the word *roga* (illness) arises from the action afflicting (*rujana*). Where there is no illness is non-illness, and that condition is 'health'. 'Let there be destruction of your afflictions!' And so he says:

> "The passions, etc., afflict exceedingly, similarly the wind, etc., when provoked (afflict) all the multitude; the Buddhas intent on the attempt to pacify these therefore, say 'Be in health' to those who humbly salute them".

Another says:

> "That which is released from the fear of distress from old age and death, is free from the moon, fire, sun, and water, that perpetually (seeks) the highest and perfect state. . ."

(After a gap of unknown dimensions). (One must not deviate from *vinaya* because of a divergent practice on the part of others.). . .'All monks interested in discipline do "eating, etc., at the wrong time"—why should we not do it? Variety in point of residence: 'In that *vihāra* the monks have physical intimacy with each other, why should we not do so'? Variety in point of country: 'In that country there are monks who lend at interest, why should we also not lend at interest'? Variety in point of elders: "That elder eats in the evening; why should we not eat (then)"?

What follows is mostly formal and auspicious verses. It is a pity that the manuscript was damaged, and there could have been further information on etiquette which is withheld from us. But what there is, is suggestive and a basis for further thought. Śrī-ghana, and his commentator, Jayarakṣita, are clear that this little manual was not made up out of Śrī-ghana's imagination, but was taken from *vinaya* authorities. Which these were, and how they were exploited are questions which have still to be answered.

MĀDHAVĀNUKRAMAṆĪ AND ITS CONTENTS

G. V. Devasthali.

As I have shown elsewhere,[1] the *Mādhavānukramaṇī* (*Mā. Anu.*)[2] and the *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī* (*ṚV. Anu.*)[3] are undoubtedly two separate and independent works, poles apart from each other in their concept and even execution. There is not the slightest chance of their being identified, nor are their authors identical. In the following pages an attempt is made to place before the readers a brief account of the *Mā.Anu.* as a whole on the basis of what the author himself has stated in his *Upodghāta* (*Upod.*)[4] and elsewhere.

The *Upod.*, which is all metrical, contains 133 *anuṣṭubh* lines; and falls into two broad divisions. The first, comprising 74 lines, is a sort of general introduction stating and discussing in brief what the author has designated *padārtha vijñāna-hetavaḥ* (the means of understanding the meanings of words).[5]

After this introductory portion, the author proceeds to make a statement about the twelve parts into which he has divided his work, giving at the same time a brief idea of the contents of each of the twelve parts—the

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1. See Davasthali, *Mādhava V/s Veṅkaṭamādhava*, Āchārya R.C. Shukla Volume, (to be shortly out).
2. The *Mā. Anu.* has been edited in *Madras University Sanskrit Series*, No. 2 (University of Madras, 1932) as Appendix IV.
3. See *Madras University Sanskrit Series*, No. 2
4. For the text of this, see pp. CV—CX.
5. These are stated in the following lines:
   Lokaḥ padaṃ svaro vākyaṃ samabhivyāhṛtis śrutiḥ/
   ārṣāṇy api ca śāstrāṇi padārthajñānahetavaḥ/
   In the lines that follow, the author has in brief explained these with suitable illustrations. Thus, for example, he writes: *vyutpattis tatra lokas syāt* (line 3) *padayoreva saṃyogaḥ samabhivyāhṛtirmatā* (line 12); and *Nirukta* and *Vyākaraṇa* are mentioned as *śāstra*-s (line 28). In the remaining lines of this section he has actually offered illustrations of the Vedic *mantra*-s, which are interpreted by means of all these aids.

twelve *anukramaṇi*-s as he has designated them. The names of these *anukramaṇi*-s (*anu.*) are : (1) *ākhyātānu.* (2) *nāmānu.* (3) *nipātānu.* (4) *gūḍhārthapada-gocarā anu.* (5) *vibhaktyarthaprakāśinianu.* (6) *svarato'rthasya nirṇyānu.* (7) *samayānu.* (8) *ārṣi anu.* (9) *chand'onu.* (10) *devatānu.* (11) *itihāsānu.* and finally (12) *mantrārthānukramaṇī* respectively.

In connection with the first two[1] *anu*-s the author has stated that they shall not be studied by persons who are not ceremonially initiated.[2] This very probably refers to the well known initiation ceremony (*upanayana*), which has been considered as a pre-requisite for the commencement of Vedic studies. As a matter of fact, this work is nothing if not a Vedic study, and it is but proper that the author should lay down the condition of initiation (*Upanayana*) for the commencement of the study of this work. It is, in fact, a Vedic work, dealing with the study of the Vedas from various points of view.

The author tells us that the *ākhyātānu.* should be studied first;[3] for, its study would make it easier for the student to understand with care the forms of the verbs and also their meaning.

Fortunately, thanks to C. K. Raja, we have before us the text of these two *anu*-s,[4] so much so that we can have a good idea of their contents. The *ākhyātānu.* (of 535 lines) is a classified list of the verbs in the *ṚV.* arranged into several groups of synonyms. Thus we have, for example, *stutikriyāḥ dhātavaḥ,*[5] *śabdakriyāḥ dhātavaḥ,*[6] and so on, more than a hundred and thirty groups in all. A glance through these lines shows that Mā. has actually brought together verbs (and not roots) that have actually occurred in the *ṚV.*, and arranged them into several groups of synonyms. In this connection, however, he has dropped an important hint to clarify his concept of the term *samānārtha*, that he has applied to the roots placed in a group. The roots, brought together in a group, he says, are not synonymous in the strictest sense of the term. They are so only in a broad way, so much so

1. The first two *anu*-s comprise lines 75f and 77 respectively.
2. Read :
   nāsaṃskṛtā adhīyīran nānukramaṇike ime/line 78.
3. Read:
   ākhyātānukramanikā paṭhitavyāgrato nṛbhiḥ/
   tayā rūpāṇi dhātūnām arthāś ca sugamā iti//
4. They are printed in Appendix IV (See n. 2 on p. 135), pp. CX—CXXX ii, and CXXXII-CLIX respectively.
5. Also designated *stutirarmāṇah*, lines 13-26,
6. See lines 38-56.

that, these roots (forming a group) each one of them, though generally speaking synonymous with others, will be found to differ in their shades according to the context where they are found.[1]

This *anu.* opens with the statement *dhātavo nāmayonayaḥ*[2] (roots are the breeding place of nouns); and further adds that when combined with *tiṅ vibhaki*-s (verbal terminations) they yield the sentence-meaning (*vākyārtha*).[3] These *dhātu*-s (or rather the *ākhyāta*-s) are classified under 133 heads (*artha*-s) on the principle already noted above.

The second *anu.* deals with *nāman*-s (nouns in general), which also are similarly classified. This also, the author says, should not be studied by any one who has not been sacramented.[4] It is prepared on the same lines as the *ākhyātānu.*, and comprises a little less than eight hundred lines. The fact that this *anu.*, like the preceding one, and also the last one (i. e. the twelfth), opens with the words *om namo vāsudevāya*,[5] indicates their common authorship; and leaves hardly any scope for doubt or a difference of opinion in that respect. Secondly, it is important to note that in this *anu.* also, Mā.

1. Read :
Samprayogāt padair anyair api cākṣarasāmyataḥ/
dhātvartharūpavijñānam evaṃ nāmārthakalpanam//
paryudāsyo bhaved dhātuḥ samyañcaṃ yadi paśyati/
artham anyaṃ tathā nāma paṭhito'pi sa pāṭhataḥ//
alpāntarasamānārthāḥ paṭhitāś ceha dhātavaḥ/
prātisvikārthavijñānaṃ vākyaireva bhaved iti//
lines 7–12.
2. The latter half of line 1. This reminds one of Yāska's remarks: *tatra nāmāny ākhyātajānīti Śākaṭāyanaḥ nairuktasamayaś'ca/Nir.*, 1.12.
3. Read :
ācakṣate hi vākyārthaṃ tiṅvibhaktisamanvitāḥ/ Ibid., line 2.
4. See n. 2 on page 136.
5. It may be observed here that our author's *Ṛgveda-vyākhyā* (described by him as *dvādaśyanukramaṇikā* in the very opening line) appears to open with these words, when with slight alterations, the opening verse is properly reconstructed. The verse may read as follows :
Om namo vāsudevāya sārabhūtā susaṅgrahā/
dvādaśyānukramaṇikā kriyate saṃhitāsamā//
The printed text has *bhagavate* before *vāsudevāya*; and reads *susaṃgrahāḥ* and *samām* (which are here emended by dropping the final *ḥ* and *m* into *susaṅgrahā* and *samā*). The remaining portion (which also can be restored into the next original verse seems to speak of ten means (*daśa upāyāḥ*), presumably, of interpretation. At any rate there can be no doubt that the author himself has described the commentary that follows, as the *dvādaśī anukramaṇikā*; and clearly shows that this commentary cannot be identified with that of Veṅkaṭamādhava.

has stated the sources which help us to decide the meaning of a word. They are : (1) instruction by the *vṛddha*-s, (2) *ākhyāta*-s (roots from which the words are derived), association (*samanvaya*) with a qualifying term (*viśeṣaṇa*), (4) accent, (5) (corresponding explanatory passage from) a *Brāhmaṇa*, and (6) context (*artha*).[1]

Like *dhātu*-s, *nāman*-s also are classified under more than a hundred heads (general meanings), which are to be understood as conveying different shades of meanings according to the context in which they occur.

After this follows the *nipātānu.*, about which, however, the author has given no information except the remarks : 'I have discussed (and explained) therein many senses (in which *nipāta*-s are used)'. Or perhaps what is meant by him is : 'Many points (*bahavaḥ arthāḥ*) (of course, pertaining to *nipāta*-s) I have expounded in it. (The original statement of the author is : *arthā hi bahavas tasyām mayā vyutpāditā iti*). In the available portion of his last *anu.* (the *mantrārthānu.*, which is the same as Mā's *ṚV. bhāṣya*), Mā. has not referred to the *nipātānu.* more than once.[2] And that is not enough to say definitely what are the lines on which he has dealt with the *nipāta*-s in his *nipātānukramaṇī.*

The next *anu.*,[3] the author has named the *gūḍhārthapadagocarā anu.*, and he has further stated that in it are explained, on the lines of Yāska's *Nirukta*, words whose process of formation is not clear on the face. Mā. reproduces the views of Manu and also of Yāska, saying that the Vedic words should not be explained to one not proficient in grammar (*avaiyākaraṇa*), one who has not ceremoniously approached the teacher (*anupasanna*) ; nor should he, under any circumstances explain the words to the impure (*aśuci*), even by mistake. For, Manu has enumerated ten (types of) persons to whom alone (and not to others) instructions should be imparted. Finally Mā. remarks that since the meaning of the *mantra*-s must be learnt or grasped by the twice-

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1. Read :
   Om namo vāsudevāya nāmadheyavinirṇayaḥ/
   vṛddhopadeśād ākhyātād viśeṣaṇasamanvayāt//
   svarato brāhmaṇād arthāt... lines 1-3.
2. Commenting on *yathā* (in 1.34.4), Mā remarks *upamārthīyāḥ sampratyarthāś ca bhavaanty. ananvitopamārthā iti nipātānukramaṇikāyām asmābhir uktam* (p. 259). In another place commenting on *yathā*, he writes : *yathetyasyānudattatvam upamārthasya bhavati/prakara-vacanasyodattatvam vaktavyam iti sarvānukramaṇyām uktam*/Com. on 1.34.4 (p. 169). But in the *Upodghāta* itself he declares: *arthā hi bahavas tasyāṃ mayā vyutsāditā iti*/*Upodghāta*, line 80. This rouses our curiosity, with little hope of being satisfied.
3. The views in this *anu.* seem to be based on those of *Yāska* and *Manu*, as the editor himself has pointed out.

born (*dvijaiḥ*), the means for the same will be explained in the *anu.* and hence this *anu.* should be studied by the *bahvṛca*-s (the *ṛgvedin*-s).[1]

The fifth is devoted to an exposition of the varied meanings which are conveyed by the various *sup* and *tiṅ* formations. In brief, this *anu.* is devoted to an exposition of the declensional and conjugational forms.[2]

Fixation of the meaning on the basis of accentuation (*Svarataḥ arthasya nirṇayaḥ*) forms the subject of the sixth *anu.*, and it is to be resorted to and utilised by wise men (*nipuṇaiḥ nṛbhiḥ*).[3]

The subject matter of the seventh *anu.* is highly interesting and important in more ways than one. It is rather too wide for a short span. It throws a flood of light on the *pada-pāṭha* (*PP*) of Śākalya; and its importance as an aid to Vedic interpretation can hardly be exaggerated. Thus owing to its varied importance for the study of the Veda, it would be better to discuss it separately in the hope of being able to do some justice to it.[4]

The eighth *anu.* pertains to *ṛṣi*-s, and Mā. tells us that knowledge of the name of the seer (*ṛṣi*) and information about him (of course as found in the Brāhmaṇa-s and other sources) is helpful in fixing up the meaning of the *mantra*-s. Hence it is essential (even) for the *prājñatama* (the most learned or the wisest of Vedic scholars) to pay attention to it.[5]

Next in order is the *Chando'nukramaṇī* dealing with Vedic metres, and some peculiar problems connected with them. Each *pāda* in a *ṛk* has its own (*avāntara*) meaning; and the meaning of the whole *ṛk* (all *pāda*-s together) is the sum-total (*samudaya*) of these *avāntara artha*-s. And this is brought into being by the wise *ṛṣi*-s. That is why, that is to say, for arriving at the *artha* of the whole *ṛk*-s (or even hymns) as soon by the wise *ṛṣi*-s a study or close perusal of the *Chando'nu.* is highly essential.[6]

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1. Our curiosity is roused (with little chance of being satisfied) when we read : *mantrāthas cāvagantavyo yathāśakti dvijair iti vakṣyante hetavcs tatra grāhyā sa bahvṛcair ataḥ|* *Upod.* lines 88 f.
2. Read :
   Upod. lines 90 f.
3. Here Mā. states his tenet, *svarato' rthasya nirṇayaḥ|* line 92.
4. This *anu.*, being highly intriguing, will be dealt with in a separate article.
5. Mā. declares that *ṛṣijñāna* leads to *ṛcām arthaviniścayaḥ*; but does not illustrate the point.
6. Very often various *pāda*-s of the *ṛk*-s have their own (*avāntara*) meaning, and the meaning of the whole *ṛk*-s is to be arrived at by combining them. In the absence of any illustration it is rather hard to realise what Mā. has in mind here. For some discussion on metre by Mā. See *Devasthalli, Ṛgveda- vyākhyā Mādhavoktā* : some salient features (to appear in the next number of the journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay). For a more detailed discussion on Ma's views on metres, see Mādhava's *Mantrārthānukramaṇī*—Its special features, I (views on Vedic Metres] (to appear in Prof. Sreekrishna Sharma Volume).

The *Chando'nu.* is important for its other aspects also. For, it is in this *anu.* that Mā has fully discussed the problem of *nyūnādhikapada pāda*-s. It is well known that the verses of the *ṚV* are measured, and are thus expected to have a particular number of syllables in each *pāda*. But very often cases are found where the verse contains some times more syllables or sometimes less syllables than what are actually required. In such cases, they have to be brought to the required number of syllables either by reducing the number or by enhancing it in keeping with the instructions of the *Prātiśākhya*-s. And the proper way of achieving this result is shown in this *anukramaṇī*.

The importance of the tenth *anu.* lies in the fact that men can arrive at the real meaning of the *mantra*-s only if they know beforehand the *devatā*-s of the various *mantra*-s.[1] In the absence of an accurate knowledge of the *devatā*-s of the respective *ṛk*-s or groups of *ṛk*-s, a correct understanding of the *mantra*-s would be impossible.

The next *anu.* deals with *itihāsa,* which signifies the various accounts narrated in Vedic literature, particularly the Brāhmaṇa-s. As long as these accounts are not known, it will be impossible for us to understand the correct meaning of such texts, says Mā.[2]

The last one. is the *Mantrārthānukramaṇī.* Mā tells us that this last *anu.* serves a double purpose. Since all these eleven *anu*-s have been composed with some particular purpose in each case, the natural consequence is that some portions of the *ṚV* have been left uncovered, naturally because those portions, present no problems pertaining to the subject matter of any of these *anu*-s. And these portions thus left uncovered so far have to be dealt with and explained for the sake of completion, if not for anything else.

Moreover, it is also likely that there may occur cases where problems, similar to the ones dealt with in the previous *anu*-s occur in the portions not covered so far, and these will serve as additional illustrations of the rules stated and illustrated in the previous *anukramaṇī*-s.

Thus, on the one hand, this last *anu.* serves the purpose of a commentary on the portion left untouched so far, while, on the other, it serves as further illustration for the various rules and principles discussed and illustrated in the previous *anukramaṇī*-s.[3]

1. See *Upod.* lines 118 f.
2. *Ibid.*, lines 120 f.
3. The twelth *anu.* serves a double purpose. It explains parts not covered by the previous *anukramaṇī*-s, and at the same time offers additional illustrations and version of the principles taught in them. See *Upod.*, lines 122-125.

This general survey of the contexts of the *Mā. Anu.* is enough to show the importance of this work in the field of *ṚV* exegesis and studies. It is to be regretted that this work, however, has not yet been fully recovered and made available in print. Moreover, our description of this work is also to be completed as yet. It will be complete only when we get acquainted with the seventh *anu.*, which deals with the *PP.* importance of which for Vedic studies can be realised by the fact that Mā has described it as a sort of Śākalya's commentary on the *ṚV.*[1] This will be dealt with separately elsewhere.

1. Read :
saptamyanukramaṇikā Śākalyam anudhāvati/
vyākhyātaivaṁ hi teneyaṃ saṃhitā padadarśanāt// lines 94 f.
Kṛtavyākhyaiva teneyaṁ ṛṣiṇā dāśatayyabhūt/ line 109.

TENDENCIES IN DECLENSIONAL PATTERNS IN HINDI

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It is common knowledge that, generally speaking, there are two patterns each in the declension of masculine and feminine nouns in Hindi. Further variations can be levelled down morphophonemically. With this levelling down, {*ləṛək*} and {*kɔa*} can be fitted into one pattern, {*mama*}, {*hathi*} and {*vir*} can be fitted into another while certain forms can be fitted now into one pattern, now into another, idiolectally and/or stylistically (e.g. '*mama*~*mame*' in direct plural and *mamaõ*~*mamõ* in oblique plural). Similarly, in feminine, {*nitI*} and {*nədi*} can be fitted into one pattern just as {*jõk*} and {*ləta*} fit into another. In fact, the two patterns in feminine are morphophonemically one because their difference lies only in direct plural which is covered by (phonologically defined) complementary distribution.

The patterns are as follows :

MASCULINE

I

	sg.	pl.
Direct	–a	–e
Oblique	–e	–õ
Vocative	–e	–o

II

	sg.	pl.
Direct	–	–
Oblique	–	–õ
Vocative	–	–o

FEMININE

I

	sg.	pl.
Direct	–	–ẽ
Oblique	–	–õ
Vocative	–	–o

II

	sg.	pl.
Direct	–	–ā̃
Oblique	–	–õ
Vocative	–	–o

What is notable is that the distinction between oblique and vocative in all the patterns is restricted to plural and the distinction consists of the presence versus absence of nasalization. Disappearance of this small formal difference found at this solitary point would result in a large-scale simplfication totally removing the vocative category (merging it with oblique). The position would be as follows :

MASCULINE

I

	sg.	pl.
Direct	–a	–e
Oblique	–e	–õ

II

	sg.	pl.
Direct	–	–
Oblique	–	õ

FEMININE

I

	sg.	pl.
Direct	–	–ẽ
Oblique	–	–õ

II

	sg.	pl.
Direct	–	–ă
Oblique	–	–õ

This network of declensional patterns I first observed in the idiolect of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, next in the idiolect of Shri Balvir Singh 'Ranga' and next in some advertisements in Hindi magazines. The tendency seems to be on the increase, though at a snail's pace.

A further simplification would do away even with the oblique forms offering a third network of patterns. What is observed is that this has happened with one category of words only and that also in some contexts. The words showing this tendency are those which indicate units of time, viz., *sEkEnḍ, mInəṭ, dIn, səptah, həfta, pəkhwaṛa, mah, məhina, vərṣ, sal*. They are all masculine words and they fit into the following patterns in the contexts in which they are found :

I

	sg.	pl.
Mixed	–a	–e

II

	sg.	pl.
Mixed	–	–

The contexts in which they are found prominently are those in which these forms occur in situations for oblique case and they compulsorily take plural-indicating adjectives before them, e.g.,

păc səptah se 'for the last five weeks'
kəi dIn mĕ 'in several days'
do məhine ke lIe 'for two months'

This tendency is missing with the same category of words in the contexts in which plural-indicating adjectives are absent. An automatic addition in these contexts is of emphasis on the time-words, the emphasis may have the effect of enlarging or belittling, e.g.,

(i) *mehinõ se kam kər rəha hũ* 'I have been working for months (rather than weeks or days)'.

(ii) *məhinõ mĕ kya hoga, sal ləg jaĕge* 'nothing will happen in months, years will be needed'.

This tendency is also found in nouns indicating money of different denominations, e.g. *poesa, ana, rUpəya.* For example,

păc pæse mĕ 'in five paise'
aṭh ane mĕ 'in eight annas'
do rUpəye ka 'for two rupees'

Two very important distributional characteristics are: first, even in the domain of this simplified declensional pattern, presence of separate vocative forms is optionally possible, and, secondly the same idiolects may (or may not) adopt this network of patterns for either singular or plural, resorting to the other network of patterns for the other number. Both these tendencies can be neatly summed up in one statement to the effect that this third pattern-network is so nebulous that it can occur even partly and mixed with other pattern-networks in the same idiolect. It should also be borne in mind that, as stated above, this tendency has not yet spread to the feminine words of the same category.

The last and final stage of simplification is reached by taking one more step in that direction and nouns exhibiting this fourth tendency are turned into indeclinables. This pattern is observed in the feminine nouns of above-mentioned time-indicating category, viz., *sUbəh, dopəhər, šam, rat.* For example,

(i) *tin rat ka jəga hũ* 'I have been awake for the last three nights'.

(ii) *car šam se gayəb ho* 'you have been absent for the last four evenings.

In fact, this pattern treats count nouns of Hindi as mass nouns. They are singular number forms for all practical purposes; inflection (or better still, no inflection), agreement and cross-reference. Some such nouns are: *admi, ərət, bəcca, ghoṛa, hathi, janvər, am, əmrud, aṅgur, kela, rUpəya, paesa,*

Sometimes a question may arise whether a noun of this category is used as a mass noun (for many countables) as required in singular number form or as a count noun (for one countable) also in singular number form. If the question is not answered by any device, ambiguity results, e.g.,

vəhã bəṛa admi tha (i) 'the tall man was there'
(ii) 'a mass of humanity was there'

The ambiguity may be removed by the context or the choice of an unambiguous (non-ambivalent) adjective (e.g., *bəhUt admi tha*). Adpoting the latter device, mass noun (grammatically in singular form, for all practical purposes) may take a clearly plural-indicating cardinal number as an adjective, e.g. *vəhã lakhõ admi tha* (literally, 'lakhs of man was there').

The above analysis explains the parallel occurrences such as follows :

(i) *do rUpəyõ mẽ kya hoga* ['what will happen in two rupees'.
(ii) — *rUpəye* .... |
(iii) — *rUpəya* .... [

The first of these sentences is from the Ist or 2nd pattern-network (their mutual difference being irrelevant here), the second sentence is from the 3rd pattern-network, and the last sentence is from the 4th pattern-network (consisting of one pattern only).

NOTES ON THE RITUAL USE OF ṚV. 10. 121. 10

J. Gonda

One of the often neglected problems which concern the Vedic *mantra* collections as much as the *Brāhmaṇa* and *Sūtra* literature is that of the so-called applicability of the hymns, groups of stanzas or individual stanzas quoted in the *Brāhmaṇa*-s and the ritual manuals[1]. Translators and interpreters have often failed to study the function of the *mantra*-s in the texts in which they are quoted, to explain their occurrence in a definite context or to pay attention to the interpretation of the stanzas and formulas and the other information furnished by the ritualists to whom we owe the *Brāhmaṇa* and *Sūtra* literature. Yet the relations between *mantra*-s—especially of quoted *mantra*-s and their contexts make an attractive field of inquiry.

The well-known last stanza af the so-called *Ṛgvedic* hymn of the unnamed god[2], which is almost generally regarded as a later addition, is a case in point[3]. Why are these words "O Prajāpati, none other than thou encompasses all these creatures; for whatever object of desire we sacrifice to thee, let that be ours; may we be lords of riches"—sometimes[4] called *prājāpatya* "Prajāpati's (stanza)" for short—so often quoted and prescribed in the ritual literature?

That this typical Prajāpati *mantra* was considered most suitable to consecrate oblations offered to this god appears, for instance, from some

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1. See J. Gonda, *The Mantra-s of the Agnyupasthāna and the sautrāmaṇī*, Amsterdam Acad. 1980, p. 5ff. (with further references p. 5, n. 1).
2. *ṚV* 10.121.
3. The occurrences of *ṚV*. 10. 121. 10 in rites of atonement (*prāyaścitti*) are discussed in another article (Prajāpati and prāyaścitta).
4. e.g. *KhG*. 4. 1. 20.

places[1], where in a series of oblations constituting an element of the *agnyādheya* ritual (the establishment of the sacred fires) is prescribed as the consecratory text for the offering intended for him[2].

When in performing an unbloody sacrifice (*iṣṭi*) one has at a given moment to pour an offering of clarified butter into the *gārhapatya* fire *mantra*-s are required[3]; first one to propitiate the gods of hundredfold power; second one to two gandharvas; in the third place, a calling upon Agni, Vāyu, Savitṛ, Sūrya, Soma, Tvaṣṭṛ, Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, Prajāpati—notice his position at the end of the series[4]–, the thirtythree gods etc.[5], invocations of divine favour and a prayer for the fulfilment of wishes, and lastly an oblation accompanied by a verse of the *ṚV.*[6]. The stanza is apparently to make an appeal to the great god who is expected to fulfil all wishes. This conclusion is corroborated by the commentary which prescribes the dual (*nau*, "our desire") in case there are two, the plural (*naḥ*) in case there are more than two patrons.

When, in the midday service of a soma ceremony, the *dakṣiṇā*-s are offered and the sacrificer offers, or intends to offer, also a man or an elephant[7] followed by *VaikhŚ.*[8] adding a horse, prescribes the use of this stanza[9]. The gift of a wagon, chariot or garment requires the recitation of the Varuṇa stanza[10] in which this god is described as having stretched out the sky over the woods, to have placed regenerative power in the horses etc. and which in *ĀpŚ.*[11] accompanies the wrapping up of the soma that is placed in the cart. The more valuable and important gift is obviously accompanied by a *mantra* addressed to a higher deity and requires the offering of three oblations[12] and the gift of a chariot too.

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1. *BŚ.* 2. 13: 55. 3f.—the passage does not occur in *Bh Ś.*, 5.3 and *ĀpŚ.*, 5.4.
2. *sruci caturgṛhītaṃ gṛhītvā prājāpatyaṃ juhoti prajāpate na tvad etāny anya iti.*
3. *ŚŚ.* 4. 9. 7ff.
4. Some observations on this position of the *mantra* are made in the article mentioned in n. 3 on page 147.
5. A variant of the *abhyātāna* formulae *TS.* 3. 4. 5.
6. 10. 121. 10; also *ŚŚ.* 4. 10. 4.
7. *BhŚ.* 14. 5. 3 and *ĀpŚ.* 13. 6. 1.
8. 16. 8: 227. 6f.
9. *TS.* 1. 8. 14 m.
10. *TS.* 1. 2. 8 f. Cf. *ṚV.* 5. 85. 2.
11. 10. 27. 10.
12. *BhŚ.* 3; *ĀpŚ.* 11.

For a person who fears death and wishes to attain long age one should offer to Prajāpati a hundred *kṛṣṇala*-s (golden berries of a certain weight) in a mess of boiled rice (*caru*) prepared with *ghee*: a hundred, because a hundred years is "all one's days"; golden, because gold is continuance of life; to Prajāpati, because, according to the ancient explanation, one should have recourse to this god with his own share: when the gods, being afraid of death, had recourse to Prajāpati this offering was instituted by him on their behalf[1]. Reiteration of a creative act of the creator god is a safe way to infuse the mind with new hope. Whereas *TS.* uses *ṚV*[2] as *yājyānuvākyā* and the *Mānava*-s[3] prescribes the stanzas 1 and 10, the first and last stanzas of this *sūkta*. All four stanzas refer to the creation of life and living beings and are, therefore, suitable to this purpose.

In *MNU.* 405f. a stanza of the *ṚV.*[4] is one of the *mantra*-s to be recited if one wishes to free oneself from Mṛtyu, Death, and to reach the condition that is called *amṛtam* (387); it occurs after stanzas addressed to Bṛhaspati, the Aśvins (who are praised because they have saved those speaking), Mṛtyu, Rudra (who are implored to spare their lives) and before others invoking Indra, Tryambaka etc. However, the author has already, after the initial invocations of Mṛtyu, addressed the creator god with 391f.[5], in which he is asked to save those speaking from death and to protect them from distress. As, moreover, there are many expiatory formulae (414ff.) towards the end of this chapter (*enaso 'vayajanam* "expiation of sin or mischief by means of sacrificial worship"), the occurrence of the Prajāpati stanza at a central place of the invocations has no expiatory but a propitiatory purpose: the creator god who encompasses all living creatures is besought to grant the speakers' request and to take care of them also.

ĀśvŚ.[6] prescribes the use of *ṚV.*[7] in the *iḍādadha* rite[8] which is a sacrifice for one desiring cattle or the possibility of eating food. The *mantra*-s employed are this stanza and "thine are these worlds and regions ...; O Prajāpati, creator of the univere ..., take this oblation of ours"[9]. Since

1. *TS.* 2. 3. 2. 1 f.; 2. 2. 12. 1; *MS.* 2. 2. 2: 16. 8 ff.; *KS.* 11. 4: 148. 10 ff.; *MŚ.* 5. 1. 9. 6 ff.; *BŚ.* 13. 23; *ĀpŚ.* 19. 21. ff.; *HŚ.* 22.8. Cf. W. Caland, *Altindische Zauberei* (Wunschopfer), Amsterdam Acad. 1908, n° 100, p. 71.ff.
2. 10. 121. 1 and 7.
3. 10. 121. 1 and 3, *BŚ.* 13. 23: 134.8.
4. 10. 121. 10 (*TS.* 1. 8. 14 m).
5. *TB.* 3. 7. 7 c.
6. 2.14.12.
7. 10. 121. 10.
8. Cf. *AiB.* 3. 40. 9; *KB.* 4.5; *ŚŚ.* 3.9.
9. *TB.* 2. 8. 1 j.

plenty of food and the possession of cattle are forms of wealth[1] a stanza of the *ṚV.*[2] may have been prescribed because of its last quarter. But a man who is poor or hungry, or who is overcome by fear of poverty may wish to appeal to the creator god and in addressing him to feel fortified by the recollection of the primordial fullness of life, which is often believed to be sufficient to cure illness or imperfection[3].

According to the commentary (Sāyaṇa) on *TB.*[4] this stanza should be recited as invitatory *mantra* for the oblation of the omentum of a hornless he-goat[5] to Prajāpati at the animal sacrifice performed for the benefit of a man who desires progeny or cattle[6]. *TB.*[7], eulogizing Prajāpati as the first-born of *Ṛta* and the lord of riches, is on that occasion the oblatory stanza. Two other Prajāpati stanzas—(i), in which Prajāpati is said to be the father of the gods, the progenitor of the creatures, the lord and the protector of the world, and (j), eulogizing him as the creator of the universe which belongs to him—are on the same occasion employed as invitatory and oblatory *mantra*-s for the oblation of the sacrificial cake; the stanzas (k), calling him the first of those who are worthy of worship and asking him to "loose in us the source of offspring", and (l), "let the lord of cattle and the giver of gifts enjoy our oblations", likewise addressed to him, should be recited when the sacrificial substance of the victim's body is offered. The same six stanzas occur in the *MS.*[8] Their suitability cannot be denied[9]. The stanza is also used as invitatory *mantra* for the sacrifice to Prajāpati and Soma-and-Pūṣan to be performed by one desirous of offspring and cattle[10].

The stanza under discussion is the last *mantra* but one (that addressed to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt which usually comes last) in a series[11]. The others implore Varuṇa's mercy and help[12], praise the same god, and ask him not to be

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1. Cf. *ṚV.* 4. 34. 10.
2. 10. 121. 10.
3. Cf. M. Eliade, *Myth and Reality*, London, 1964, p. 28ff.
4. 2. 8. 1 g.
5. Cf. *ŚB.* 5. 2. 1. 24; 6. 2. 2. 1. f.
6. For such a sacrifice see also *TS.* 2. 1. 1. 4 f,quoted by the commentator.
7. 2. 8. 1 h.
8. 4. 14. 1: 215. 9 ff.
9. The *mantra*-s j and k are with four others *ĀpŚ.* 20. 20. 9 also employed to accompany six oblations made to Prajāpati; h, and l occur only here.
10. *TS.* 2. 4. 4. 2 f.; 2. 6. 11 u.
11. *TB.* 3. 7. 11 h-m.
12. Also *TS.* 2. 1. 11 v.

angry or to take away "our complete span of life" (*āyus*)[1] request Agni to appease for us Varuṇa's wrath" and to "free us from every form of enmity"[2], and ask the same god to "bestow medicine upon us". In contrast to the following Prajāpati stanza, in which this god is said to encompass all beings and to be open to any wish, the other *mantra*-s represent Agni and Varuṇa as great, yet 'parochial' deities, mainly invoked for such common and definite purposes as help, protection, longevity. This set of *mantra*-s is employed on occasions such as the *sīmantonnayana*[3], the *puṃsavana*[4] and name-giving[5] ceremonies; the first feeding of a child with solid food[6] and the first cutting of his hair[7]; also in the wedding ritual, when the bride has to tread on a stone[8]. All these occasions (*saṃskāra*-s) are important affairs in life, "points of contact between Power and life"[9], which must be celebrated by means of transitional rites in which "life affected by Power turns towards Power". In the risky and dangerous periods of transition the ordered induction of Prajāpati's creative and preservative power was considered necessary, lest the flow of life should be interrupted. On some occasions an expiatory function of the stanza may be distinguished also or even predominate[10].

In order to facilitate an understanding of the use of the stanza in the horse sacrifice the following facts may be recalled to memory. This sacrifice is said to have been introduced by Prajāpati when he desired to procreate himself, to pervade these worlds, and to secure a full command of his physical faculties[11]. When he assigned the other sacrifices to the gods, he kept the *aśvamedha* for himself[12]. The king who has this sacrifice performed makes Prajāpati and himself complete (*sarva*)[13]. Moreover, the horse, represented

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1. *TS*. w.
2. *TS*. 2. 5. 12. 3 w and x.
3. *HG*. 2. 1. 3; at *ĀśvG*. 1. 14. 3 and *ŚG*. 1. 22- 7 the Prajāpati stanza is as the sixth or eighth and last *mantra* preceded by two stanzas imploring the favour of Dhātṛ and the three stanzas of *ṚVkh*. 4. 13 in which Nejameṣa is besought to give a son, in *ĀśvG*. also by the two stanzas *ṚV. 2. 32. 4 f.* praying to Rākā for a son and benevolence. On these rites see J. Gonda, *Vedic Ritual*, Leiden, 1980.
4. *HG*. 2. 2. 2.
5. 2. 4. 10.
6. 2. 5. 2.
7. 2. 6. 2.
8. 1. 19. 8. Cf. also *ĀgnG*. 1. 5. 4; 2. 1. 1; 2. 1. 2; 2. 1. 5 etc.
9. G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation*, London, 1938, p. 193.
10. See the article mentioned in n. 3 on page 147.
11. *JB*. 2. 266; see also *TB*. 3. 9. 13. 1.
12. *ŚB*. 13. 2. 1. 1.
13. *TS*. 5. 3. 12. 1; *ŚB*. 13. 3. 1.1.

as the image of the universe[1], is not only sacred to Prajāpati[2] but is also none other than this god himself[3]; the patron of the sacrifice (*yajamāna*) is regarded as identical with the horse[4]. The creator god is, or represents, nobility or royal dignity (*Kṣatram*)[5] just as the horse[6]. When he wished to be great (*mahān*) and more numerous he beheld and offered the *mahiman*(greatness) cups of soma[7] at this sacrifice[8]. These two cups of soma[9] are said to be the king; being offered before and after the omentum of the victim they encompass the sacrificer on both sides with royal dignity. Prajāpati is the deity in all the *mantra*-s that are required for this rite[10]: the preliminary formula (*puroruc*) for the first cup is in the *VS.*[11], the first stanza of the hymn devoted to Hiraṇyagarbha who is identified with Prajāpati[12]; the invitatory stanza[13] stating that the Self-existent one (Svayambhū), the (or, at) first, conceived in the great ocean the germ from which Prajāpati was born; the *praiṣa* (direction to the *hotṛ*) is an invitation to worship Prajāpati and to offer him part of the *mahiman* cup of soma[14]; the oblatory stanza is *VS.* 23. 65 (=10.20) which is found in the *ṚV.*[15] except for "forms" (*rūpāṇi*) instead of "creatures" (*jātāni*) in *pāda* b[16]; finally, the *adhvaryu* offers[17] to the greatness (*mahiman*) of the creator god which is in the day, the year, the wind, the intermediate space, the heavens and the sun. After the offering of the omentum one proceeds to offer the second *mahiman* cup[18], likewise with Prajāpati *mantra*-s[19] stating that Ka (Prajāpati) has, by his greatness, become the one king of the world and 4, the counterpart of st. 2; the invitatory and

1. *ŚB.* 10.6. 4. 1.
2. 13. 1. 2. 3; 9; 13. 2. 2. 15.
3. Cf. also 10. 2. 1. 1; *TB.* 3. 9. 16. 1.
4. *TB.* 3. 9. 17. 4. Cf. J. Eggelirg, *The Śatapatha Brāhmana* Translated IV, Oxford, 1897, p. XV.
5. *ŚB.* 13. 2. 2. 17.
6. *TS.* 7. 1. 11. d.
7. See P. E Dumont, *L'aŚvamedha,* Paris and Louvain 1927, p. 190.
8. *ŚB.* 13. 2. 11. 1.
9. *Ibid.* 13. 2. 11. 2.
10. *Ibid.* 13. 5. 2. 23.
11. 23. 1=*ṚV.* 10. 121. 1.
12. *ŚB.* 6. 2. 2. 5.
13. *VS.* 23.63.
14. *Ibid.* 64.
15. 10.121.10.
16. See also *ŚŚ.* 16. 7. 1 ff.
17. *VS.* 23.2.
18. *ŚB.* 13. 5. 3.7.
19. *VS.* 23.3.

oblatory stanzas, which are the same, are now interchanged "so as to ensure unimpaired vigour"[1] for success and a firm foundation. The occurrence of *ṚV.* 10. 121. 10 in this central place is no doubt to re-activate its inherent generative power for the benefit of the present sacrificer and to impart to him the (royal) greatness which the creator god had obtained for himself.

Among the ceremonies that constitute a royal consecration (*rājasūya*) is the ritual use made of the remainder of the fluid with which the king has been anointed[2]. It is poured into a vessel and, according to some texts, given to the heir apparent[3] in the hope that this prince will perpetuate the king's energy[4] (*vīryam*). Then, while the mother of the heir apparent and this prince take hold of him from behind[5], the *adhvaryu* offers one libation (of *ghee*[6]) in the *gārhapatya* fire to the accompaniment of the stanza under discussion[7]. According to the *White Yajurveda* the names of the royal sacrificer and the heir apparent are intercalated between the third and fourth quarter of the stanza, first in the wrong, then in the right order. Finally, any residue that is left over and is regarded as redundant[8] is poured in the *āgnidhrīya* as an offering to Rudra. According to *ĀpŚ.*[9] and *HŚ.*[10] the collected remainder of the unction fluid is (by the *adhvaryu*) brought to the domestic fire (or *gārhapatya*) of the chief consort of the king (who is the mother of the heir apparent); with it two libations are made in the above way (as described in the *ŚB.*)[11].

Now, what is the meaning of these ritual acts? The handing down of the rest of the fluid to the son is to guarantee the continuity of the sacrificer's energy[12] and existence: generally speaking, the remainder of a sacrificial substance is believed to contain that productive power which ensures

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1. *ŚB.* 13. 5. 3. 7; cf. *ŚŚ.* 16. 7. 12; see also *AiB.* 1. 11. 11.
2. For particulars that can be omitted here see J. C. Heesterman, *The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration*, Thesis Utrecht's—Gravenhage, 1957, p. 123 ff.
3. *ŚB.* 5. 4. 2. 8; *KŚ.* 15. 6. 9. ff.; cf. *TB.* 1. 7. 8. 5 ff.; *BŚ.* 12. 11: 102. 3 ff.
4. *ŚB.* 8.
5. In order to attract the sacred power with which he is in contact (see Gonda, *Vedic Ritual*, p. 85).
6. Cf. *KŚ.* 10; cf. *KŚ.* 1. 8. 38; *ĀpŚ.* 24. 1. 23,
7. *VS.* 10. 20; cf. *TS.* 1. 8. 14 m.
8. *ŚB.* 10.
9. 18. 16. 14 f.
10. 13. 6. 33 f.
11. See also *MŚ.* 9. 1. 4. 27 ff,
12. *ŚB.*

continuation[1]. The intertwinement[2] (*vyatisañjanam*) of the names is to "mutually connect the energy" of father and son[3], to emphasize their belonging together[4], their forming a connexion or combination[5], their unity[6]. Rudra is the god who receives what is injured in the sacrifice[7] or the remains of the oblations[8]. The Prajāpati stanza is, in my opinion, not so much used because "continuity of life and fertility are at stake"[9] as intended to mark and consecrate the elements of recreation, rebirth, renewal that are inherent in the rite. The consecration of the king and the continuation of his rules in the direct line were regarded as a new epoch in which these royal persons, like Prajāpati himself, are expected to re-enact and continue the god's creative and encompassing activities[10]. *ŚB.*[11] characterizes the stanza as an *āśis*, i.e. a prayer for blessing or benediction; that means, in that one performs the ritual act one prays by means of this *mantra* for a blessing of the rite in its entirety[12]. The eternal and universal creative power is invoked to guarantee the fulfilment of the sacrificer's desires as well as the success of the rite and to prevent an interruption of the royal lineage.

A similar intertwinement of the names of a father and his new-born son is[13] prescribed at the end of the name-giving ceremony[14]. The accompanying *mantra*-s are (dealing with offspring and life) are *kāya svāhā*; *kasmai svāhā*; *katamasya svāhā*; *prajāpataye svāhā*[15] (consecrating the intertwinement proper).

In the description of the ritual of the tenth day of the Soma ceremonies that are performed for ten successive days found in *ŚŚ.*[16]—a description which is much longer than that of each of the preceding days—there is a remarkable

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1. Gonda, *Atharvaveda* 11. 7. in Mélanges L. Renou, Paris, 1968, p. 301 ff. (=Selected Studies, Leiden, 1975, p. 439 ff.); *Vedic Ritual*, p. 187 ff.; see e.g. *AiB*. 1. 11. 7.
2. *ĀpŚ*; *HŚ*.
3. *ŚB*. 9.
4. Cf. *ŚB*. 2. 6. 1. 32; 6. 3. 3. 16 f.
5. Cf. 12. 7. 3, 15 f.; *PB*. 14. 8. 4; 13. 11. 5.
6. Cf. 7. 3. 1. 4.
7. 1. 7. 4. 9.
8. *BG*. 3. 5; cf. also *PG*. 3. 8. 11.
9. Cf. Heesterman, *op. cit.*, p. 125.
10. Compare H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, Chicago, 1948, p. 150.
11. 5.4.2.9
12. See Gonda, *The Mantras of the Agnyupasthāna and the Sautrāmaṇi*, p. 8. f.
13. *KG*. 34.4.
14. See also Ādityadarśana's commentary.
15. *ṚV*. 1. 121. 1; *TS*. 5. 7. 2; cf. *TS*. 7. 3. 15 a; *KS*. 15. 8: 215, 20 (=*ṚV*. 10.121. 10) and *KS*. 15. 8: 216. 1.
16. 10. 12-21.

passage[1]. Calling itself an additional or supernumerary recitation (or subdivision: *atirikthoktam*), it is in fact a duplicate of the mental laud and recitation[2] which corresponds with *PB.*[3] It enjoins those concerned to enter the *sadas* and deliver, in a low voice (*upāṃśu*)[4] the (mental) laud (*mānasena stute*) with the stanzas of Sārparājñī[5]. These stanzas are also prescribed in *PB.*[6]; elsewhere they accompany the establishment of a ritual fire[7] or are held to enable the sacrificer to obtain every wish[8]. These three stanzas as well as *ṚV.*[9] imploring the assistance and protection of Heaven and Earth are[10] used as *stotra* (laud) and corresponding antistrophe triplets for the supernumerary rite. Thereupon the *hotṛ* recites (22) the thirteen stanzas[11] addressed to the Viśve Devāḥ but leaving in every stanza the name of the god unmentioned (*anirukta*)[12], and concluding the recitation with a stanza that has been quoted in full in *ŚŚ.*[13]. (15): "The sacrifice came to be, it came into existence ... ; it became the ruler (*adhipatiḥ*) of the gods; let it make us rulers" and is elsewhere used for recovering (*punarālambha*) the sacrifice[14]. Then the *hotṛ* pronounces a *mantra* from the *ṚV.*[15] as the oblatory stanza (for the mentally taken soma draught)[16]; a fact mentioned again in *ŚŚ.*[17] describing the continuation of the ritual acts mentioned in the section under discussion[18].

There exists a considerable degree of congruity between the stanzas used and in the mode of their delivery in that Prajāpati and the sacrificer following

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1. 10. 13. 21-25.
2. 10. 13. 26 ff.
3. 4. 9. 4 ff.
4. Cf. also *BŚ.* 16. 7: 254. 2.
5. *ṚV.* 10. 189. 1-3. See K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-Vedo übersetzt,* Cambridge Mass., 1951, III, p. 403.
6. 4. 9. 4.
7. E.g. *ĀpS.* 5. 16. 2.
8. *AiB.* 5. 23. 2; *ŚB.* 2. 1. 4. 29; 4. 6. 9. 17.
9. 1.22. 13-15,
10. *ŚŚ.* 10.13.21.
11. *ṚV.* 5.44. 1-13.
12. Cf. Geldner, *op. cit*, II, p. 46f. (introductory note); L. Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, IV, Paris, 1958, p. 69.
13. 4.12.10e.
14. *TS.* 1. 6. 6 q; 1. 7. 6. 7; 3. 2. 7m; *ĀpŚ.* 4. 16. 12; *MŚ.* 1. 4. 3. 18.
15. 10. 121. 10.
16. Cf. the comm. on *ŚŚ.* 10. 21. 1.
17. 10. 21. 1. st. 2 ff
18. See also W. Caland, *Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra*, Nagpur, 1953, p. 281 and 287.

him are elsewhere said to have performed the sacrifice mentally[1] (*manasā*); by sacrificing to this god in the mind one 'obtains,' him[2]; "Prajāpati is the *manas*; one chants etc. mentally in order to "reach" Prajāpati"[3]; whatever at the sacrifice is performed for Prajāpati is performed in a low voice[4], and so on. Just as the Sārparājñī stanzas, the prayer[5] could be used by the one who aims at the fulfilment of every wish[6]. The gods[7] of *ṚV*. are not mentioned by their names; Prajāpati is the *anirukta* god *par excellence* or the "supreme *anirukta*", being beyond verbal expression or belonging to the realm of silence. As to the stanza on the sacrifice (worship, *yajña*,), it may be remembered that Prajāpati is often 'identified' with the act of worshipping and offering[9]. Notice that in the following description of the usual performance of the mental laud[10] the *adhvaryu*, having returned, offers in the *gārhapatya*, "which is Prajāpati", two libations to this god without mentioning him (*anirukta*)[11]. Notice also that the acts which are to follow in *ŚS*.[12] and explicitly said to be performed in the mind. And that the long section[13] which, intervening between 10. 13 and 10. 21, contains some *brāhmaṇa* like passages stating that Prajāpati wishing to propagate offspring, procreating gods, men and *asura*-s, subduing the last-mentioned by creating Indra etc. instituted the *agnihotra*, the sacrifices of full and new moon etc. and that those sacrificers whose *hotṛ* knows this will have offspring, will overpower their enemies, be distinguished men etc. just as the divine figures in the mythical narrative. This passage is followed by the enumeration of Prajāpati's twelve bodies (*tanū*) to be recited by the *hotṛ*[14], which is in substantial agreement with *KB*.[15] and

1. *TS*. 1. 6. 8. 4.
2. 2. 5. 11. 4 f.
3. *TB*. 2.2.6.2; cf. *PB*. 4.9.9; *BS*. 16.7f. passim.
4. *ŚB*. 1.4.5.12.
5. 10.121.10 c.
6. See the observations on *FŚ*. 8.12; *TB*. 3.7.2.1; *TS*. 1.8.14 m; *SS*. 4.18.4 etc.
7. 5.44. 1-13.
8. L. Renou, Nírukta and anirukta in Vedic, in *Sarūpa-Bhāratī*, Vol. L. Sarup, Hoshiarpur, 1954, p. 68 ff. (see p. 73).
9. E.g. *ŚB*. 5.1.1.2; 5.2.1.2; 11.1.1.1. See especially S. Lévi, *La doetrine du sacrifice dans les brāhmaṇas*, Paris, 1898, p. 13ff.
10. See *KB*. 27.4 (27.8.6 ff.); *ŚŚ*. 10.13.27.
11. *BS*. 16.7 ff; *ĀpS*. 21.10.1 ff.
12. 10.21.1 ff.
13. *ŚŚ*. 10. 14-20.
14. *Ibid*., 10.19.
15. 27.5 (27.9 S.).

AiB.[1] (briefly also *ĀśvŚ.*)[2], where however, the god's forms or embodiments[3] are identified with Earth and Heaven (or Agni and Āditya), Soma and cattle etc. and so on, whereas *Śāṅkhāyana's* repeated statement that those whose *hotṛ* knows the food-eating, fearless etc. forms of Prajāpati will be eaters of food, fearless etc. is absent.

One can hardly escape the conviction that *Śāṅkhāyana,* whilst utilizing material that had been handed down in the Ṛgvedic schools, incorporating the usual way of delivering the mental laud[4] and omitting elements which he did not need such as the passages in which Prajāpati is abused[5] concocted a rather elaborate version of this part of the tenth day's ritual of his own, in which a stanza of the *ṚV.*[6] very appropriately occupies an important place: it eulogizes Prajāpati, the central figure of the ritual described as the only god who encompasses all beings, and implores him to fulfil all wishes, including of course those that are specified in the following chapters. It may finally be recalled that there exist intimate relations between the sacrificer (householder) and the *gārhapatya* fire—of which he is the deity[7]—on the one hand and between the sacrificer and Prajāpati on the other[8].

At first sight, it is difficult to say, whether or not *Śāṅkhāyana* in composing the section[9] borrowed the passage[10] in which Prajāpati occupies so prominent a place, from his version of the *Vājapeya* ritual[11], where the same stanzas[12]; there the *yajña* and *ṚV.*[13] are prescribed in the same order[14], the last again as the oblatory stanza. However, the passage does not seem to occur in the other ritual texts dealing with the *Vājapeya.* On the other hand, the other Ṛgvedic *sūtra* text[15] is in substantial agreement with *ŚŚ.*[16]

1. 5.25.14 ff.
2. 8.13.13.
3. The twelve names of these bodies (*annādā, annapatnī, bhadrā, kalyāṇī* etc, are the same in all four texts.
4. See *PB.* 4.9.4 ff.
5. *PB.* 4.9.14; *DŚ.* 9.4.17 f.; *ĀpŚ.* 21.12. 1 ff.
6. 10.121.10.
7. *ŚB.* 2.3.2.6.
8. E.g. *ŚB.* 6.2.1.39; 7.4.1.15; 10.4.2.29. Eggeling, *op. cit., IV,* P. *XV* ff. : J. Gonda *Die Religionen Indiens,*[2]I, Stuttgart, 1978, P. 193f.: 376
9. 10.13 ff.
10. 10.13. 22-23
11. 15.1-3.
12. *ṚV.* 15.44. 1-13.
13. 10.121.10.
14. 15.3. 10 and 11.
15. *ĀśvS.* 9.6.13.
16. 15.3.10.

in prescribing the use of the 13 stanzas of *ṚV.*[1] minus one (the last) to accompany the difficult mounting (*dūrohaṇam*) of the *brahman* to climb up a post and sit down on a wheel on the top of it, where he has to sing the *sāman* of those who possess plenty of the regenerative power called *vāja* while the wheel (which represents the sun, identifying the world of heaven with *vāja*) is turned to the right[2]. The sacrificer and his wife have to climb up to the top of the sacrificial post in order to reach the sun. (There are some words and references in this hymn which may have made it suitable for this purpose: st. 1 *svarvidam* "finding the light of heaven"; st. 7 cd, being a prayer for an abode and refuge secure from heat addressed to the sun[3]; st. 10, the speaker's intention to obtain *vāja*). It is worth noticing that in Baudhāyana's description of the *Vājapeya*[4] the sacrificial formula *prajāpataye* (*tvā*) (to be pronounced inaudibly) is prescribed[5]; recalling that among the special features of this sacrifice is the frequent occurrence of Prajāpati's number 17, by which one wins or reaches this god[6] and that the one who performs it becomes Prajāpati's child[7] with the formula which occurs in the *TS.*[8]; *BŚ.*[9]; *ĀpŚ.*[10]; *KŚ.*[11] etc.; and observing that in dealing with this sacrifice *Śāṅkhāyana* mentions the god's name more frequently than other texts[12]; in *ĀśvŚ.*[13] the name does not occur at all, emphasizing also the identity of god and ritual[14] and that notwithstanding the fact that the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*, like the *Aitareya*, has hardly taken notice of this ritual[15]. The conclusion may, therefore, be that *Śāṅkhāyana* in describing this rite has taken his own line and that the passage[16] was probably not a duplicate of 10. 13. 22-23. The direction of the borrowing probably was just the reverse.

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1. 5.44.
2. Cf. *MS.* 1.11.7: 168.11; *AiB.* 4.20.1; *PB.* 18.7.12.
3. See Renou's notes and translation in *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, IV, Paris, 1958, p. 70 f, and V, Paris, 1959, p. 26.
4. *BS.* 11: 63 ff.
5. 11.5: 70.10; 71.1; other references to oblations to the god in 11.13.
6. *ŚB.* 5.2.1.5; 7; *PB.* 18.6.3; *ĀpS.* 18.1.3.
7. *ŚB.* 5.2.1.11.
8. 1.7,9 e.
9. 11.11: 80.7; 18.5.14.
10. 18.5.14
11. 14.5.6.
12. *ĀpS.* 18.7 f.
13. 9.9.
14. 15.2.20; 24.
15. Cf. A. B. Keith, *Rigveda Brāhmaṇas*, Cambridge Mass., 1920, p. 54.
16. 15.3. 10-11.

In the domestic ritual of the Viṣṇuite Vaikhānasas the Prajāpati *mantra* is an element of the so-called *mūlahoma*, the basic or principal sacrifice prescribed on various occasions[1] and explained in their *gṛhyasūtra*[2]. An attempt to understand the function of the *mantra* requires a somewhat detailed discussion of this section which deals with the *mantra*-s that are generally to be used for a Vaikhānasa domestic sacrifice. These *mantra*-s are[3]: the 16 addressed to Dhātṛ, the god who gives things their place, the founder or establisher, and others[4], stating the main functions of this deity and praying to him for property and favour; praying for (re)generative power (*vāja*), continuance of life and the fulfilment of the worshipper's desire, and addressing prayers to Anumati, the goddess of consent, for favour, length of life, property, protection and to the goddesses Rākā, Sinīvālī, and Kuhū; the 5 addressed to Varuṇa[5] imploring the god's mercy and requesting Agni to appease Varuṇa's wrath and to give 'medicine'. The Prajāpati *mantra*[6] comes next, followed by another *mantra*[7]: Prajāpati, the mighty authority (*ugraḥ*), worthy of offering, revered by all the people, gave victories to Indra[8]. This *mantra*—which belongs intimately to the following *jaya* formulae[9]—is praise, confirmation of the god's power, or consolidation of his will and energy and a means of influencing him to some result or other. An element of praise is not absent from the Prajāpati stanza and from some of the preceding *mantra*-s. The two Prajāpati stanzas and what follows them constitute the *mūlahoma*. Its other component parts are: the 12 *jaya* formulae by which one conquers enemies[10], being an enumeration of power concepts such as "thought", "intention" which are considered to conduce to the success of the rite[11]; the 18 *abhyātāna* formulae[12] imploring the help of many gods whose names are followed by their provinces or functions; and the

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1. *VaikhG*. 2.6: *upanayana*; 2.13: *samāvartana*; 3.4: wedding; 3.9: cohabitation after menstruation; 3.18; getting up of the mother from childbed, in this case exactly as in 1. 16-18.
2. 1. 16-18.
3. For more particulars see W. Caland, *Vaikhānasasmārtam*. Translation. Calcutta 1929. p. 31.
4. *TS*. 3.3.11 g-m; 1.7.8 n; *TB*. 2.6.6.5; *TS*. 3.3.11 n-u.
5. *TS* 2.1.11 v and w; 2.5.12 w and x; *TB*. 2.4.1.9.
6. *TS*. 1.8.14 m.
7. *Ibid.*, 3.4.4 b.
8. For the explanation see the *Brāhmaṇa* passage 3.4.6.
9. See also *ĀpS*. 5.24.3; *PG*. 1.5.9.
10. *TS*. 3.4.4a.
11. See Gonda, *Vedic Ritual*, p. 227 etc.
12. *TS*. 3.4.5.

12 *rāṣṭrabhṛt* formulae consisting of praise and prayers for the protection of this *brahman* and this *kṣatram* (lordly power), that is of the sacrificial rite (and the sacrificer *cum suis*. By means of the *abhyātāna* and the *raṣṭrabhṛt* formulae one expects to overpower one's enemies and to win his kingdom.

It seems clear that we have to do here with a ritual complex that includes, before the central Prajāpati *mantra*, praise of those deities whose favour and assistance are indispensable, prevention of the wrath of the god who punishes sin, mistakes and shortcomings, and, after that central *mantra*, activation of those powers that are conducive to the success of the rite in a wide sense of the word. The Prajāpati stanza itself is, no doubt, not only included because of the prayers expressed in its second half but also, and perhaps mainly, because a reference to the creator and his all-encompassing presence was regarded as necessary : it intimates that the rite is an act of reparation and renewal in which the cosmogony is so to say continued. And, indeed, ceremonies such as childbirth, initiation, marriage have the purpose of admitting a person to a new status and any other rite can likewise be regarded as marking a transition to a following period.

ṚV. 10. 121. 10 occurs, as 7. 80. 3 in the Śaunakīya recension of the *Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā*. However, here the second quarter runs as follows: "... (no other than thou) encompassing (them) gave birth to all (these) forms". *viśvā rūpāṇi paribhūr jajāna*. This variant, which reminds the hearer also of Prajāpati's universal creative activity and productiveness, makes the stanza a still more complete recapitulation of the chief traits of the god's character and personality. The brief *sūkta*[1] (four stanzas) is devoted to the night (goddess) of full moon and is used in *Kauṣ*.[2] in the *parvan* sacrifice on the day of full moon. The question should be raised as to why this Prajāpati stanza occurs in a *sūkta* that is a eulogy on and a prayer addressed to Paurṇamāsī. The answer is found in *AV*.[3], the last stanza of a *sūkta* addressed to the new moon. But for "O Amāvāsyā" instead of "O Prajāpati" both stanzas are identical. This should not be taken to mean that Prajāpati is the god of full moon, or a moon-god. It rather admits of the conclusion that in the opinion of those to whom we owe the occurrence of this stanza in this hymn the full moon and Prajāpati had so much in common that the name of the latter could be used where we would expect that of the former. "The moon confers a religious

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1. 7.80.
2. 5.5 and cf. *Vait* 1.16,
3. 7.79.4,

valorization on cosmic becoming"[1]; the waxing and full moon symbolizes becoming, growth, phenomenal existence. In ancient Babylon this luminary was even eulogized as the generator of gods and men[2]. In *ŚB.*[3] Prajāpati is said to be the moon and to dwell on earth during the night of new moon and it is Prajāpati's son who first 'beheld' the sacrifice of full and new moon[4]. In the night of full moon one should worship this heavenly body addressing it, *inter alia*, as King Soma and Prajāpati[5]. Some authorities[6] prescribe an "inaudible offering" to Prajāpati that should be made only in the full moon sacrifice with a *ṚV.* verse[7].

AVŚ.[8] alone is, on the same occasion, prescribed in *Kauś.*[9] to accompany, with (and after) the so-called *samnatihomas*[10], which, expressing "submission" or "favourite disposition" is (according to the scholiast) a name for offerings for interested purposes made to Prajāpati[11]. In *AVŚ.*[12] the name of this god does not occur; the text mainly states that in the tripartite universe one paid reverence to Agni, Vāyu, Āditya, and in the quarters (the east, etc.) to the moon; also that the person speaking makes offering to Agni, who entered into the fire.

The Prajāpati stanza is also one of the *mantra*-s used in *Kauś.*[13], that is, in a chapter dealing with charms to obtain the fulfilment of special (interested) wishes. The other *mantra*-s that are prescribed here to the one "who

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1. M. Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, New York, 1959 (1961), p. 157. For the moon and regeneration see Eliade, *Traité d'histoire des religions*, Paris⁵, 1975, ch. IV.
2. F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion*, Stuttgart, 1961, p. 56; on the importance of the moon and especially full moon in Africa see E. Dammann, *Die Religionen Afrikas*, Stuttgart, 1963, p.132; 138 and 296, s.v., for the moon as the creator of the living beings E. A, Worms and H. Petri in H Nevermann, E. A. W. and H. P., *Die Religionen der Südsee und Australiens*, Stuttgart, 1968, p. 263.
3. 6.2.2.16.
4. 11.1.6.16.
5. *KauṣU.* 2.9.
6. Cf. *TB.* 3.5.7.1; *BhŚ.* 2.18.6; *ĀpS.* 2.19.12.
7. 10.121.10.
8. 7.80.3.
9. 5.9.
10. *AVŚ.* 4.39.
11. Cf. M. Bloomfield, *The Atharva-Veda and the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 73; A. B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, Cambridge Mass. 1914, p. 635, n. 1. See *TB.* 3.7.6.18; 3.8.18.5; *ĀpS.* 4.11.6; 4.17.3.
12. 4.39.
13. 59.19.

wishes all" (*sarvakāma*) and proceeds to worship with a sacrifice and adore Prajāpati (reverentially) in a standing position[1] (*yajate upatiṣṭhate ca*) are *AVŚ.* 7. 17 (a prayer to Dhātṛ for various blessings, mentioning Prajāpati in st. 4); 7. 19 (stating that Prajāpati generates the creatures); 7. 20 (praise and prayer to Anumati, the goddess of approval); 7. 24 addressed to Indra, Agni and other gods, among them Prajāpati; 7. 25 (praise to Viṣṇu and Varuṇa); 7. 26 (praise and prayer to Viṣṇu); 7. 29 (to Agni and Viṣṇu); 7. 42 (to Soma and Rudra); 7. 46 (to Sinīvālī); 7. 51 (to Bṛhaspati and Indra); 7. 79 (to Amāvāsyā, see above); 7. 80. 1 (to Paurṇamāsī, see above)—then follows 7. 80. 3, mentioned separately—; 7. 82. 1 (to Agni); 7. 103 (for being "led out of hate"; in the only stanza no god is mentioned). Notice that Prajāpati is worshipped also by means of texts that neither address and invoke him nor mention his name. In contrast to the other *sūtra*-s of this section, which, generally speaking, invoke definite gods with appropriate texts for the fulfilment of specific wishes, the *sarvakāma* one, addressing Prajāpati who is supposed to be open to any desire (*yátkāmās* in *pada* c), is obviously convinced that this god will hear his prayer and fulfil his special wish also when these are put into words in texts addressed to other gods. Did he also ask himself how Prajāpati contrived to fulfil his desire or desires?; for instance, by way of representation of other gods or by inducing them to perform their own function for the benefit of the worshipper?; or simply, because he is "all the deities"[2], *sarvā devatāḥ*?

Special attention should be drawn to *VaitS.*[3], because of the light it throws on the frequent use of this *mantra*. After stating that all oblations prescribed (in this work) should be accompanied by *mantra*-s (2) the author makes mention of the opinions of four authorities on what to do if no definite *mantra* has been indicated (prescribed): according to Bhāgali one should use a *mantra* the content of which is explicit by itself because it contains a *liṅga* (characteristic element or key word); according to Kauśika Junior the Prajāpati *mantra* under discussion; according to Māṭhara a stanza in which the deity is mentioned for whom the offering is intended or to whom the rite relates; according to the (anonymous) teacher (*ācārya*) of the author the words *oṃ, bhūr, bhuvaḥ, svar, janad, oṃ* (*vyāhṛtis*). That means that in the opinion of Kauśika Junior the Prajāpati stanza is a suitable *mantra* for any *mantra*-less ritual act mentioned in this compendium which is composed for the use of the *brahman* priest and the other officiants with whom this

1. Keśava, cf. *Kauś.* 59.1 f.
2. *TS.* 7.5.6.3; *JB.* 1.342.
3. 1.3.

functionary has to co-operate[1]. As the *brahman* has as a guardian[2] to supervise the performance of the sacrifices and as a physician[3] to rectify any mistakes that might be committed, the suitability of the stanza for use in rites of expiation or atonement[4] is no doubt not foreign to Kauśika's advice.

This does not alter the fact that the stanza is sometimes explicitly prescribed in this *sūtra* work. Whereas *KŚ.*[5] simply states that the first *āghāra* libation (of clarified butter, belonging to the ritual of full and new moon) should be offered with the spoon called *sruva* and *ŚB.*[6] adds the information that (5) this should be done silently (*tūṣṇīm*) and even without *svāhā*, because "one makes that libation for the mind (*manas*); for undefined (undistinct, *aniruktam*) is the *manas* and *aniruktam* is what takes place silently"—remember that Prajāpati is also *aniruktaḥ*[7], and whereas *BhŚ.*[8] and *ĀpŚ.*[9] enjoin, in this connexion, the *adhvaryu* to meditate upon Prajāpati, *prajāpatiṃ manasā dhyāyan Vait.*[10] states that (the *brahman*) pronounces[11] the Prajāpati stanza[12] over this—the *srauva* or *prājāpatya—āghāra.*

Oblations to Prajāpati are usually made in a low voice, because he is *anirukta*[13]. But in connexion with the second oblation of the *agnihotra*[14] alternatively allows the use of the words "For Prajāpati *svāhā*" and[15] that of *bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ*,[16] however, enjoins the mental recitation of *AVŚ.*[17] on this occasion.

1. Gonda, *The Ritual Sūtras*, Wiesbaden 1977, p. 543f.
2. *ŚB.* 14.1.3.2.
3. 14.2.2.19.
4. See the article mentioned in n. 3 on p. 147.
5. 3.1.12.
6. 1.4.4.3 ff.
7. *ŚB.* 6.4.1.6.
8. 2.12.4.
9. 2.12.7.
10. 2.12.
11 Cf. the verb *anumantrayate* in 2. 11.
12. *AVŚ.* 7.80.3.
31. *ŚB.* 1.4.5.12; *KS.* 4.14.7.
14. *BhŚ.* 6.12.10·
15. *ĀpŚ.* 6.10.11.
16. *Vait.* 7.12.
17. 7.80.3.

THE DEVALASMṚTI-ITS AUTHENTICITY AND DATE

Lallanji Gopal

When towards the beginning of the twentieth century passages from the *Devala-Smṛti* were quoted in support of the Śuddhi movement, some people had raised the question of the authenticity of the text. Thus, Brahma Deo Shastri, writing in the column *Sāhitya-Carcā* of the monthly magazine *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* (1927, no. 5 May), reviewed the book *Prāyaścitta-vyavasthā* by Gokulchandra Virbhanu Sharma Mishra, and referred to this problem. In his rejoinder[1] Gokulchandra advanced a few arguments to establish the genuineness of the text.

The manuscripts of this *Smṛti* are to be found in different parts of the country. Possibly because of its direct relevance for the problem agitating the public mind, copies of the text were prepared in large numbers. An analysis of the manuscripts and the dates of their copying helps establish the genuineness of the text. As pointed out by Gokulchandra, the Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series published its collection of *Smṛti*-s, including the *Devala-Smṛti*, in 1905. For this four old manuscripts in the possession of four scholars[2] were coalesced and used. Manuscripts are reported from distant parts of the country and also Nepal.[3] One manuscript (No. 14062) in the Saraswati Bhavan Library of the Sampurnanand Sanskrit University, Varanasi was copied in (Vikrama) 1959=A. D. 1902.

1. *Maharṣi Devala aur Devalasmṛti* was published in 1927 by the Brahma Press, Etawah. The first edition consisted of 500 copies and was meant for free distribution. Gokulchandra's address was Seth Moolraj Khatau, Bailard Road, Fort, Bombay. I got a copy of the rejoinder in the Goenka Sanskrit Library, Varanasi.
2. They were Annasaheb Winchorkar, Anantacharya Gajendragadkar, Raghavacharya Ramanuj and Martand Dikshit Badalikar.
3. Vir Library, Kathmandu., II, 68, no. 79.

The fact that there are variations in reading and the number and order of verses shows that they were not copied from the same copy at a comparatively later date. It goes in the favour of the genuineness of the text.

Further, in the year 1875, at the instance of Sri Ranvir Singh, the King of Jammu and Kashmir, a voluminous work named *Śrī Raṇvīra-Kārita Dharmaśāstra Mahānibandha* was compiled by competent Sanskrit scholars from different parts of the country. The section on *Prāyaścitta* reproduces the *Devala-Smṛti.*[1] The introductory remarks about Devala say that this *Smṛti* 'specialises in *prāyaścitta* for contact, which is being now applied in the case of people becoming impure as a result of contact with the Yavanas and others'.[2] The old manuscripts of Devala, which the scholars from different regions used in 1875, must have gone back to times long before the present Śuddhi movement.

All doubts about the genuineness of this text are easily set at rest by the quotations from the *Devala-Smṛti* which can be traced in the *Mitākṣarā*, *Prāyaścittaviveka*[3] an *Manvarthadīpikā* and which we have discussed below.

DEVALA AS ITS AUTHOR

The three introductory verses of the *Devala-Smṛti* narrate the occasion for its composition. It is mentioned that the sages approached Devala when he was sitting on the banks of the Sindhu and requested him to expound how people of the four Varṇas, when seized by the Mlecchas, become purified. Verse no. 4 and subsequent verses are mentioned as the utterances of Devala (*Devala uvāca*). As is well known, this is the normal practice with ancient Sanskrit texts, which, in most cases, mention the occasion when a distinguished person, sage or deity, requested by the sages or some favourite person, provides details on the subject or lays down the rules. Often the texts are named after this principal narrator. Hence, there is nothing incongruous in the name of Devala, who is supposed to be the author of this *Smṛti*, occurring as a narrator.

The name of Devala is mentioned later in four verses.[4] In ancient times it was not considered improper for an author to refer to his own views. In some *Smṛti*-s the name of the sage, who is supposed to be the author, is mentioned in connection with some statements. But, in the present case the

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1. Pages 146-156.
2. देवलस्मृतौ तु संसर्गिप्रायश्चित्ते विशेषः । स चाऽधुना यवनादिसंसर्गदूषितेषु प्राय उपयुज्यते तत्र देवलः ।

   Quoted by Gokulchandra, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
3. Gokulchandra, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-7 refers to the quotation in the *Prāyaścitta-viveka*.
4. The two menuscripts used for the Anandasrama edition, which add verses 81 to 90 at the end of text, give line 2 in the concluding verse (90) as—

   इति देवल (लेन) कृतं धर्मशास्त्रप्रकीर्तितम् ।

name of Devala occurs five times whereas the total number of the verses is only 79. Moreover, in four instances the opinion of Devala is quoted in verses which are given as the utterancess of Devala himself. An analysis of these verses is revealing. In verse 21 Devala is said to have provided that a person undergoing expiation should take bath three times (a day), put on washed garments, subdue his senses, have a *Kuśa* (blade) in his hand and speak the truth.[1] Verse 41 says that a Brāhmaṇa or Kṣatriya woman in menses, having touched one another, becomes pure after three nights, as are the words of Devala.[2] Verse 59 when translated means : 'If the mother attains the position of a Mleccha or if the father somehow (attains it), (it entails) the (ritual) impurity (*sūtaka*) of a dead man (in the family), as are the words of Devala.[3] Verse 72 reads : 'Expiation has been expounded as said by Devala. The utterances of other sages, if otherwise, do not deserve (attention).[4] A study of these verses shows that though the person, who composed the *Devala-Smṛti*, presented it in its opening portions as uttered by Devala himself, later on he forgot his original plan. In order to maintain the credibility of the text as a composition of Devala, he repeatedly inserted expressions saying that the provisions are those laid down by Devala. This is incompatible with the introductory verses of the text wherein Devala is mentioned as the narrator. Thus, it is clear that the text is a later composition. Devala was already respected as an authority and the author of the present text adopted Devala's name and tried to emphasise that it is the work of Devala.

WHY WAS THE TEXT NAMED AFTER DEVALA

We have to find out why the name of Devala was adopted and, if there was already a text under the name of Devala, what was its nature and when was it written. Devala is one of the ancient sages. His name occurs at many places in the *Mahābhārata*, often in association with Asita. The *Gītā*

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1. स्नानं त्रिकालं कुर्वीत धौतवासा जितेन्द्रियः ।
   कुशहस्तः सत्यवक्ता देवलेन ह्युदाहृतम् ॥
2. स्पृष्ट्वा रजस्वलाऽन्योन्यं ब्राह्मणी क्षत्रिया तथा ।
   त्रिरात्रेण विशुद्धिः स्याद्देवलस्य वचो यथा ॥
3. माता म्लेच्छत्वमागच्छेत्पितरौ वा कथञ्चन ।
   असूतकं च नष्टस्य देवलस्य वचो यथा ॥
4. प्रायश्चित्तं समाख्यातं यथोक्तं देवलेन तु ।
   इतरेषामृषीणां च नान्यथा वाक्यमर्हथ ॥

names him along with Nārada, Asita and Vyāsa as the foremost sages.[1] In the Sāṅkhya tradition also his name is preserved as an ancient authority who belonged to a period long before the times of Īśvarakṛṣṇa.[2]

Kane[3] has correctly pointed out that besides the printed *Devalasmṛti* there were two other Dharmaśāstra texts ascribed to Devala : a *Devala-dharmasūtra*, which contained verses along with prose passages, and a *Devala-Smṛti*, from which verses are quoted in medieval commentaries and digests. In a paper submitted at the Fifth World Sanskrit Conference held at Varanasi in October, 1981 I tried to reconstruct the form of the *Devala-dharmasūtra* and suggested the rough time-bracket of 500-200 B. C. for it.[4] As against this, the lost *Devala-Smṛti* seems to have been written in the period A. D. 300-600.[5]

We thus find that when the *Devala-Smṛti* under study was written, Devala was respected as an ancient sage and a Dharmasūtra and a *Smṛti* were already in circulation under his name. Both, the Dharmasūtra and the earlier *Smṛti*, had sections on *prāyaścitta* along with other subjects generally treated in Dharmaśāstra literature. The medieval commentaries and digests contain many quotations from the earlier *Smṛti* which is lost.[6] These quotations indicate that the emphasis on *prāyaścitta* given by Devala was duly noticed by medieval scholars. We may take a special note of three verses which reflect the liberal attitude of Devala in matters of *prāyaścitta*.[7] Here he makes a special pleading that the *prāyaścitta*-s are not to be very hard; they should be such as can be performed even by the weak. Devala says : 'The expiations as laid down cannot be performed by the weak and others. For the sake of preserving the people (*lokasaṅgraha*) a favourable consideration is sought. Many Brāhmaṇas proficient in (matters of) *dharma* are in a

1. X. 13.
2. *Māṭharavṛtti* on *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, 71
3. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I (2nd edn.) p. 283.
4. Part of the paper is being published in *Prof. Jaganath Agrawal Felicitation Volume* under title 'Was there a Devala-dharmasūtra ?'
5. My reconstruction of this Smṛti and its study are to appear shortly.
6. Anant Krishna Shastri in his *Sanātana-Dharma-Pradīpa* collects many such verses in the section *Śuddhiprakāśa*.
7. प्रायश्चित्तं यथोद्दिष्टमशक्यं दुर्बलादिभिः ।
   इष्यतेऽनुग्रहस्तेषां लोकसङ्ग्रहकारणात् ॥
   धर्मज्ञा बहवो विप्राः कर्तुमर्हन्त्यनुग्रहम् ॥
   कर्त्तारं देशकालौ च प्रमाणं कारणं क्रियाम् ।
   अपेक्ष्य च बलं चैव प्रायश्चित्तं विधीयते ॥

position to show favour. The expiation is being laid down taking into consideration the doer of the act, the place and time, the evidence, the reason, the act itself and the power (capacity of the person).' In view of this it was quite natural that when provision was made for the special situation, which arose in the country after the Muslim invasion and assumed an alarming shape, Devala should have been remembered. Large number of people were forcibly converted. People, who thus defiled, were helpless and were themselves not responsible for the impurity inflicted upon them. There was no way in which they could have resisted or could have avoided it. Devala was known to have advocated liberal view for lighter expiation considering the special factors involved. Hence it was in the fitness of things that the liberal provisons for removing the impurities caused by a contact with the Muslims were attributed to Devala.

Here we may hazard a guess. Sind, as we know, was the main area where the problem of contamination on account of the contact with the Mlecchas and forceful conversions done by them, first assumed an alarming form. For this reason the stage for the writing of the new *Devala-Smṛti* was set on the banks of the Sindhu. In the province of Sind there was a port named Debal. It is located by the Arab writers of the period to the west of the river Mihran, two *parsaṅga*-s from its junction with the sea.[1] Possibly popular mind in those times related its name with Devala, the sage. We must make it clear that there is no evidence in support of this association. We also realise how weak and speculative the suggestion is. But we know that popular imagination functions in strange ways. It is not unlikely, therefore, that in selecting Devala for expounding the new *Smṛti* on the banks of the Indus the location of Debal in that region was a supporting factor.

DEVALA AS AN AUTHORITY ON DHARMAŚĀSTRA

We have shown elsewhere that Devala was slow in receiving recognition as an authority on Dharmaśāstra.[2] Varying lists of Dharmaśāstra authors are given by Gautama, Śaṅkha-Likhita, Yājnāvalkya, Aṅgiras, Paiṭhīnasi, Kumārila and the *Caturviṃśatimata*.[3] But the name of Devala is conspicuous by its absence in all these lists.

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1. Ibn Khurdadba and Ibn Haukal in Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own historians*, pp. 14 f. 37.
2. See our article "Was there a Devala-dharmasūtra ?" in *Prof. Jagannath Agrawala Felicitation Volume*.
3. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I (2nd edn.), pp. 302-4.

Devala is included first by the *Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa* in its list of thirty-six *smṛti*-s.[1] Later, the *Prayogapārijāta* lists fifty-seven names, wherein the name of Devala occurs in the group of twenty-one 'other *smṛtikāra*-s' and not in the two categories of principal *smṛti*-s and *upasmṛti*-s.[2] Lakṣmīdhara,[3] Caṇḍeśvara[4] and Mitramiśra[5] have used the expression *ādi* (etc.) occurring in the list of Śaṅkha-Likhita to include some new names. Devala is one of these.

In our article on the *Devala-Dharmasūtra*, referred to above, we have pointed out that Devala in all these lists and texts could not have signified the author of the dharmasūtra. Now the question is : which of the two *Devalasmṛti*-s is meant by the sources mentioned above. The *nibandha*-s and the commentaries contain many verses ascribed to Devala. But quotations from the *Devala-Smṛti*, which is available in print, are very few in number. It is significant that Lakṣmīdhara, Caṇḍeśvara and Mitramiśra, who include Devala in the list of dharmaśāstra writers, do not quote from the *Devala-Smṛti* under study. Possibly they meant to refer to the earlier *Devala-Smṛti* which is presently not available in its original form. In this connection we find that the sources actually drawn upon by Ballālasena for writing his *Dānasāgara*[6] include Devala as well. All these sources had a speical bearing on the subject of *dāna*. This is indicated by such names as Dāna-Bṛhaspati and Dāna-Vyāsa and a specific statement to that effect by Ballālasena. Thus, Devala mentioned by Ballālasena had a useful and detailed account on *dāna*. Now, the printed *Devala-Smṛti* deals with *prāyaścitta* alone, whereas the lost *Devala-Smṛti* possibly had a full section containing a fresh and detailed account of various points connected with *dāna*. Hence, we can infer that later texts, which quote passages not found in the printed *Devala-Smṛti*, refer to the earlier *Smṛti* now available only in quotations. For Devala whose name occurs in the lists in the *Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa* and the *Prayogapārijāta* we cannot suggest a conclusive identification. It could refer to either of the *Devala-Smṛti*-s. Considering the late date of the two sources and the fact that the earlier dharmasūtra and *smṛti* could not find a place in any of the earlier lists, we will not be wrong in suggesting that it was the later *Devala-Smṛti*, with a novel theme and a refreshingly

1. Quoted by Aparārka, p. 7.
2. Quoted by *Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā*, p. 18.
3. *Kṛtyakalpataru*, I, p. 24.
4. *Kṛtyaratnākara*, p. 29.
5. *Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa*, p. 16.
6. P. 3.

liberal approach, which was given a place in the extended lists in the *Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa* and *Prayoga-pārijāta*.

THE DATE OF THE TEXT

The date of the text has not been discussed in detail. Most scholars summarily decide that it was composed in the eighth or ninth century.[1] In Vol. II of his *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Kane in referring to verses 17-22 of this text, observed that they are 'certainly older than 1000 A. D.'[2] In the second edition of Vol. I[3] he merely refers to it as 'a late compilation'.

QUOTATIONS FROM DEVALA

Verses from our text are quoted in medieval commentaries and digests. In some cases these verses are specifically ascribed to Devala. Thus, the *Prāyaścitta-viveka*[4] of Śūlapāṇi reproduces verses 17-20 of our text as quotations from Devala. Sarvajñanārāyaṇa, in his commentary on the *Manusmṛti*,[5] says that the rule about four years and the statement 'forcibly seized by the Mlecchas and others' and other (statements) are to be taken from the views of the *Devala-Smṛti*'. At many places our text refers to the forceful seizure of people by the Mlecchas,[6] but in verses 17 to 22[7] it provides for *prāyaścitta*-s in the case of people forcibly enslaved by the Mlecchas, Cāṇḍālas and robbers adding that those, who stay with the Mlecchas in this manner for four years, acquire the position of a Mleccha. It is clear that Sarvajñanārāyaṇa had in his mind verses 17 to 22 of our text. The third source in which we find quotations from our text is the *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara. We have two such passages ascribed to Devala. One provides that women and sick people are to undergo half of the *prāyaścitta* (prescribed for men for the same lapse).[8] The second passage provides that if a man goes to Sindhu, Sauvīra, Saurāṣṭra, the border lands,

1. M. N. Ray in *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1927, p. 160.
2. P. 390, f.n. 928 c.
3. P. 282.
4. (Jivananda edn.) p. 455.
5. On Man II. 180— चतुर्वत्सरनियमश्च बलाद् गृहीतो म्लेच्छाद्यैरित्यादिदेवलस्मृतिदर्शनादुन्नेयः ।
6. Verses 26, 36 and 47.
7. बलाद्दासीकृता ये च म्लेच्छचाण्डालदस्युभिः । Verse 17.
संवत्सरैश्चतुर्भिश्च तद्भावमधिगच्छति । Verse 22.
8. प्रायश्चित्तार्धमर्हन्ति स्त्रियो रोगिण एव च ।
On *Yājñavalkya*, III.293

Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga and Āndhra, he is (to receive) the (*upanayana*) *saṃskāra* (once again).[1] The first quotation is to be equated with the second line of verse 30 of our text and the sccond is to be identified with verse 16.

For Śūlapāṇi, the author of the *Prāyaścittaviveka*, Kane had suggested the bracket A. D. 1375 to 1460 in the first edition of Vol. I of his *History of Dharmaśāstra*, which he narrowed to A. D. 1365 to 1445 in its second edition.[2] According to Kane, Śūlapāṇi is to be placed after c. A. D. 1365, because he mentions Caṇḍeśvara's *Ratnākara* and the *Kālamādhavīya*, and before c. A. D. 1460, because his works are referred to by Rudradhara, Govindānanda and Vācaspati. The upper limit is further reduced because a manuscript of his *Prāyaścittaviveka* in the Baroda Oriental Institute Library says that it was copied in A. D. 1445.

Sarvajñanārāyaṇa is the author of the commentary *Manvarthadīpikā* on *Manusmṛti*. According to Kane, he flourished between A. D. 1100 and 1300.[3] For the upper limit of his date Kane refers to a manuscript of Nārāyaṇa's commentary which was written in A. D. 1497 and to the fact that he was quoted by Rāyamukuṭa in A. D. 1431. For the lower limit of the date Kane relies on the fact that Nārāyaṇa refers to the commentary of Govindarāja.[4] The date of Govindarāja, as proposed by Kane, is A. D. 1000-1110.[5] This may be further narrowed to A. D. 1060-1100[6] requiring marginal alteration in the lower date of Narāyaṇa.

Though the date of Vijñāneśvara cannot be precisely determined, he can be roughly placed between the second half of the eleventh century and the first quarter of the twelfth century. The two brackets are provided by

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1. सिन्धुसौवीरसौराष्ट्रांस्तथा प्रत्यन्तवासिनः ।
   अङ्गवङ्गकलिङ्गान्ध्रान् गत्वा संस्कारमर्हति ॥
   On *Yājñavalkya*, III. 292.
2. Pages 838-39.
3. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I (2nd edn.), p. 348.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 347.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 663.
6. Kane relies on the fact that Govindarāja mentions Dhāreśvara Bhoja and is mentioned by the *Hāralatā*, *Dāyabhāga* and *Kṛtyakalpataru*. The date of Bhoja Paramāra is A.D. 1005-1054. For the *Hāralatā*, *Dāyabhāga* and *Kṛtyakalpataru*, Kane himself proposes the brackets A.D. 1160-1170, (p. 699), 1090-1130 (p. 709) and 1125-1150 (pp. 691, 699) respectively. If a few decades are allowed for a text to gain currency for being quoted by later authors, the lower limit for Nārāyaṇa's date will be placed between A.D. 1070 and 1110.

the fact that Vijñāneśvara mentions Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi and Dhāreśvara and in his turn is mentioned by Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa in his *Smṛticandrikā*. Now, if Dhāreśvara is to be identified with King Bhoja of the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa (A. D. 1005-1054-5), Vijñāneśvara is to be placed at least a few decades after A. D. 1055.[1] The upper limit is to be fixed before c. A. D. 1200, which is the rough date for the composition of the *Smṛticandrikā* as suggested by Kane.[2]

The verses at the end of the *Mitākṣarā* help us in further narrowing the limits of the date. Verse 4 refers to the association of Vijñāneśvara with the city of Kalyāṇa and King Vikramāṅka.[3] Verses 4 and 6 mention the glory of the king and pray for his long life. Vijñāneśvara's contemporary king was none else than Vikramāditya VI of the Western Cālukya dynasty whose capital was Kalyāṇa. Vikramāditya's coronation took place in A. D. 1076 and his death occurred between January 20 and March 1 of A. D. 1127. The date of the completion of the *Mitākṣarā* is to be placed before the death of Vikramāditya. Considering the long years which the writing of such a voluminous and scholarly commentary requires and allowing for the conquests which helped Vikramāditya establish his glory as a mighty ruler, the bracket A. D. 1100 to 1120 for the composition of the *Mitākṣarā*, proposed by Kane,[4] seems to be reasonable. It is not possible to be more precise; the date A. D. 1121-1125 suggested by K. V. R. Aiyangar[5] and accepted by J. D. M. Derrett[6] is conjectural.

Thus, on the basis of the date of the *Mitākṣarā*, which is the earliest to quote from the *Devala-Smṛti*, we cannot place the *Devala-Smṛti* after c. A. D. 1050, if we are to allow a few decades for the reputation of the *Devala-Smṛti* to settle down so as to be quoted by subsequent writers.

We may also refer to evidence which implies the availability of the *Devala-Smṛti* under study, even though it does not clearly mention the text.

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1. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I (2nd edn.) p. 607.
2. *Ibid.* Later (pp. 740-41) he mentions the limit as 1150 and 1225.
3. नासीदस्ति भविष्यति क्षितितले कल्याणकल्पं पुरं
   नो दृष्टः श्रुत एव वा क्षितिपतिः श्रीविक्रमार्कोपमः ।
   विज्ञानेश्वरपण्डितो न भजतें किं चान्यदन्योपमश्—
   चाकल्पं स्थिरमस्तु कल्पलतिकाकल्पं तदेतत्त्रयम् ॥
4. *Op cit.*, pp. 609, 612.
5. *Kṛtyakalpataru, Vyavahāra*, Introduction, p. vii.
6. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXX, p. 36.

One such work is the *Pañcadaśī*. It says : 'Just as a Brāhmaṇa seized by Mlecchas and afterwards performing the (appropriate) penance is not confounded with the Mlecchas (but returns to his original and real position as a Brāhmaṇa), so the Intelligent Soul is not to be confounded with the body (and other material adjuncts).[1] The text does not ascribe to Devala the view that a Brāhmaṇa recovers his original position, even after being enslaved by the Mlecchas. But this specific regulation, as against the general rule about *prāyaścitta*-s for readmission in the case of Vrātyas and people who had fallen from their caste, is not to be found in any other early text.[2] The *Devala-Smṛti* is wholly devoted to this topic and later commentaries and digests recognise Devala as an authority on it. It is, therefore, reasonable to infer that Vidyāraṇya, the author of the *Pañcadaśī*, was fully familiar with our text.

There is a long standing tradition identifying Vidyāraṇya with Mādhavācārya, the great scholar and authority on dharmaśāstra. It is said that Mādhava became a Sannyāsin and came to be known as Vidyāraṇya. The question has been keenly debated.[3] In any case Vidyāraṇya is mentioned in an inscription dated A. D. 1378,[4] which has been taken to infer that Mādhavācārya became an ascetic by 1377. As Vidyāraṇya is said to have died in 1386, the *Pañcadaśī* was written during 1377-85. This does not militate against our suggestion about the upper limit for the date of the composition of the *Devala-Smṛti*.

DEVALA AND MUSLIM INVASION

The opening verse of the *Devala-Smṛti* says that the sages approached Devala, who was sitting on the banks of the Sindhu, and then he laid down

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1. गृहीतो ब्राह्मणो म्लेच्छैः प्रायश्चित्तं चरन्पुनः ।
म्लेच्छैः संकीर्यते नैव तथाभासः शरीरकैः ॥

Tṛptidīpa, v. 239.

Pañcadaśī is a famous text on Advaita Vedānta and is so named because it has fifteen *Prakaraṇas*. The *Tṛptidīpa* is the longest *Prakaraṇa* and contains 298 verses.

2. If Vidyāraṇya is the same as Mādhavācārya, the great dharmaśāstra authority and the author of the *Parāśaramādhavīya* and *Kālanirṇaya*, the reference assumes greater importance. It is to be noted that verse 22 of the *Devalasmṛti* speaks of the person acquiring the status of a Mleccha (*tadbhāvam adhigacchati*).

3. Among those who support the identification prominent names are N. Narasimhachar, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 45, p. 18; K. Markandeya Sastri, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, pp. 611-44; Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I (2nd edn.), pp. 782-90. But *contra* see R. Ramrao, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VI, pp. 701-17; VII, pp. 78ff; X, pp. 801-10; Doraiswamy Iyangar, *Journal of Indian History*, XII, pp. 241-50.

4. *Epigraphic carnatica*, Vol. VI, Koppa 30.

provisions for *prāyaścitta*-s for different types of association and contact with the Mlecchas. The association of the Sindhu with the writing of the *Devala-Smṛti* is significant and is to be duly accounted for. In other sources referring to Devala we do not find any passage associating Devala with the Sindhu. Another possible explanation of the occurrence of the name Sindhu is that the contamination caused by a contact with the Mlecchas and the need for expiation to remove the resultant sin were most relevant for the regions on the banks of the Indus. We know that the Dharmaśāstric tradition regards Sindhu and some other regions as being beyond the pale of orthodoxy where the provisions of the Dharmaśāstras cannot be properly followed. It is laid down that a person going to these places becomes impure and is required to perform *upanayana* once again. Verse 16 of the *Devala-Smṛti* records this provision for persons visiting Sindhu, Sauvīra, Saurāṣṭra, areas on the border, Kaliṅga, Kauṅkaṇa and Vaṅga. Even then the question remains : why, of all the areas causing impurity, Devala chose the banks of the Sindhu for expounding his Smṛti on the expiation to remove the impurity caused by contact with the Mlecchas.

The explanation is provided by the facts of Indian history. It is well known that India has received many waves of foreigners in different periods of its history. The earlier foreigners accepted either Buddhism or the Brahmanical faith and were slowly and gradually assimilated by Indian culture. Islam being a proselytising religion, its followers, on coming to India, not only maintained their separate existence, but also made deliberate and determined efforts to convert others to Islam. The contact with the Muslims and the forcible conversion of people to Islam were a new factor in Indian society and posed a serious threat to its existence. A way-out had to be sought and an effective remedy provided by the social thinkers and law-givers. The *Devala-Smṛti* was the result of this process necessitated by the historical realities of social life.

We will not involve ourselves in the history of India's contact with Arabia and neighbouring countries. Suffice it to say that long before the emergence of Islam there were trade contacts between India and Arabia. This is taken to go back to prehistoric times. The trade relations continued after the birth of Islam. There are references to indicate that Arab merchants and sailors visited India. Islam appeared on the Indian scene first with a bang in A. D. 712. Muhammad Ibn Qasim invaded Sind in this year. Many people were forcefully converted to Islam. Women captured or kidnapped were made to embrace Islam. The Muslims, who settled in Sind, with their attempt at converting the people and enslaving them, created a

constant problem and a serious threat of the Brahmanical socio-religious system being completely wiped out. No other situation in the early history of India had posed such a serious problem to the socio-legal thinkers. Thus, the composition of the *Devala-Smṛti* has to be placed after the Arab invasion of Sind in A. D. 712. We may further suggest that possibly not much period had elapsed after this event. The memory of the coming of the Arabs to Sind was fresh in the minds of the people. The Muslims possibly were still confined mostly to Sind and Punjab. We know that their spread to other parts of the country was slow. Their attempt to enter the country from the side of north-west was effectively throttled by the Sāhi kings of Udbhāṇḍa-pura. In small numbers they did enter parts of Southern Panjab. It was later, roughly from A. D. 1000, as a result of the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazna, that the seriousness of the presence of Islam erupted again and the Muslims went beyond Sind and Panjab. Considering this all we are inclined to place the *Devala-Smṛti* between 712 and 1000, not far from the date of the Arab invasion of Sind.

Arab writers, who covered the early history of the establishment of Muslim rule in India, have noted in unmistakable words the practice of reconversion of people earlier converted to Islam. Jaisiṃha, the son of Dāhar, and some other chiefs, who had accepted Islam during the times of Caliph 'Umar II (A. D. 717-720), apostatized during the caliphate of Hisham (A. D. 724-743). Junaid, the governor of Sind, between 724 and 738, advancing through Rajasthan, went up to Malwa in the east and Broach in the South. Al-Baladhuri (death A. D. 892-3) records that during the times of Junaid's successors, Tamin and Hakim, 'the people of India had returned to idolatry excepting those of Qassah and the Musulmans had no place of security in which they could take refuge'.[1] Al 'Utbi, who was Secretary to Sultan Mahmud and covered his reign upto A. D. 1020, makes a similar reference about Nawasa Shah, grandson of Jaipal, and known as Sukhapāla before being converted to Islam. Nawasa Shah had been established as governor over some of the territories in that country conquered by the Sultan, for the purpose of protecting their borders. Satan had got the better of Nawasa Shah, for he was again apostatizing towards the pit of plural worship, had thrown off the slough of Islam, and held conversation with the chiefs of idolatry respecting the casting off the firm rope of religion from his neck.[2] The clearest reference to apostatisation on the part of

1. Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 126.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

Hindus converted to Islam is found in the *Kitab-ul-Hind* of Al-Bīrūnī. It shows that it was a regular social phenomenon. We reproduce the entire passage on account of its great importance. Al-Bīrūnī says, 'I have repeatedly been told that when Hindu slaves (in Muslim countries) escape and return to their country and religion, the Hindus order that they should fast by way of expiation, then they bury them in the dung, stale, and milk of cows for a certain number of days, till they get into a state of fermentation. Then they drag them out of the dirt and give them simitar dirt to eat and more of the like. I have asked the Brahmans if this is true, but they deny it, and maintain that there is no expiation possible for such an individual, and that he is never allowed to return into those conditions of life in which he was before he was carried off as a prisoner. And how should that be possible ? If a Brahman eats in the house of a Śūdra for sundry days, he is expelled from his caste and can never regain it.'[1]

Al 'Utbi refers to Nawasa Shah holding conversation with the chiefs of idolatry. It shows that for reconversion to the Brahmanical faith he sought the opinion of competent authorities on dharmaśāstra. We can easily postulate some discussion and debate among learned Brāhmaṇas about the Sastric sanction. Al-Bīrūnī makes it quite clear that opinion on this issue was sharply divided. Whereas some people approved of the current practice, some others opposed it, because, according to them, it was not sanctioned by the Śāstras.

Even though Al-Bīrūnī does not record the details of the Sastric rules, there are striking parallels between his observations and the *Devala-Smṛti*. Al-Bīrūnī speaks of the reconversion of Hindu slaves in Muslim countries. The *Devala-Smṛti* mentions people kidnapped by the Mlecchas (*mlecchanītāḥ*)[2] or forcibly enslaved by them (*balāddāsikṛtāḥ*).[3] Second, Al-Bīrūnī mentions expiation through the dung, stale and milk of cows. The *Devala-Smṛti* also provides for expiation through the use of five objects given by a cow (*pañcagavya*). Al-Bīrūnī merely mentions it as the only way for expiation, without giving all the details. We can expect that Al-Bīrūnī could not understand the exact procedure because he did not get a first hand and authentic account. The *Devala-Smṛti*, on the other hand, gives fuller details about the expiation through *pañcagavya*.[4] We can infer that the statement

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1. *Alberuni's India*, II pp. 162-63.
2. Verse 2. See also verses 7, 12, 36, 45, 53, 80.
3. Verse 17.
4. Verses 61-68, 74-80.

of Al-Bīrūnī presumes the existence of the *Devala-Smṛti* with its provisions about the reconversion of people enslaved by the Muslims.

However, it seems that Al-Bīrūnī had not himselft consulted or known the *Devala-Smṛti.* We know that in his narrative Al-Bīrūnī often relies on authoritative Sanskrit sources and in many cases translates passages from them. In the present case, he does not reproduce verses from the *Devala-Smṛti.* No doubt Al-Bīrūnī was familiar with the name of Devala. At one place he refers to his name as occurring in a passage from Varāhamihira.[1] In another context he speaks of the books of the six pupils of Vyāsa, viz. Devala, Śukra, Bhārgava, Bṛhaspati, Yājñavalkya and Manu.[2] Though the nature and contents of these books are not recorded by Al-Bīrūnī, it seems that he is referring to the dharmaśāstras under the name of the six sages. In an earlier passage Al-Bīrūnī lists twenty Smṛtis named after twenty sons of Brahman, but the name of Devala does not occur in it.[3] Thus, we can place the *Devala-Smṛti* before Al-Bīrūnī's time, though it is quite likely that the text was not personally seen by him.

The historical references to apostatization are in about A. D. 724, 740 and 1047. With Sultan Mahmud (A. D. 998-1030) the menace of contact with the Mlecchas was no longer confined to the banks of the Indus. That the question of expiation was being discussed about A. D. 1007 is clear from Al'Utbi and Al-Bīrūnī. But the quotation in the *Mitākṣarā* does not show that Devala was of such a recent origin. However, there is nothing inherently improbable in the text having been composed about A. D. 1007. If we allow some time for the text to establish its authority, the date about A. D. 740 will be more acceptable. At that time the Arabs were concentrated in Sind but their invasions from A. D. 724 to 738 had posed the problem seriously for the first time. Nāgabhaṭa of the Pratihāra dynesty, Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśirāja of the Cālukya family of Lāṭa, Jayabhaṭa IV of the Gurjara family of Nāndīpurī and some other contemporary kings made a determined effort to oppose and throw back the invading Arabs. It is not unlikely that in that period the political determination was accompanied by a social consciousness which resulted in the writing of the *Devala-Smṛti.*

To sum up, the text was written after A. D. 712 but before A. D. 1007. It is not possible to further reduce the time bracket and dogmatise. The text could have been prepared either about A. D. 740 or about A. D. 1005. The earlier date would appear to be more suitable to the requirements of the case.

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1. *Bṛhatsaṃhitā,* XI.1.7. See *Alberuni's India,* II, p. 235.
2. *Ibid.,* I, p. 132.
3. *Ibid.,* p. 131.

VEDIC TERMS ADHVARA AND YAJÑA*

Ram Gopal

The *Nighaṇṭu*[1] and the later lexicons of Sanskrit enumerate *adhvara* among the synonyms of *Yajña*; and accordingly almost all the ancient Indian commentators of the Vedas generally explain *adhvara* as *Yajña*. Similarly most of the modern interpreters and translators of the Vedas treat both these terms as synonyms and indiscriminately render them as "sacrifice", "offering", "rite", or "sacrificial act".

However, a minute and thorough examination of the Vedic passages containing these terms shows unmistakably that the Ṛṣis do not regard *adhvara* and *Yajña* as synonyms and distinguish between their meanings. This fact is evident from a perusal of the following Vedic passages in which both *adhvara* and *Yajña* occur side by side in the same sentence to denote two separate and distinct meanings :—

(1) *Agne yam y a j ñ a m a d h v a r a m v i ś v a t a ḥ paribhūr asi.*
Sa id deveṣu gacchati.[2]

(2) *Tvaṃ hotā manurhito' gne y a j ñ e ṣ u sīdasi.*
Semam no a d h v a r a m yaja.[3]

(3) *Draviṇodā draviṇāso g r ā v a h a s t ā s o a d h v a r o.*
Y a j n e ṣ u devam īḷate.[4]

(4) *Asmākaṃ joṣy a d h v a r a m asmākam y a j ñ a m Aṅgiraḥ,*
Asmākam śṛṇudhī havam.[5]

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* This article was presented at the Fifth World Sanskrit Conference held at Varanasi in 1981.

1. III.17.
2. *ṚV.* I.1.4.
3. *Ibid.* I.14.11.
4. *ṚV.* I.15.7.
5. *Ibid.* IV.9.7.

(5) *Puro vo mandram divyam suvṛktim prayati y a j ñ e Agnim a d h v a r e dadhidhvam.*[1]

(6) *Viprā y a j ñ e ṣ u mānuṣeṣu kārū manye vāṃ jātavedasā yajadhyai.*[2]
Ūrdhvaṃ no a d h v a r a m kṛtam haveṣu tā deveṣu vanatho vāryāṇi.

(7) *y a j ñ a etu hetvo na saptir u d y a c h adhvam samanaso ghṛtācī.*
Stṛṇīta barhir a d h v a r ā y a sādhūrdhvā śocīṃṣi devayūnyasthuḥ.[3]

(8) *Ayaṃ dirghāya cakṣase prācī p r a y a t y a d h v a r e.*
Mimīte y a j ñ a m ānuṣag vicakṣya.[4]

(9) *Ye pātayante ajmabhir girīṇām snubhir eṣām.*
Y a j ñ a m mahiṣvaṇīnām sumnam tuviṣvaṇīnām p r ā d h v a r e.[5]

(10) *Tvām Yajñeṣvīḷate' gne prayaty a d h v a r e.*
Tvaṃ vasūni kāmyā vi vo made viśvā dadhāsi dāśuṣe Vivakṣase.[6]

(11) *Ya udṛci y a j ñ e a d h v a r e ṣ ṭ h ā*
Marudbhyo na mānuṣo dadāśat.
Revat sa vayo dadhate suvīram
sa devānām api gopīthe astu.[7]

(12) *Adhvaro Yajño' yam astu devāḥ.*[8]
a d h v a r y o' y a m y a j ñ a h.

(13) *Praṇīr Y a j ñ ā n ā m rathīr adhvarāṇām.*[9]

(14) *Prācī pretam a d h v a r a m kalpayanti*
ūrdhvam y a j ñ a m nayataṃ mā jihvaratam.[10]

(15) *Imaṃ Y a j ñ a m avatām a d h v a r a ṃ naḥ.*[11]

(16) *Manmāni dhībhir uta y a j ñ a m ṛndhan devatrā ca kṛṇuhy a d h v a r a ṃ naḥ.*[12]

In order to solve the problem posed by the simultaneous use of both *adhvara* and *yajña* in the same sentence the ancient Indian commentators

1. *Ibid.* VI.10.1 ab
2. *Ibid.* VII.2.7.
3. *Ibid.* VII.43.2.
4. *Ibid.* VIII.13.30.
5. *Ibid.* VIII.46.18.
6. *Ibid.* X.21.6.
7. *Ibid.* X.77.7.
8. *TS.* III.1.9.3; *KS.* 35.7 and *Man. S.S.* II.3.8.4.
9. *TS.* II.5.9.2; *TB.* III.5.3.1; *ŚB.* I.4.2.10; *AB.* II.34.4; *Āśv. ŚS.* I.3.6.
10. *TS.* I.2.13.2; VI.2.9.3; *VS.* 5.17.
11. *TS.* IV.1.8.2; *MS.* II.12.6; *VS.* 27.17.
12. *MS.* IV.13.3; *KS.* 16.20; *VS.* 29.26.

generally take recourse to the traditional etymology of *adhvara*, according to which it is explained as a negative *Bahuvrīhi* compound consisting of privative particle *ā* and the noun *dhvara* derived from the root *dhvṛ* "to injure". In this way the ancient Bhāṣyakāras of the Vedas interpret *adhvara* as "that which is harmless or free from injury". The earliest source of the traditional etymology of *adhvara* is traceable to the Saṃhitās of the *Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda* which relate a legend in support of this etymology.[1] Yāska also offers the same etymology of this word in his *Nirukta*.[2]

Some of the modern scholars follow the ancient Indian commentators in the interpretation of *adhvara*, while others are not consistent in their interpretation and arbitrarily translate this word in various ways. For instance, H. H. Wilson in his English translation of the *ṚV.* generally follows Sāyaṇa's interpretation of *adhvara*. A. B. Keith in his English translation of the *TS.* translates *adhvara* differently in different places as "harmless",[3] "sacrifice",[4] "rite",[5] and "offering".[6] In Griffith's English translation of the *ṚV.* this word is variously rendered as "perfect"[7], "rite"[8], "solemn rite"[9], "solemn service"[10], "offering"[11], "worship"[12], etc., while the other term *yajña* is generally translated as "sacrifice". Similarly we find no consistency in Geldner's interpretation of these two terms. In Geldner's German translation of *ṚV. adhvara* is variously rendered as "Anbetung"[13], "Opfer"[14], "heilig Handlung"[15], "Opferhandlung"[16], "Opfergabe"[17], "Gottesdienst"[18], etc., whereas *yajña* is translated mostly as "Opfer".

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1. *KS.* 23.7; *MS.* III.6.10; *TS.* III.2.2.3; *ŚB.* I.4.1.40 connects *adhvara* with *dudhūrṣati* (See our *Vaidika-Vyākaraṇa*, Vol. II, p. 649 for its formation).
2. I.8.
3. *TS.* III.1.9.3.
4. *Ibid.* I.1.11.2; 1.12.1; 3.12.1; 3.14.1; 6.12.3; IV.6.9.3; etc.
5. *Ibid.* II.5.9.2; etc.
6. *Ibid.* I.1.14.4; 2.13.2; etc.
7. *Ṛ*V. I.1. 4.
8. *Ibid.* I.14.11; 15.7; VI 10.1; X.21.6; etc.
9. *Ibid.* IV.9.7.
10. *Ibid.* VII.43.2.
11. *Ibid.* VII.2.7.
12. *Ibid.*, VIII.46.18.
13. *Ibid.*, I.1.4.
14. *Ibid.* I.14.11; VII.2.7; 43.2; VIII.13.30; X.85.18; etc.
15. *Ibid.* I.15.7; X.21.6; 77.7; etc.
16. *Ibid.* IV.9.7.
17. *Ibid.* VIII.35.23.
18. *Ibid.* VI.10.1; VIII.46.18.

Several modern scholars have noted the essential difference between the meanings of these two terms and attempted to explain it in their own way. Accepting the traditional Indian explanation of *adhvara*, Max Müller remarks:[1] "I accept the native explanation *a-dhvara*, without a flaw, perfect, whole, holy. Adhvara is generally an opus operatum; hence adhvaryu, the operating priest". In Volume 46 of the *Sacred Books of the East* H. Oldenberg translates *adhvara* as "worship", "rite", or "sacrifice" and distinguishes its meaning from that of *yajña* as follows:[2] " 'Worship' is a very inadequate translation of *adhvara*, which is nearly synonym of *yajña*, by the side of which it frequently stands. Possibly in the designation of the sacrifice as *yajna* the stress was laid on the element of prayer, praises, and adoration; in the designation as *adhvara* on the actual work which was chiefly done by the Adhvaryu".

On the contrary, Macdonell translates *yajña* as "worship" and *adhvara* as "sacrifice", and observes that the former has a wider sense, i. e., *worship* (prayer and offering) and the latter a restricted one, i. e. *sacrificial act.*[3] Similarly W. Neisser[4] holds that the term *yajña* denotes a wider sense than *adhvara.*

Most of the modern scholars do not accept the traditional derivation of *adhvara* from √*dhvṛ*, and suggest alternative etymologies. A majority of the modern scholars[5] derive *adhvara* from a hypothetical root *adh*, which in their opinion also lies at the base of *adhva* "way, road", with the addition of the suffix *vara* on the analogy of *itvara* derived from √*i*. "to go". As regards the semantic development of *adhvara*, it is held by most of the modern scholars (see note 4) that it originally denoted "going, way, course", and later came to signify "religious festival, rite, divine worship". Following T. Burrow[6] and others J. Gonda[7] considers *adhvara* to be of

1. *Physical Religion*, p. 171; *SBE.*, Vol. 46, p. 4.
2. *SBE*, Vol. 46, p. 4, Note 1 on *ṚV.* I.1.4.
3. *Vedic Reader*, p. 6.
4. *Zum Wörterbuch des Ṛgveda*, I, *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Leipzig, 1924, 4, pp. 30 ff.
5. H. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda,*; A. Walde—J. Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Worterbuch der Indo-Germanischen Sprachen*; M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymolegisches Worterbuch des Altindischen*; Vishva Bandhu, *Vaidika-Padānukrama-koṣa.*
6. *The Sanskrit Language*, p. 147; cf. J. Wackernagel and A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*, Vol. II, pp. 136ff; S. S. Bhawe, *The Soma Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, Vol. I, p. 39. Devarāja-Yajvan on *Nighaṇṭu* I.3 (names of atmosphere) suggests, besides the traditional etymology, two other etymologies of *adhvara*—(1) *adhvan*+√*rā* "to give", and (2) *adhvan*+suffix *ra*, "the one having a way".
7. *VIJ.*, Vol. III, part 2 (Sept., 65), p. 170.

adjectival origin in the sense of "related to or connected with a way or journey," "travelling," or "that which proceeds on its path". Citing numerous Vedic passages to demonstrate the close relationship between *adhvara* and *adhvan* as well as other words for 'way' and 'movement' in ritual contexts, Gonda seeks to prove in his learned article (see note 7 on p. 182) that *adhvara* was conceived as something moving, albeit not always, and that this term would give a very good sense if it is translated as "the travelling one", or as "the one who sets off." However, this interpretation of *adhvara* suggested by Gonda does not appear to be convincing as we shall see below.

It cannot be gainsaid that there is apparently a close phonetic relationship between *adhvan* and *adhvara*, which prompted some modern scholars to derive both these words from a common hypothetical root *adh*(see note 5 on p. 182) and which suggested to the ancient Indian commentators like Devarāja Yajvan and some modern scholars to derive *adhvara* from *adhvan* (see note 6 on p.182 As regards the traditional derivation of *adhvara* from √*dhvṛ*, there is no Ṛgvedic usage in support of this etymology[1], although it is suggested by the later Vedic Saṃhitās(see note on p. 181). Moreover, we do not come across in the Vedic literature the use of any such substantive as *dhvara* on the basis of which the ancient Indian authorities explain the etymology of *adhvara*. However, the Vedas contain two feminine nouns *dhvaras*[2] and *dhvarā*[3] derived from √*dhvṛ*; the former denotes the malignant demoniac power, while the latter signifies the expulsion (of demons from the sacrifice). None has attempted to connect *adhvara* with either of these two terms nor is such a derivation corroborated by internal evidence. Since the use of the root *adh* is not attested in the Vedic or post-Vedic language, the modern derivation (see note 5 on p.182) of *adhvara* from this root (√*adh*+*vara*) is as hypothetical as the root itself. But the other modern etymology of *adhvara* from *adhvan* with the addition of the secondary suffix *ra* is not only grammatically sound but has also been already suggested by some ancient Indian commentators (see note 6 on p.182). On the analogy of similar secondary formations[4] such as *pāṃsurá* and

1. Five verbal forms √ *dhūrv*, viz., *dhūrvanti* (VIII.45.9), *dhūrvantu* (VI.75.19), *adhūrṣata* (V.12.5), *dhūrvantam* (X.87.12) and *dhūrvaṇe* (IX.61.30) occur in the *ṚV*. Some scholars including Whitney, Macdonell and Vishwa Bandhu derive *adhūrṣata* from √*dhvṛ*. But Roth, Grassmann, and others regard it as a form of √*dhūrv*, and I subscribe to the latter view. About half a dozen verbal forms of √*dhvṛ* are met with in the Saṃhitās of the *Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda* which suggest the derivation of *adhvara* from this root.
2. *ṚV*. II.23.5; IV.23.7.
3. *MS*. III.7.8; 8.8; 10.1; IV.3.4.
4. See our *Vaidika-Vyākaraṇa*, vol. I, p. 450.

muṣkará the meaning of *adhvará* would be "the one having *adhvan*, i. e. a way, course, method or set procedure", i. e. "methodical".

Notwithstanding the above-suggested affinity between *adhvan* and *adhvara*, it is presumptuous to hold that the latter signifies "the travelling one" or "the one who sets off", for this view is not supported by internal evidence. Most of the Ṛgvedic passages containing *adhvara* constantly refer to its physical and procedural aspects, and specifically mention *sacrificial materials* and *implements* in connection with *adhvara*. It is significant to note that *barhiṣ*[1] (sacrificial grass), *sruc*[2] (sacrificial ladle), *svaru*[3] (sacrificial post), *grāvan*[4] or *adri* (stone for pressing out the Soma-juice) and *Soma*[5] are frequently associated with *adhvara* in the *ṚV*. Besides, the acts of pressing out and drinking *Soma* are very often connected with *adhvara* in the *ṚV*. ;[6] and the stones for pressing out Soma are spoken of as embellishment[7] of *adhvara*. Moreover, such epithets of *adhvara* as *cāru*[8] (lovely), *ūrdhva*[9] (lofty), *dasmat*[10] (grand), *ratnavat*[11] (having rich gifts), *sudhita*[12] (well established), etc., clearly point to the physical aspects of *adhvara*. Furthermore, the employment of Verbal forms of the roots √*tan*[13] "to spread, prepare" and √*takṣ*[14] "to shape, fashion" in connection with *adhvara* in the *ṚV*. shows that the concept of *adhvara* comprehended the construction of a sort of *sacrificial structure* besides the strewing of sacrificial grass, the erection of a sacrificial post, and the pressing out of the Soma-juice. This is why the *ṚV*. refers to the setting up of Agni[15] and to the placing of sacrificial materials[16] at *adhvara*. In keeping with this concept of *adhvara* as a sacrificial structure it is described as *ūrdhva* "lofty" (see note 9) and the sacrificer is spoken of as *adhvareṣṭhāḥ*

1. *ṚV*. VII.43.2; VIII.27.1; I.44.13.
2. *Ibid*. I.162.17; VII.43.2 (*ghṛtāci*); VIII.60.2.
3. *Ibid*. III.8.1.8; IV.51.2.
4. *Ibid*. III.53.10; 54.12; 57.4; VIII.27.1; IX.82.3; I.15.7; 135.5.7.
5. *Ibid*. I.16 3; VIII.66.1; X.11.4; 94.14.
6. *Ibid*. I.16.3; 19.1; 135.5; VI.68.10; VIII.35.23; 66.1; X.94.14. See notes 15 and 16 on p 181
7. *Ibid*. VII.42.1.
8. *Ibid*. I.19.1; 94.3; V.71.1.
9. *Ibid*. VII.2.7.
10. *Ibid*. I.74.4.
11. *Ibid*. III.28.5.
12. *Ibid*. IV.2.10.
13. *Ibid*. VIII.43.20; X.17.7; cf. X.63 6.
14. *Ibid*. III.54.12.
15. *Ibid*. III.27.8; 28.3; IV.15.1; VI.10.1.
16. *Ibid*. IV.51.2; III.53.1; 57.4; VIII.27.1; 60.2; X.30.15; I.162.17.

"standing in *adhvara*". The above-mentioned characteristics of *adhvara* militate against Gonda's thesis of interpreting *adhvara* as "the travelling one" or "the one who sets off".

There are three definite stages of semantic development in respect of *adhvara*. In the initial stage the word *adhvara* was employed as an adjective[1] of *yajña* in the sense of "methodical". So the Vedic expression *adhvaro yajnaḥ* means "a methodical sacrifice" performed according to a set procedure. As a number of well-known Vedic epithets[2] are used laconically without the substantives qualified by them to express the sense of such qualified substantives, in the same way the epithet *adhvara* on account of its constant association with *yajña* came to denote laconically in course of time "a methodical sacrifice" which obviously became synonymous with a Soma sacrifice, because a very elaborate and set procedure was followed in the performance of a Soma sacrifice. Thus *adhvara* gradually came to denote a Soma sacrifice.

The term *adhvara* definitely denotes a Soma sacrifice in those passages of the *ṚV.* where it is associated with Soma or with the pressing out and drinking of Soma (see notes 4-6 on p.184). The later ritualistic texts, which relate legends to distinguish between *yajña* and *adhvara*, assert that the former means a sacrifice in general, whereas the latter stands for a Soma sacrifice.[3] In the later Saṃhitas and the Brāhmaṇas the eipthet *saumya*[4] "relating to Soma" is often applied to *adhvara* in order to make its meaning clear beyond a shadow of doubt.

After the use of *adhvara* as a noun had become fully established, its derivatives such as *adhvarīyasi*[5] "you perform *adhvara*", *adhvarīyatām*[6] "of those performing *adhvara*", *adhvaryantaḥ*[7] "those performing *adhvara*", and

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1. *Ibid.* I.1.4; VI.10.1; VIII.10.4; 44.13. The *ṚV.* 68.10C—*yuvo ratho adhvaram devavītaye* is read as *yuvo ratho adhvaro devavitaye* in *AV.* VII.60.1 (cf. *G. Br.* II.2.22) and thus *adhvaraḥ* is explained by the commentators as an adjective of *rathaḥ*. But *Paippalāda* reads *adhvaram*.
2. Compare the use of *aruṣī, vājinīvatī, vājī, āśu, aghnya*, etc. in the *ṚV.*
3. *KS.* 23.7; *P. Br.* VIII.6.5.
4. *KS.* 9.13; 12.3.4; 23.7; *MS.* I.9.5; *Kaush. Br.* 10.6; 6.12.15; *Ait. Br.* 3.18; *P. Br.* XXV.4.4; *G. Br.* I.5.9; *T. Br.* II.3.6.3-4; III.3.8.8; II.2.4.4; 11.6; *Ś. Br.* IV.3.4.3; X.1.5.3; 4.1.19; 4.3.4.
5. *ṚV.* II.1.2 (X.91.10); X.91.11.
6. *Ibid.* I.23.16; IV.9.5; VI.2.10.
7. *TS.* IV.6.3.3; *MS.* II.10.5; *VS.* 17.56. But *KS*, (18.3; 21.8) reads *adhvarīyantaḥ*. Cf. *ṚV.* I. 181.1 *adhvaryanta*.

adhvaryu[1] "an officiating priest devoted to the performance of *adhvara*" got currency in the Vedic language. The compound *adhvara-śrī* "splendour of *adhvara*" occurs five times in the *ṚV.*[2] The other Ṛgvedic compounds formed with *adhvara* are *svadhvara*,[3] *jīrādhvara*[4] and *dāśvadhvara*.[5]

In contradistinction to *adhvara* (a sacrifice performed according to an elaborate and set procedure with great pomp and show) the term *yajña* covers a much wider sense and denotes any form of worship in accordance with the derivation of the word. Even mere recitation of a *Mantra* or *Mantra*-s, or mere offering of a fuel-stick, or mere obeisance to a deity constitutes *yajña*, as observed in the *Āśv. G. S.*[6] which cites a Brāhmaṇa-passage to the effect that obeisance is indeed a sacrifice (*yajño vai namaḥ*). On account of its general and comprehensive sense the term *yajña* is used as the final member of all those compounds which denote various modes of sacrifices, sacred acts and worship such as *Havir-yajña*, *Soma-yajña*, *Pāka-yajña*, *Brahma-yajña*, *Bhūta-yajña*, *Manuṣya-yajña*, *Tapo-yajña*, etc. On the contrary, the term *adhvara* is not compounded so freely to express various types of sacrifices, because the sense of this term is restricted to a particular type of sacrifice, viz., Soma-sacrifice. Moreover, the use of the verbal form *yajasi* by the side of *adhvarīyasi* (see note 5 on p. 185) clearly brings out the difference between the meanings of *yajña* and *adhvara*. Another significant expression, that differentiates between these two terms, is "*semaṃ no adhvaraṃ yaja*"[7] which means : "O Agni, sanctify (*yaja*) this *adhvara* of ours".

Although the use of the term *adhvara* signifying "a Soma sacrifice" has survived in the later Vedic literature, most of the derivatives of *adhvara* with the notable exception of *adhvarayu* have disappeared from the later language. Besides, the adjectival use of *adhvara* has undergone a semantic change in the later Saṃhitās[8] which construe it as "harmless, free from interruption".

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1. *adhvaryú* is derived from *adhvará* by adding the primary suffix *u* (*Pāṇini* III.2.170; *Uṇādi* 1.37) to the denominative verb *adhvarya*. See our *Vaidika-Vyākaraṇa*, Vol. II, pp. 805-6.
2. *ṚV.* I.44.3; 47.8; VIII.4.14; X.36.8; 78.7.
3. *Ibid.*, I.127.1; 142.5; IV.45.5; VII.17.3; *VS.* 15.47; *KS.* 26.39; etc.
4. *ṚV.* X.36.6.
5. *Ibid.* I.75.3; VI.68.6; VIII.4.13; 19.9; X.147.4.
6. *Āśv. G. S.* I.1.4-5. Three verses of the *ṚV.* (VIII.19.5; 24.20; VI.16.47) are cited by this *Sūtra* in support of this explanation of *yajña*.
7. *ṚV.* I.14.11; 26.10.
8. *TS.* III.1.9.3—"*adhvaro yajño' yam astu*". *KS.* 35.7 reads *adhvaro* instead. See note 1. on p. 181

The total disappearance of the denominatives of *adhvara* from the later language shows that the original meaning of this term had become obscure by the time the Brāhmaṇas were composed. Hence the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*[1] finds it necessary to explain *adhvara* as *yajña*, and its denominative form *adhvarayantaḥ* by *yajñiyantaḥ*, although the annotative denominative form *yajñiyantaḥ* being totally redundant is found nowhere else in the Vedic language.

1. *Ś. Br.* I.4.1.38; II.3.4.10.; III.5.3.17; 9.3.5. VII.3.1.33; IX.2.3.10; etc.

Th[illegible] the denominatives of *adhvara* from the later [illegible] of this term had become obscure [illegible] Hence the *Śatapatha* [illegible] *adhvara* as *yajña* and its denomi[illegible] the unnegative denomi[illegible] is found nowhere else in the

CONCEPT OF MĀRGA IN ĀCĀRYA DAṆḌIN

D. K. Gupta

Ācārya Daṇḍin, who lived in the court of the Pallavas of Kāñcī towards the close of the seventh century A.D.[1] may legitimately be claimed as the first systematic expositor of the concept of *mārga*, more commonly known as *rīti*, in Sanskrit poetics. He has, in the first chapter of his *Kāvyādarśa*,[2] given a lucid and a thorough exposition to this poetical concept. Though he has not exalted this concept of *mārga* to the position of a definite theory, as Vāmana (c. A.D. 779-813) did about a century later, calling it the soul of poetry[3], there is no denying the fact that he has assigned an essential place to this concept in his total scheme of the poetical theory in Sanskrit.

The concept of *mārga* or *rīti* existed in its sub-conscious form, if not in a fully conscious one, much before Daṇḍin. Long before him, Yāska (c. eighth century B. C.) discussed the varying manners of different localities with regard to the usage of certain vocables[4]. He thus made perhaps the oldest allusion to various trends prevalent in different regions with regard to diction in its general sense. After him, we notice such references to various manners in Patañjali (c. 150 B. C.)[5]. Thus in Yāska and Patañjali the concept of literary diction made its maiden appearance in a sub-conscious and crude form. Bharata (first century B. C.), the author of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, refers to the concept of *pravṛtti*-s which signify, in the context of drama, the varied manners with regard to the costume, language and social usages and practices prevalent in different regions[6], but the *pravṛtti*-s are much wider in scope

1. See for this dating the present writer's *A Critical Study of Daṇḍin and his Works* (Delhi, 1970), pp. 61-93.
2. Verses 40-102 (cf. ed. D. K. Gupta, Delhi, 1973, pp. 33-77).
3. *Kāvyālaṃkārasūtravṛtti* (Calcutta, 1922), I.2.6.
4. *Nirukta* (ed. V. K. Rajwade, Poona, 1940), II.2.
5. *Mahābhāṣya* (Delhi, 1967), *Āhnika* I.
6. Ed. Chowkhamba, Varanasi, 1929, XIV.36ff.

than the literary manners and are conceived on an entirely different plane. The only claim that can be made with regard to these *pravṛtti*-s, *viz.*, *Āvanti*, *Dākṣiṇātyā*, *Oḍramāgadhī* and *Pāñcālī*, is that the earlier theorists including Daṇḍin probably drew inspiration from their regional designation, in giving names to the *mārga*-s or literary manners. A similar inspiration might have come from the same writer's four *vṛtti*-s or dramatic manners, namely, *Bhāratī*, *Sāttvatī*, *Kaiśikī* and *Ārabhaṭī*, named after the localities or peoples to which they were considered to have originally belonged[1].

After Bharata, the earliest known reference to the literary manners is found in Bāṇa (first half of the seventh century A.D.), who casually mentions various literary trends prevalent in different localities viz., abundant use of paronomasia in the northern region, predominance of sense over word in the western region, frequent play of poetical fancy in the southern country, and fondness for verbosity in the Gauḍa or eastern locality[2]. An examination of these literary tendencies of the different regions shows that the basic elements of the classification of *mārga*-s had not yet definitely been established in Bāṇa's time, though it may be said that the poetic excellences and figures vaguely determined the basis for their division. Also, it may be noted that Bāṇa did not mean to give an exhaustive list of the constituent elements of the different poetic manners referred to by him; he simply made a casual reference to the predominating elements, one each of the four dictions or literary manners of the four regions or rather quarter–zones.

That Daṇḍin has not formally defined the *mārga* may well be taken to mean that it was already an established concept with a precise connotation and a definite scope. However, it must be admitted that it was an error of omission on his part. Happily, his successor, Vāmana, noticed this lacuna in him, and defined his *rīti*. Accordidg to him, *rīti* is a peculiar arrangement of words, the peculiarity being brought about by the poetic excellences[3]. Daṇḍin's definition of *kāvya* and his treatment of *mārga* imply an almost identical conception of *mārga* in his scheme. *Kāvya*, or rather its body, is, according to him, a sequence of words distinguished by an agreeable sense[4].

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1. *Ibid.*, XX.1-71. Also cf. V. S. Agrawal : *Harṣacarita—Eka Sāṃskṛtika Adhyayana* (Patna, 1953), p. 34 for their affiliation to various localities.
2. श्लेषप्रायमुदीच्येषु प्रतीच्येष्वर्थगौरवम् ।
   उत्प्रेक्षा दाक्षिणात्येषु गौडेष्वक्षरडम्बरम् ॥
   Harṣacarita (NSP ed., Bombay, 1946), *intro.* verse 7
3. विशिष्टा पदरचना रीतिः । विशेषो गुणात्मा । *Kāvyālaṃkārasūtravṛtti*, I.2.7-8
4. शरीरं तावदिष्टार्थव्यवच्छिन्ना पदावली ।*Kāvyādarśa*, I.10

This necessitates in his scheme an appropriate combination of word and sense. On the other hand, his conception of *alaṃkāra,* which he defines as the characteristic element that lends beauty to poetry[1], comprehends in its wide scope the decorative means as well as the modes of arrangement of word and sense. His *alaṃkāra* signifies as such, in its wider application, the external effect brought about by an appropriate adjustment of word and sense, which avoids the poetic defects and adopts, primarily, the poetic excellences and, secondarily, the poetic figures. This appropriate adjustment of word and sense appears to have been Daṇḍin's conception of *mārga*, though he has not furnished it with a formal definition in his work.

Since every poet possesses a distinct way of expressing a thing, there may be, as Daṇḍin rightly asserts, a variety of paths of speech, in fact, of manners of arrangement of words[2]. It is difficult to draw a clear line of distinction between the various paths or diction—manners which differ from poet to poet, the mutual difference among them being too subtle to be defined, even as that between various kinds of sweetness of sugarcane, milk and treacle etc[3]. However, Daṇḍin adds that one may be able to draw a broad line of demarcation between the two *mārga*-s or paths of diction, viz., the elegant and the ornate, which he calls the Vaidarbha and the Gauḍa respectively, because the points of difference between them are easily discernible[4]. Besides these two *mārga*-s which, regionwise, are the southern and the eastern ones, Daṇḍin was aware probably of the western and the northern *mārga*-s also which have been alluded to by Bāṇa. He appears to have discarded them owing to the broad affinity they had in his opinion to the southern and the eastern paths respectively.

The two *mārga*-s, according to Daṇḍin, possess certain characteristics which are of two kinds, namely, the general and the particular ones. The general characteristics are the attributes which may be observed in all types of dictions or, in other words, in a poetic composition as a whole. The particular characteristics are the elements or more precisely the excellences, which constitute ingredients of a specific *mārga* and differentiate it from the other. The ten excellences or *guṇa*-s elaborated by Daṇḍin in this context are the essential elements (*prāṇāḥ*) which characterise the *mārga* named

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1. काव्यशोभाकरान् धर्मानलङ्कारान् प्रचक्षते । *Ibid.,* II. 1
2. *Ibid.,* I.40: 101.
3. *Ibid.,* I.101-102.
4. *Ibid.,* I.40.

Vaidarbha by him, while the *viparyaya* of these excellences is generally noticed, he says, in the other *mārga* termed Gauḍa[1].

These ten *guṇa*-s or excellences are as followos[2] :

1. *Śleṣa*, compactness or the quality of being well-knit resulting from an absence of laxity (*śaithilya*).
2. *Prasāda*, lucidity or the use of words easy of comprehension and free from affectation.
3. *Samatā*, evenness or harmony in the grouping of word-sounds which may be soft, harsh or of moderate effect.
4. *Mādhurya*, sweetness or the elegance consisting (i) in alliteration technically called *śrutyanuprāsa*, and (ii) in the absence of indecency in expression.
5. *Sukumāratā*, softness consisting in the absence of harshness, due to the employment mostly of soft vocables, with the implied use of harsh vocables also here and there.
6. *Arthavyakti*, preciseness of expression or the explicitness of full meaning brought about by an absence of implicitness of sense.
7. *Udāratva*, sublimity consisting (i) in ideal elevation in the form of expression of some high merit or virtue and (ii) in the employment of high-wrought epithets.
8. *Ojas*, the force brought about by the presence or profusion of compounds, which is regarded as the essence of prose.
9. *Kānti*, grace or the quality of agreeableness due to conformity to the general linguistic usage, that is, absence of the unnatural, the exaggerated and the grotesque.
10. *Samādhi*, metaphorical expression or transference of the attributes of one thing to another, exalted by Daṇḍin as the quintessence of all poetic expression.

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1. श्लेषः प्रसादः समता माधुर्यं सुकुमारता ।
अर्थव्यक्तिरुदारत्वमोजःकान्तिसमाधयः ॥
इति वैदर्भमार्गस्य प्राणा दश गुणाः स्मृताः ।
एषां विपर्ययः प्रायो दृश्यते गौडवर्त्मनि ।

Ibid., I. 41-42

2. *Ibid.*, I.41 (cited above). For their detailed examination, see D. K. Gupta : *A Critical Study of Daṇḍin and his Works*, pp. 148 ff.

The enumeration, as also the elaboration, to some extent, of these excellences, was taken by Daṇḍin from the tradition coming down from Bharata. But while Bharata treats them independently of the poetic diction and regards them as general excellences to be observed in a poetic composition as a whole, Daṇḍin relates them, perhaps for the first time, to his concept of the poetic diction. He converts, in effect, Bharata's excellences of a poetic composition in general into particular characteristics of the Vaidarbha diction. It may imply that the Vaidarbha *mārga*, endued with all the ten excellences as it is, formed, in his opinion, an ideal poetic composition.

The dictum that the *viparyaya* or transposition of these *guṇa*-s exists generally in the Gauḍa *mārga* implies that while some of the *guṇa*-s characterise the two *mārga*-s in their identical form others do so in their transformed position. The excellences which may be said to characterise both the *mārga*-s in their identical form are *mādhurya, arthavyakti, udāratva, ojas* and *samādhi*. Whereas in the Vaidarbha diction the presence of the ten *guṇa*-s is essential, in the other diction the above five *guṇa*-s and the changed form of the remaining five, namely, *śleṣa, prasāda, samatā, sukumāratā* and *kānti*, are observed, and are observed casually[1].

The word *viparyaya* of Daṇḍin may be taken to denote twofold meaning, viz., *vaiparītya* or contrariety, as Taruṇavācaspati, a Daṇḍin's commentator, takes it, and *anyathātva* or the transformed position which may not be the opposite form, as the *Hṛdayaṃgamā*, an anonymous commentary on Daṇḍin's work, does. The first meaning may be objected to on the plea that since the ten *guṇa*-s are expressive of aesthetic charm their opposites must essentially refer to grotesqueness and hence be defects, and this being the case the Gauḍa diction may not come within the purview of *kāvya*. But the instances of this diction cited by Daṇḍin are, indeed, specimens of good poetry. Answering the above objection, Dr Nagendra says that in Daṇḍin's opinion the *viparyaya*-s or the opposite forms of the *guṇa*-s do not constitute defects; the *viparyaya*-s like *vyutpannatā* (use of vocables in their derivative sense) and *dīpti* (glaringness) are certainly not defects. Any form of verbal arrangement, whether compounded or otherwise or compressed or expanded, does not by itself elevate or diminish the charm of a *kāvya*; it may constitute an excellence or a defect according to the subject-matter and the idea. Thus the opposites of the excellences are not at all synonymous with defects, though they may not imply embellishment in the same degree as the excellences like *śleṣa*,

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1. *Kāvyādarśa*, I.42 (cited above).

prasāda etc. do. In the *viparyaya*-s illustrated by Daṇḍin, the sense of contrariety appears as a rule, though in some examples it exists only partially as in *vyutpannatā*, and in others it is complete, as for instance in *śaithilya*[1].

As a matter of fact, the interpretation as *anyathātva* (changed form) given by the *Hṛdayaṃgamā* conveys this very sense. The idea of contrariety, either partial or complete, comes within the precincts of the *anyathātva*. The jurisdiction of *anyathātva* is decidedly wider than that of *vaiparītya*, for whereas all *viparīta* forms can be called *anyathā* forms not all the *anyathā* forms could be termed as *viparīta* forms. This interpretation obviates the possibility of the *anyathā* forms being defects, for the opposites of *guṇa*-s may be defects but the changed forms may not necessarily form defects.

As said above, the idea of *anyathātva* or transformed position of the *guṇa*-s has been visualised by Daṇḍin within the scope of the *kāvya*. Hence the transformed position of *prasāda*, *kānti* and *sukumāratā* has not been spoken of as *kliṣṭatva* (obscurity), *asvābhāvikatva* (unnaturalness) and *śrutikaṭutva* (acoustic unpleasantness) respectively, for in that case these opposites would have gone out of the sphere of *kāvya* and entered the arena of defects. On the contrary, the elements of the use of derivative sense (*vyutpannatā*), exaggeration (*atyukti*) and glaringness (*dīpti*) have been recognised respectively as the *viparyaya* of these excellences and they do come within the fold of poetry.

What has been said above should make it clear that the Gauḍa *mārga* consists in the observance of the excellence, (i) *mādhurya* (sweetness born of alliteration and also caused by avoidance of indecency), (ii) *arthavyakti* (explicitness of sense), (iii) *udāratva* (expression of some high merit or use of hig-sounding epithets), (iv) *samādhi* (metaphorical expression), and (v) *ojas* (force brought about by the use of profuse compounds), the last of these having been patronised in this diction in poetry also[2]. Besides these five *guṇa*-s which are observed in the two dictions in their identical form, the other five *guṇa*-s are noticed in the Gauḍa *mārga* in their transformed position. Thus, (i) *śleṣa* comes in its transformed position as *śaithilya* which, though of course not acceptable in normal course by the Gauḍas, is to be allowed by them if it comes in association with alliteration or display of verbal jingle. (ii) *Prasāda* appears in this diction in its transformed position as *vyutpannatva*, i.e. the use of words in

1. *Bhāratīya Kāvyaśāstra kī Bhūmikā* (Delhi, 1963), pp. 26-27,
2. *Kāvyādarśa*, I,82-83,

their derivative sense (e.g. in विजितात्मभवद्वेषिगुरुपादहतो जनः । हिमापहामित्रधरैर्व्याप्तं व्योमाभिनन्दति ॥[1] (iii) *Samatā* comes in its transformed position as *viṣamatā* or absence of evenness of dictions which may be of three types, viz., soft, harsh and moderate ones. (iv) The transformed form of *sukumāratā* is *dīpti*, consisting in the use of vocables which are not easy to pronounce but are welcomed as producing grandeur in the Gauḍa path. Finally, (v) the changed form of *kānti* is *atyukti* or exaggeration which transgresses the general limits of the worldly usage.

The foregoing discussion on the constituents of the two *mārga*-s sets forth the respective eharacteristics of the two dictions in a broadly defined form. According to this, the Vaidarbha diction consists in (i) softness and compactness in the arrangement of words and letters and their compounds; (ii) harmony or uniformity in the use of vocables; (iii) perspicuity and completeness of meaning exressed; (iv) sweetness in the sequence of words and letters and agreeableness of sense; (v) expression of exalted ideas in their natural form; (vi) ornateness of diction; and (vii) metaphorical expression. This may well be illustrated by the following verse:

पयोधरतटोत्सङ्गलग्नसन्ध्यातपांशुका ।
कस्य कामातुरं चेतो वारुणी न करिष्यति ॥[2]

Whose heart does the Western Quarter fail to fill with passion, clad that it is in the garment of the evening twilight laid out on its bosom of clouds ?

The Gauḍa diction, on the other hand, displays the following main characteristics : (i) ruggedness in the arrangement of words and letters; (ii) the quality of forcefulness brought about by a free and frequent use of compounds; (iii) sweetness born of alliteration; (iv) verbosity observed with a view to producing charm in the expression of ideas, even if it results in ambiguity or unintelligibility of sense; (v) exalted and richly embroidered diction; and (vi) exaggerated expression. This diction may be illustrated by the following verse :

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1. The meaning of the verse is : A person tormented by the rays of the father of the enemy of the son of the one vanquished by Garuḍa (i.e. *the sun* who is the father of Karṇa who is an enemy of Arjuna, the son of Indra who was once vanquished by Garuḍa) greets with pleasure the sky overcast with the holders of the enemy of the destroyer of cold (i.e. *the clouds* which hold the waters which are the enemy of fire which destroys cold). *Ibid.*, III.120.
2. *Ibid.*, I.84.

अस्तमस्तकपर्यस्तसमस्तार्कांशुसंस्तरा ।
पीनस्तनस्थिताताम्रवस्त्रेवाभाति वारुणी ॥[1]

With the sheet of sun's rays spread over the top of the setting mountain, the Western Quarter shines as though possessed of a red garment placed on the plumpy breasts of a lady.

This verse expresses almost the same idea as the one exemplifying the Vaidarbha diction cited above.

It is clear from the demarcation, drawn above, of the respective characteristics of the two dictions that whereas the Vaidarbha *mārga* insists on tenderness, compactness and force in the arrangement of words and on evenness of diction and demands limpidity and explicitness as also sublimity and spontaneity of emotions and ornateness in expression and, above all, emphasises sweetness both of word and sense and proportion and propriety, the Gauḍa path prefers fervidity and harshness and alliteration and allows for its sake laxity and unevenness of diction to creep in, and though favouring explicitness of sense permits obscurity for verbal jingle and delights in bombast and elaboration and in hyperbolic expression.

Although much water has flowed after Daṇḍin in the rivulet of the concept of *mārga* or *rīti*[2], yet what he has said on this behalf has still its own brilliance and wisdom, and it is, therefore, no wonder that it has had a ringing echo and a deep impact on the later course of the development of the concept from a naive doctrine to a systematic theory in Sanskrit poetics.

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1. *Ibid.*, I.82
2. For a history of the later development of the concept, see D. K. Gupta : "Sanskrit Kāvyaśāstra mein Rīti-siddhānta kā Itihāsa-darśana" in *Adhyayana-mālā*, VI-VII (*Anveṣaṇā*), Lal Bahadur Shastri Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth, New Delhi, 1977-78, pp. 106-131.

SOME PURĀṆIC RECORDS ON INDO-IRANIAN LITERATURE AND LANGUAGES*

S. G. Kantawala

Purāṇas form a vast bulk of the Sanskrit Literature and are not only very important for the religious and cultural history of ancient and mediaeval India but also as preservers of references of ancient Indian literature as well as of literatures and languages of the surrounding communities and nations. This is so because a Purāṇa is *purā navaṃ bhavati* i.e. literally, the old becomes the new i.e. to say the Purāṇas have been very dynamic and growing in their character and as such they have recorded the old incidents, events, literature etc., in their own typical way, style and language and as such literary sources of history they cannot be ignored.

Various religious faiths e.g. Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc., were practised by different sects and communities in ancient and mediaeval India and one of them is the solar worship and the hymns to Sun are as old as the *Ṛgveda* wherein Viṣṇu, Pūṣan, Sūrya, Aryaman and Mitra are classed as solar deities by the Vedic mythologists. With the passage of time there arose the sun-cult and their followers came to be known as *Saura*-s. With the indigenous sun-worship there came to be mingled the foreign elements on the immigration of the foreigners in India and this is recorded in Epics and several Purāṇic works, e.g. *Sāmba-Purāṇa, Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa, Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, Viṣṇudharmottara, Skanda-Purāṇa, Brahma-Purāṇa, Matsya-Purāṇa* etc.

There is a plethora of literature on the subject and hence in this article it is proposed to restrict the discussion of the Indo-Iranian literary and linguistic legacy embedded in the Purāṇas, especially, with reference to the *Bhaviṣya* and

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the *Sāmba-Purāṇa*-s, as they are technically called the *Saura* Purāṇic works. "The extant Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa cannot be placed earlier than about the 6th or 7th Century A.D." and the *Sāmba-Purāṇa,* an Upapurāṇa, may be placed between 500 A.D. and 800 A.D. according to R. C. Hazra, who remarks that "the above date is certainly not the date of all its chapters" and some of its chapters are dateable between 700 A.D. and 950 A.D. and some even after 950 A.D. to 1500 A.D.

The *Sāmba-Purāṇa* and the *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa* preserve an important record of the immigration of the Maga-priests from Iran to India in the Sāmba-episode which is briefly summarised as follows :

Sāmba, the son of Kṛṣṇa and Jāmbavatī, was cursed by his father Kṛṣṇa to suffer from leprosy on account of his objectionable behaviour with Kṛṣṇa's other wives who were passionately attracted towards him on account of his enviable maddening beauty, when he and Kṛṣṇa's other wives were found so on an occasion engineered by Nārada. Kṛṣṇa cursed his wives that they would have no place in his realm and that they would be kidnapped by the robbers. It may be noted here that the *Matsya-Purāṇa* has a version of Sāmba and Kṛṣṇa's other wives falling in his love on account of his extremely enticing beauty and the latter being cursed by Kṛṣṇa. The *Matsya-Purāṇa* is unaware of Sāmba being cursed by Kṛṣṇa.

From Nārada Sāmba learns the remedy of his leprosy. He worships the Sun who is pleased to cure him and advises him to establish the image of the Sun on the banks of the river Candrabhāgā (Cenab) at Mūlasthāna i.e. Multan and to invite priests from Śākadvīpa for his worship. Sāmba goes and brings eighteen families of Maga priests as special Sun-priests for the worship of the Sun.

On analysis we find that this small episode contains many Iranian remnants. The image-worship of the Sun was introduced by the Magas in India. The image is said to be fashioned by Viśvakarman, who is in post-Vedic times conceived "as the artificer of gods". In the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* Viśvakarman is identified with Tvaṣṭṛ-Tvaṣṭar which finds a parallel in the Avestan θwōrəštar, "this is only the linguistic equivalent of the Vedic Tvaṣṭaṛ, but was at least in pre-Gāthic times the name of the same creative genius".

Śākadvīpa refers to Śakasthāna, the land of Śaka and denotes the whole north east Iran in general and at times the Hemaland region in particular. It may also be noted that the first member in the vocable Śakasthāna or

Śākadvīpa is proposed to be derived from *śak*, to be able, to be powerful, and thus it reflects upon the warlike character of Śakas.

There are different views about the linguistic history of the term Maga, which is generally connected with the term Maga, wherein the final vowel "*u*" is turned to "*a*" in the word Maga. The vocable "maga" comes from *mag* which is derivable from "*māgu*" as noted and this term i.e. "*mag*" had become with the passage of time an expression for priests in general i.e. it was a priest's title. It will be interesting to note here the popular etymology given by the *Sāmba-Purāṇa* by remarking that the Maga is so called because he meditates on the syllable "*Ma*" which stands for the Sun. The *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa* and the *Sāmba-Purāṇa* describe its social structure in terms of the traditional Indian structure, i.e. to say in terms of *cāturvarṇyavyavasthā*. The Magas are likened to Brahmins (*Brāhmaṇabhūyiṣṭhāḥ*), Māmagas to Kṣatriyas, Mānasas to Vaiśyas and Mandegas to Śūdras. It may be noted that there are *varie lectiones* of these terms in the Epic and Purāṇic texts. Raj Kumar Arora observes that this description is oversimplification and misrepresentation of the Iranian system. To this it may be pointed out that the Purāṇakāra is recording here the Iranian social system in terms of Indian social structure and from this point of view it is needless to be hypercritical about this Purāṇic tract, because Magas were priests and Brahmins were and are generally associated with priestly functions and duties over and above their other duties and functions. According to Stietenchron the Magas "were not Zoroastrians, but they knew the Mihr Yašt or rather Mihr Yašt reflects religious traditions that were current also among the Maga, who worshipped Mihira as a solar deity. The Māmagas are identical with the names Gog and Magog occurring in the Old Testament and their variants Yājūj and Mājūj figure in the *Qurān*.

In this connection the Sanskrit vocable *avyaṅga* may be noted here. The Magas are said to put on the *avyaṅga*, i.e. a girdle and it was put on by Magi priests of ancient Iran and the Sun-image has also an *avyaṅga* put on it. The term *avyaṅga* has an Avestan parallel in *aiwyāṅhana*. In the *Viṣṇudharmottara* the *varia lectio* of *avyaṅga* is *aviāṅga* and the *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa* has a term *ahyaṅga* by associating its origin from the body of *ahi*, serpent. From the wide spread Zorostrian cult the Magas adopted two Iranian terms viz. 1. *aiwyāṅhana*, 2. *parahaoma* which refers to a beverage of Soma-juice mixed with milk.

Another term met with for the Sun-priest is *bhojaka*. This is another group of Sun-worshipers which came much later in India than Maga did.

The *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa* and the *Sāmba-Purāṇa* give a popular etymology of the word *bhojaka*, when it derives it from √*bhuj* by remarking that he was so called, because they feed i.e. worship (*bhojayanti*) the Sun with incense, garlands, and other things. The word *yājaka* has been indiscriminately substituted for the word *bhojaka*. The Purāṇakāra follows here the Yāskan principle of derivation viz. *ākhyātajāni nāmāni*, i.e. nouns are derived from verbs. It is better to derive the vocable *bhojaka* from a Middle-Iranian form *bhōžak*, healer, saviour, cf. Armenian *bhužakan*, healing, rescuing, *bužak*, cure, liberation, mp., *božišn*. While describing the Bhojakas it is said that they carry a *varṣman* i.e. a bundle of twigs in their hand and cover their face with a veil called *patidāna*. The vocables *varṣman* and *patidāna* are backformations of the Avestan vocables *barəsman* and *paitidāna*.

Maga and Bhojaka are the progeny of Jaraśabda∼Jaraśastha according to the *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa*. The vocables *iaraśastra* are Sanskritisation of the vocable Zaraθuštra and it is to Zaraθuštra that Gāθās are attributed. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that M. A. Mehendale proposes to derive the vocable *Zaraθuštra* from *jarad-uṣṭra*.

One of the twelve names of the Sun (āditya) is Mitra which has an Avestan parallel in the vocable Miθra who is an important deity in the Avesta, wherein there is a beautiful hymn in his honour (Yašt X). In this connection the reference to the *Mitravana*, where Sāmba lived gains insignificance, because the first member of the word has an Avestan parallel in the vocable *Miθra*. Another name of the Sun is *Mihira*<Parthian word *myhr* (pronouunced as *mihr*) which means sun and it has gone with this meaning as a loan word into New Persian where it is to be distinguished from its homonym *mihr* "love, friendship, affection, kindness", which is connected with the Vedic *mitra* 'friend'. The Indian tradition tries to derive it from √*mih*, to sprinkle[1]. Here the word *māṭhara* may also be noted. Kāla is said to stand on the South of the Sun under the names Jāndakāra and Māṭhara, possibly the vocable *māṭhara* may be derived from the Avestan Māθra. Amongst the Sun's attendants a mention may be made of Srauṣa and Rājña and they have their Avestan counterparts in Sraoša and Rāšnu respectively.

Aryaman is one of the Vedic gods associated with the Vedic Mitra and Aryaman is one of the twelve names of Sūrya. Paul Thieme tries to find a parallel "in the *airyaman* in the Gāθā of Zoroaster" and according to him

1. Cf., *miheti secane dhātuḥ mehanāt mihiraḥ*.

aryaman means hospitality and in this regard he compares the New Persian *ērmān*, "guest".

Thus the aforegoing discussion brings out how the Purāṇas have registered the Iranian literary and linguistic material, while dealing with the Magianised Indian Sun-worship.

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VĀRĀHA ŚRAUTA SŪTRA I. 7 : CĀTURMĀSYĀNI
A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL STUDY

C. G. Kashikar

The *Vārāha Śrautasūtra* (=*VārŚS*) belonging to the *Maitrāyaṇī* recension of *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda* was published by Caland and Raghuvira (Lahore 1933). The edition was based on the MS. No. 11234 called "Press Copy" of the *Sūtra*-text deposited in the M. S. University Oriental Institute, Baroda. This MS. is really a transcript of MS. No. 680 in the same Library. I had an opportunity to study this original MS. It was my privilege to procure another manuscript of the same *Sūtra*-text.[1] Even though both these MSS. belong to one and the same tradition, the MS. procured by me exhibits a few better readings. I have called the MS. No. 680 as 'B' and the other MS. as 'N.' With the help of these two MSS. in particular, I have already presented a critical and exegetical study of *VārŚS* I. 1-6.[2] The study is continued in the following pages in which emendations to *VārŚS* I. 7 : *Cāturmāsyāni* have been suggested.

I. 7. 1. जुगुप्सेतानृतात् N reads जुगुप्सतेऽनृतात् This is preferable in view of the neighbouring present forms : न स्त्रियमुपैति नोपर्यास्ते and प्राङ् शेते मध्वश्नाति ऋतौ भार्यामुपैति ।[3] But *MānŚS* I. 7. 2. 25 reads जुगप्सेत ।

1. For a description of the manuscript, cf. "A Rare Manuscript of the *Vārāha* School" *Kavirāja Abhinandana Grantha* pp. 14-16; Lucknow 1967.
2. (i) "The revised *Sautrāmaṇī* text of the *Vārāha Śrauta Sūtra* (III.2.7-8) *J B B R A S.*, Vol. XXVI No. 1 pp. 10-20, Bombay 1950. (ii) "A critical and exegetical study of the *Vārāha Śrauta Sūtra* I.1-3" *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Silver Jubilee Volume, pp. 229-241; Madras, 1962. (iii) "Further Notes on the *Vārāha Śrautasūtra* I.1-3, *V. Raghavan Felicitation Volume*, pp. 193-198; Delhi, 1975. (iv) "A critical and Exegetical Study of the Ritualistic *Sūtras* : *Vārāha Śrautasūtra* I.4-5 *Vimarśa* Vol. I. part 3 pp. 85-88, Tirupati, 1972. (v) "A Text-critical study of the *Vārāha Śrautasūtra* I.6. *Vishweshvarananda Indological Journal*, Vol. XII. Nos. 1&2, pp. 162-167; Hoshiarpur, 1975.
3. Cf. *BhārŚS*. 8.4.14.

1. 7. 1. सर्वेष्वन्तरालव्रतानि ।। वैश्वदेवोत्तराणि सहपञ्चसञ्चराणि ।। पर्वाणि व्याख्यातानि । N. rightly reads वैश्वदेवेनोत्तराणि instead of वैश्वदेवोत्तराणि । Only a closing portion of the first *khaṇḍa* is available and it forms six *sūtra*-s in the opinion of the Editors. The three *sūtra*-s quoted here should really make two *sūtra*-s :

सर्वेष्वन्तरालव्रतानि ।। वैश्वदेवेनोत्तराणि सहपञ्चसञ्चराणि पर्वाणि व्याख्यातानि ।

The translation would be : "With regard to all the (*Parvan*-s) the vows are to be observed during the intermittant period. The subsequent *Parvan*-s (that is the three *Parvan*-s following the *Vaiśvadeva-parvan*), involving the five *saṃcara* offerings should be regarded as explained by the *Vaiśvadevaparvam*".[1]

I. 7. 2. 2. प्रतिप्रस्थाता.....Read प्रतिप्रस्थाता . . .

I. 7. 2. 3-4. प्रतिप्रस्थातुः पयसि ।।३।। पूर्वंकर्माध्वर्योरारात् ।।४।।

These are really to be read as one *sūtra* :

प्रतिप्रस्थातुः पयसि पूर्वं कर्माध्वर्योरारात्

The preceding *sūtra* speaks about the driving away of the calves by the *Pratiprasthātṛ* and the *Adhvaryu* in connection with the two *Āmikṣā*-s respectively for the Maruts and Varuṇa. The *sūtra* under reference prescribes that "in connection with the milk (i. e. milking of the cow and curdling of the milk) the *Pratiprasthātṛ*'s functioning takes place first, and the *Adhvaryu*'s functioning takes place subsequently."[5]

I. 7. 2. 9. उत्तरस्यामुत्तरवेदिसंभागन्न्युप्याहवनीयादग्नी प्रणयतः ।। This is really to be read as two *sūtra*-s :

उत्तरस्यामुत्तरवेदिः ।। सम्भारान्न्युप्याहवनीयादग्नी प्रणयतः ।।

The MS. of the Editors as also N read °मुत्तरवेदिः which is the correct reading. *Sūtra*-s 6-8 lay down the preparation of two *Vedi*-s—one towards the north and another towards the south in the *Varuṇapraghāsaparvan*. The *sūtra*-s under reference prescribe : "(There should be prepared) an *Uttaravedī* within the northern (*Vedi*). After (the *Adhvaryu*) has poured down the *Sambhāra*-s (on the navel of the *Uttaravedī*[6] the *Adhvaryu* and the *Pratiprasthātṛ*) carry forth their respective fires from the *Āhavanīya*."

I. 7. 2. 11, 12. अग्रेणोत्तरां वेदिं प्रतिप्रस्थातान्तरा वेदी प्रतिप्रस्थातृ ।।११।। पात्राणि प्रयुनक्ति ।।१२।।

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1. Cf. *Mān ŚS.* I.7.3.2 : वैश्वदेविकं विधानम् ।
2. Cf. *VārŚS.* I.7.5.28: प्रतिप्रस्थातुः पशौ पूर्वं कर्माध्वर्योरारात् ।
3. Cf. *VārŚS.* I.6.1.3.6.

These *sūtra*-s are wrongly separated. They should be read as :
अग्रेणोत्तरां वेदिं प्रतिप्रस्थातृ ॥११॥ आन्तरा वेदी प्रतिप्रस्थाता पात्राणि प्रयुनक्ति ॥१२॥
According to *sūtra* 10 (the *Adhvaryu*) gives out a call (to the *Hotṛ*) to recite verses while the two fires are being carried forth. The fire is normally to be carried forth by moving along the north. The *Adhvaryu* can easily do so. There is a difficulty for the *Pratiprasthātṛ* in carrying forth his fire because there is the *Adhvaryu*'s *Vedi* to the north of his. The *sūtra*, therefore, lays down that the *Pratiprasthātṛ* should move along the front of the northern *Vedi*.

Then there is a question about the arranging of the sacrificial implements. These are normally to be arranged towards the north of the *Vedi*. There is no problem for the *Adhvaryu* in this behalf. In the case of the *Pratiprasthātṛ* there is the *Adhvaryu's Vedi* towards the north. So where should he arrange his implements ? The *sūtra* lays down that he should arrange them with the region between the two *Vedi*-s, not to the north of the *Adhvaryu*'s *Vedī*.

The Editors have remarked in their note that "the *sūtra* is corrupt". As explained above, the *sūtra*-s, when properly separated, yield correct meaning.

I. 7. 2. 15. आमन्त्रणादिप्राणीताः सम्प्रैषान्मारुतीवर्जं निर्मथ्यं प्रचरतिमिडामित्यध्वर्युरेव पत्नीसंयाजप्रभृति....।

The editors have noted this *sūtra* as corrupt. Mainly it is obscure. Perhaps it is intended to record the rites to be performed by both the *Adhvaryu* and the *Pratiprasthātṛ* and also by the *Adhvaryu* alone. The word आमन्त्रणादि may denote the inviting formula and the response in connection with the partaking of the remnants of *Vājina*. The word प्रणीत: (not प्रणीता:) may indicate that both the priests are to carry forth their respective *praṇītā*-goblets. The word सम्प्रैष may refer to the modified call आज्येन दध्ना चोदेहि to be uttered by both. The purpose of the word मारुतीवर्जं is not clear. Both the priests are required to churn out fire and deposit it into their respective fire-places, and both are required to invoke the *Iḍā*. The rites beginning with Patnīsaṃyājas are to be performed by the *Adhvaryu* alone.

I. 7. 2. 17. पञ्च सञ्चराण्यैन्द्राग्नो द्वादशकपालो मारुत्यामिक्षा वारुण्यामिक्षा कामं एककपालो वाजिनमिति हवींषि ॥

N. supplies वाजिनां before वाजिनम् which is essential in view of the fact that in the case of all other oblations the relevant deity is mentioned. The oblation of *Vājina* (whey) belongs to the *Vājin*-s.

I. 7. 2. 21 उत्तरैः परिग्राहैः परिगृह्य दक्षिणस्या वेद्या उत्तरस्याः श्रोण्या अध्युत्तरस्या आ दक्षिणादंसात् स्फ्येन वेदीं संभिनत्ति ॥

N. reads दक्षिणस्मात् instead of दक्षिणात्[1] and दक्षिणस्मिन् in *sūtra*-s 27 and 30 of the same *Khaṇḍa*.[2]

I. 7. 3. 18 ओदनान् प्रतिवेशा पचन्ते गाश्च घ्नते ॥

N. reads प्रतिवेशाः : One expects प्रतिवेशान् as the adjective of ओदनान्[3] In the *Gṛhamedhīyeṣṭi* extra rice is to be cooked for the use of the sacrificer's wife and the guests.

I. 7. 3. 21 पुरा प्रातरग्निहोत्राद्गार्हपत्ये शरो निष्काषपूर्णां दर्वीं (पूर्णा दर्वे) परापतेत्यृषभमाह्वयते ।

N. reads...दर्वीं जुहोति पूर्णा दर्वीं (? दर्वे) परापतेति । The word जुहोति appropriately provides the verb for the object दर्वीं. The remaining two words ऋषभमाह्वयते form a separate *sūtra*. The meaning is : "1. Prior to the morning *Agnihotra*-offering (the *Adhvaryu*) offers on the *Gārhapatya* fire the ladleful of cream and scrapings (of the cooked rice) with the verse *pūrṇā darve parāpata*.... 2. He calls out the bull". The ladleful is to be offered in the *Krīḍiniṣṭi*.

I. 7. 3. 26 पुरस्तात् स्विष्टकृतोऽग्ने वेर्होत्रमित्यभिघारयति ।

In place of अभिघारयति N. reads आघारयति which is the correct reading. The *sūtra* means : "Before the *Sviṣṭakṛt* offering (the *Adhvaryu*) offers an *āghāra* libation (on the *Āhavanīya* fire) with the formula *agne ver hotram*[10]...

I. 7. 4. 1 पितृयज्ञेऽग्रेण दक्षिणाग्निं वेदिमुद्धरति ।

Instead of उद्धरति N. reads उद्धरन्ति which is a better reading. The singular form उद्धरति would mean that the *Adhvaryu* himself draws out the *Vedi*. This, however, is not an essential duty of the *Adhvaryu*. The *Vedī* may be drawn out by somebody, which sense is obtained by the plural उद्धरन्ति[11] ॥

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1. Cf. उत्तरस्या : in the same *Sūtra*.
2. Cf. *MānŚS*. I.8.1-6.
3. Cf. *VārŚS*. I.7.3.15. प्रतिवेशमोदनं पचति; *MS*. I.10.15 अपि प्रतिवेशं पचेत् ।
4. Cf. *MānŚS*. I.7.5.33- अग्ने वेर्होत्रमिति चतुर्गृहीतस्य स्तौत्रमाघारमाघारयति । Also *BhārŚS*. 8.15.5.
5. Cf. *sūtra* 5. उत्तरां प्रतिवेदिश्रोणिं द्वारं कुर्वन्ति ।

I. 7. 4. 4 समं चतुरश्रं परिश्रयति । Instead of समं N. reads समन्त which is obviously intended for समन्तम् । The two words, namely, समं and चतुरश्रं are adverbs. The word समं would mean "in a level". This character does not suit the *Vedī* in the *Pitṛyajña*. The word समन्तं gives the appropriate meaning. The *sūtra* means : "The *Adhvaryu* strews *darbha*-blades around the *Vedi* on all four sides".[1]

I. 7. 4. 53 अभिमदन्त पितर इति परिश्रितं प्रपद्याञ्जनाभ्यञ्जनदशानिह्वनमिति कृत्वा परेतन पितर इति त्रिरप: परिषिञ्चन् पर्येति । Instead of निह्वन N. reads निन्हवन correctly निह्नवन । The word निह्वन which may be derived from नि + √ह्वे is not attested. The word निह्नवन is derived from नि + √ह्नु and means "begging pardon". It suits the context.[2]

I. 7. 4. 55 अक्षन्नमीमदन्तेति पत्न्यग्निं मनस्वतीश्च प्रत्यायन्ति । One would expect to read– अक्षन्नमीमदन्तेति पङ्क्त्या मनस्वतीभिश्च प्रत्यायन्ति । "(The *Adhvaryu*, *Brahman*, sacrificer and the *Āgnīdhra* mentally) return with the *Paṅkti* verse *akṣan namīmadanta*... and the *manasvatī* verses.[3]

I. 7. 4. 67. पतिकामापि वा. One expects the dative पतिकामायै वा The preceding *sūtra* says that during the *Tryambaka* rite each of the relatives tosses a cake and gives it over to the sacrificer. The *sūtra* 67 adds : "alternatively to (a daughter) desirous of a husband".

I. 7. 5. 7 उदकमन्ववसाय तस्योदकार्थाम् कुर्वीत । Instead of उदकम् N. reads वरस्यमुदकं which probably stands for वर्ष्यमुदकम् *MānŚS* ;[4] *BhārŚS* ;[5] and *ĀpŚS*[6] read वर्ष्यमुदकम् । The *sūtra* which is related to the *Śunāsirīyaparvan*

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1. Cf. *VārŚS*. I.7.4.22— समन्तं बर्हिस्त्रि: स्तृणन् पर्येति । Also *ŚBr*.III.6.7.1— अथ परिव्ययणं प्रति समन्तं परिमृशति । and *KS*. 27.5— समन्त परिहृत्य भक्षयति though in different contexts.
2. Cf. *ŚBr*. III.4.3— अथ प्रस्तरे निह्नुवते ।
3. *MS*. I.10.3; Cf. *VārŚS*. I.2.3.33— उभौ मनस्वतीर्मनोन्वाहुनामह इति तिस्र: । *MS*. I.10.19 यत् पङ्क्त्या पुनरायन्ति सहैव यज्ञेनायन्ति मनस्वतीभिरायन्ति मन एव पुनरुपह्वयन्ते; *MānŚS*. I.1.2.39-40— अक्षन्नमीमदन्तेति पुनरेति ।। मनस्वतीर्जपन्नग्ने नयचेत्येतया गार्हपत्यमुपतिष्ठते ।
4. IV.3.3.
5. VII.25.7.
6. VIII.22.6.

means that having reached a place provided with rain-water, one should serve his purpose of water with that water. The *sūtra* would not yield any sense unless we add वर्ष्यम् to it.

I. 7. 5. 12, 13 यथाकालमतिप्रतिषिद्धान् ॥१८॥ पशुना चातुर्मास्यकान् धर्मान् करोति ॥१३॥

Each of these two *sūtra*-s, taken separately, does not yield full meaning. The two *sūtra*-s need to be read as a single *sūtra*. The unified *sūtra* means. "(The *Adhvaryu*) observes at the relevant time the rules prescribed for the *Cāturmāsya*-s so as not to be contradicted by (the rites of) the animal."

I. 7. 5. 17 सहामिक्षावपामभिघारयति ।

Instead of आभिक्षावपाम् one expects आभिक्षावपम् a *Samāhāradvandva* compound (*āmikṣā* and omentum).[1]

The *sūtra* means : "(In the *Vaiśvadevaparvan* of the *Pāśukacāturmāsya*-s the *Adhvaryu*) pours clarified butter on the *āmikṣā* and the omentum at one and the same time."

I. 7. 5. 22. सहस्विष्टकृत प्रैषवत् सहेडा...। Read °वानसहेडा In the *Vaiśvadeva-parvan* of the *Pāśukacāturmāsya*-s the *Adhvaryu* should offer the *Paśupuroḍāśa* prior to the *Sviṣṭakṛt*-offering. The *Sviṣṭakṛt*-offering which is a combination of the *Vaiśvadevaparvan*-oblations and the *Paśupuroḍāśa* requires the *Praiṣa* given by the Maitrāvaruṇa in connection with the *yājyā* for the *Sviṣṭakṛt*. The *Iḍā* pertaining to the *Parvan*-oblations and *Paśupuroḍāśa* is also to be invoked combinedly.

I. 7. 5. 30. समानमुभयोः कर्मः N. reads पशुकर्म instead of कर्म । The N. reading is preferable. The topic concerned is the *Varuṇapraghāsaparvan* of the *Pāśukacāturmāsya*-s. So far as the rite of the *Iṣṭi*-type is concerned, the *Sviṣṭakṛt*-offering has already taken place and the subsequent rite of *Iḍā* is mentioned in a *sūtra* that succeeds. As for the rite of the animal, omentum has been offered, and the cutting of the organs accompanied by the *Mantra*-recitation is mentioned in the immediately following *sūtra*. What remains in between is the cooking of the animal-organs which is to be understood by the present *sūtra*.[2]

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1. Cf. *VārŚS*. 1.7.5.19— सहामिक्षावपेन प्रचरति; I.7.5.29— प्रतिप्रस्थातामिक्षावपेन पूर्वं प्रचरति

2. Cf. 1.7.5.23 : समानमान्तात् पशुकर्म ।

THE ROLE OF POPULAR SANSKRIT IN INDIA

S. M. Katre

In the *Śabdānuśāsana* of Pāṇini, more popularly known as the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, which is primarily devoted to a descriptive grammar of the current speech of the elite of his time and region, he refers to three stages of the language by citing, where necessary, variations in the language of the Vedas and the colloquial or spoken Sanskrit which he qualifies by the term *bhāṣā*. Indeed his mention of earlier linguists in his aphorisms, according to Pāṇinīyas, is either honorific or for the purpose of indicating optional application of the rules stipulated. We may consider some of these as dialectal or regional variations. Indeed Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* indicates that variations do occur on a regional basis (e.g. *vartakā śakunau prācām*, etc.) or currency of different expressions for a given meaning (e.g. *hammati, raṃhati* and *śavati* and *gam-* to denote the sense of 'go, move', etc.) in different regions, attesting to dialectal variations in the language. We have thus three varieties of Sanskrit: Vedic, Classical (as spoken by the learned or elite of Pāṇini's time and region, modified by Kātyāyana and other writers of *Vārttika*-s and further modified by Patañjali, reflecting the usages current in their regions and times). Kātyāyana is referred to as a southerner (*dākṣiṇātya*) by Patañjali, while Patañjali himself is an easterner.

It has long been recognized that both Vedic and Classical Sanskrit (as current among the speech of the elite educated class) show dialectal differences as the language spread over India after the migration of Aryans from the Middle East into this sub-continent between the third and the second millennia B.C. That they came in waves at different periods has been assumed to show the relationship between peripheral and central New Indo-Aryan languges. What is perhaps a curious state of development was in relation to the growth of Middle Indo-Aryan languages and dialects, traces of which are to be found in the literature of Hīnayāna Buddhism (Pāli) or of the Jainas (Ardhamāgadhī and other dialects) and in the inscriptions of Aśoka

since the 3rd century B.C. In the Prākrit inscriptions which follow this period, as well as in the Sanskrit plays, we notice the use of these MIA dialects which exhibit a predilection to avoid *tatsama* words and both in phonology deviate from the Sanskrit pattern consistently. To offset this peculiar transition the Sanskrit compositions of Mahāyāna Buddhist texts as well as the Sanskrit commentaries on the Jain Āgamas exhibit a variety of Sanskrit which differs materially from the classical pattern, necessitating modern scholars to recognize two varieties of Sanskrit designated Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit and Jain (Hybrid) Sanskrit, standing midway between classical Sanskrit and Middle Indo-Aryan dialects and literary languages. With the first appearance of Sanskrit inscriptions and the renaissance of Sanskrit in the early centuries of the Christian Era when the greatest Sanskrit authors flourished, there appears a subtle change, though some really fine Prākrit and Apabhraṃśa works were also produced during the first ten centuries of this Era. This was also the period when with the expansion of Jainism, literary production in different regional languages was encouraged, particularly in the Dravidian linguistic area. We see the dominant position Sanskrit had in this region, since particularly in Kannada, Malayalam and Telugu Sanskrit loan-words predominate to a great extent.

With the first appearance of New Indo-Aryan literature from the tenth century onwards, we notice that Sanskrit loan-words are found in abundance, even in literature which was meant for the use of common people who were not acquainted with Sanskrit. The question arises as to whether this was a new feature in the linguistic history of the country where the *tadbhava* MIA forms were gradually emended by the OIA forms with their original phonological shapes or alternately the literary form of MIA was purely academic exercise of transforming OIA loans in their MIA phonological structure. Similarly Epic Sanskrit and the Sanskrit in the Purāṇas differs considerably from the classical form and exhibits traces of MIA linguistic development, though not to the same extent as Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. With the emergence of Sanskrit as a dominant literary medium in the early centuries of the Christian Era we have also inscriptions in mixed Sanskrit and Prākrit languages. It would thus appear feasible to consider that so far as the Indo-Aryan linguistic area was concerned, the features which characterise NIA literature were not something new happening, but only a continuation of the normal speech habits of their ancestors so far as actual oral communication was concerned. We may, therefore, assume, as more than probable, that a variety of speech forms exhibiting both *tatsama* and *tadbhava* forms existed in this oral communication system. Indeed Patañjali refers to such current spoken forms as *āṇapayati* (*ā-jñāpayati*) as reflecting the MIA form *āṇavedi*

which should not be admitted in standard speech. Scholars have already noted early Prākritisms in several Vedic forms, attesting to the gradual transformation of OIA to MIA even at such an early period. This can be easily perceived linguistically when the OIA Sanskrit developed its later features in the Indian sub-continent itself, particularly with the addition of the full retroflex series which was lacking before its incursion in India. The early influence of Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian has been studied seriously by several noted scholars and the contributions of Sylvain Lèvi, Jean Przyluski, Jules Bloch, Murray B. Eemeneau, Thomas Burrow and F. B. J. Kuiper, as well P. C. Bagchi and Suniti Kumar Chatterji bear enough evidence to prove this possibility. The extra-ordinary growth of words which do not belong to the Indo-European domain in Sanskrit shows how, while influencing other linguistic groups on a pan-Indian basis, it itself incorporated a large universe of new lexemes within the country of its subsequent growth.

It is thus legitimate to assume that the common means of oral communication is not represented by the MIA languages as attested in literary works or in OIA itself in its classical form, but was a medley of both, a continuous process which is seen in the current regional languages and dialects. This is precisely what may be termed as popular Sanskrit for want of a better name. Here we meet with not only pure *tadbhava* and *deśī* words (=words of the locality) but also *tatsama* words in abundance, known to the common people. While the Sanskrit described by Pāṇini and his successors is supposed to be what was in actual currency during their period and in their region among the elite speakers, it eschewed common forms which were not admitted in their current speech which they termed as *bhāṣā* and that is why Patañjali refers especially to the class of words beginning with *āṇapayati*; he also terms forms like *gāvi*, *goṇī*, *gotā*, *gopotalikā* as Apabhraṁśit- (not admitted within the standard speech) for the correct *go*, 'cow'. That the number of these *apaśabda*-s was more extensive than currently accepted standard forms is readily admitted by him with this illustration.

One of the most interesting features of such *tatsama* words in NIA is the new meanings attached to some of them not attested in Sanskrit literature. As an example we may cite *ceṣṭā* which in OIA means 'activity, movement' in general, but has developed the special significance of 'derison, making fun of' in Marathi in NIA and Kannada in the Dravidian area. A number of doctoral dissertations have been produced in this area to show these new meanings are attested in individual modern Indian languages.

The range of OIA words and their inherited *tadbhava* or semi-*tatsama* forms indicate a curious regional differentiation. Thus, for the notion

'bring' and 'take away, remove' we have *ā-nī- √nī-* in the peripheral area of IA, and *ā-hṛ-√hṛ-* Konkani, while in the central area we have *la-√*le-*(which Sir Ralph Turner in his *Comp. Dict. of I-A* associates with OIA. *labh-* contaminated with *dā-* and**de-√ne-* of MIA). A study of these differences is essential to understand the distribution of words and their usages on a regional basis.

Some of the *sandhi* rules of Sanskrit appear both in semi *tatsama* and pure *tadbhava* words of NIA along with those affecting MIA. As an example of both we may cite Konkani *āidāna* 'pot, pan, vessel' corresponding to OIA *āyatana-* with MIA voicing of intervocalic *-t-*. In one dialect of Konkani we have the forms *paḍ-tā*, 'falls down' contrasting with *paḷ-ḷo* (through **paḍ-lo*) showing that the law of retroflexion[1] does not operate in the first form while it applies to the second[2]; in opposition to this the Goan dialect of Konkani shows *paṭ-ṭā* for *paḍ-ṭā* but *paḍ-lo* for *paḷḷo*. Another interesting example of such semi-*tatsama*-s is Konkani *herdě*, 'heart' and *hārḍi*, 'akimbo' corresponding to *hṛdayam* contaminated with *hārdi-*; the first form results from a contamination of MIA *hiaa-* (**hidaya-*) and *hārdi-* while the second has the retroflexion replacement of *-d-* preceded by *r*. These are historical facts which cannot be overlooked as to what happens when standard OIA words are borrowed in the common spoken languages in actual usage. In this sense alone we can define Popular Sanskrit as a current medium of oral communication throughout the history of Indo-Aryan in its development from Old through Middle to New Indo-Aryan languages. The Sanskrit element continues to enrich the speech of ordinary communication. Pāṇini's descriptive grammar of Sanskrit became a prescriptive grammar when elite Sanskrit gave place to Popular Sanskrit in the period succeeding Pāṇini and determined the nature of Classical Sanskrit, while the *bhāṣa*-s assumed their MIA phonological framework in the prescriptive grammatical works which followed in the early centuries of the present era as Prākrit and Pāli grammars. Indeed the deep sense of relationship between MIA and OIA is specifically stated as the term *prākṛta-* 'derived from *prakṛti-* 'source, origin'. This tradition was even applied to Dravidian languages such as Kannada wherein it was claimed to be a derived form of a language having its source in Sanskrit like other Prākrit languages !

If we recognize this position of Popular Sanskrit as a *lingua franca* or *vox populi*, taking note of what has happened historically in the development of Indo-Aryan as well as Dravidian literature and the actual current speeches

1. *P*. 8.4.41.
2. *P*. 8.4.60.

or vernaculars, we cannot fail to recognize the importance of Sanskrit and its vast collection of linguistic material in the development of our national languages. In what manner did OIA transform itself into its MIA and NIA frame-work in relation to the vernacularisation of standard speech forms and in what way at the same time Sanskritisation took place over the whole range of the country, covering four distinct linguistic families, is important in evolving a policy of language engineering, which appears to be the immediate need for the development of our great regional languages to modernise themselves in this age of developing science and technology, affecting every fact of our daily life. There are several options open for consideration. Is it ever possible to make standard Sanskrit a medium of everyday communication, on the basis that Hebrew has been made the medium of communication among the Yiddish people? In a vast country of our size whose population is second only to that of China, boasting four families of languages, such a position appears almost impossible to achieve. But in the course of history these families have interacted with one another and a pan-Indian levelling of many linguistic features have been unconsciously achieved. A study of these with judicious use of Sanskrit elements on the lines which are indicated by the historical development of modern Indian languages will surely indicate what steps are needed to engineer the introduction of new terms and forms as may be required to satisfy the needs of modern science and technology and fast growing fields of knowledge.

Our nation is already aware of these problems and both the Union and State Governments are busy in their attempts to modernize our great languages of culture. In this field the work of Dr. Baburam Saksena has been significant, both as one of the first Indian linguist to master modern linguistic techniques and apply them to his own mother tongue, and as a deep scholar of Sanskrit throughout his life. The problems involved in introducing a massive number of coinage derived from Sanskrit elements in their OIA phonetic shape to represent moderen scientific and technical terminologies need to be studied carefully. To what extent will these effect the growth of our common means of daily communication is worthy of being followed, and how this may ultimately lead to the development of a common national language over the whole length and breadth of our multilingual community is a subject of deepest concern to all of us, and particularly those who specialize in linguistics. Whatever be the name by which such an over-all national language develops, it will still be a form of Popular Sanskrit.

THE PAṆIS IN THE ṚGVEDA

P. N. Kawthekar

In the *Ṛgveda,* we find a remarkable dialogue of Saramā and Paṇis. The entire dialogue denotes the Vedic legend of the ancient tribe named Paṇis.[1] We can be doubtful about Saramā whether she belonged to the canine group of animals. Personally I have expressed my gesture that Saramā was a woman who was deputed by Lord Indra of the Vedic age to trace the cows stolen by Paṇis and kept hidden at the headquarters of Paṇis. It is quite clear from the argument expounded by Saramā in reply to Paṇi's reaction to Indra's message that Saramā was a clever messenger of Lord Indra. For the first time Yāska depicted her as Devaśunī[2] but Śaunaka calls her as Dūtyaindrī only.[3] Other commentators also follow Yāska without examining the text of the *Ṛgveda* itself. The dialogue of Saramā with the Paṇis does not even indicate that she was a divine bitch. On the contarary, the message of Indra was conveyed by her so tactfully that today we find the most ancient example of the political wisdom in her apt arguments. In the later period we find the references of Sārameyas,[4] two sons of Saramā, a bitch. The commentators have mistaken this Saramā to be the ambassador of Lord Indra whose name was Saramā. The root √*sṛ* of the word *saramā* gives us her efficiency to swim and to cross the river the Rasā. *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa* calls Saramā as Brahma-vādinī.[5] She has maintained the prestige and status of an ambassador while arguing with the Paṇis.

With this, we can accept the dialogue as an exponent for the function of Saramā and the Paṇis both. It was the real event of the Vedic age.

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1. *ṚV*. X.108.
2. *Nirukta*, 2.25.
3. *Bṛhad-devatā*, 8.27-28.
4. *Atharva*. 4.20.7.; *ṚV*. 10.4.10- 2.
5. *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, 2.438-440.

Hillebrandt has rightly accepted the Paṇis as the historical tribe.[1] The Paṇis are regarded by Macdonell as aerial demons. They were asuras and their dwelling place was the hilly region, and hence they are regarded under the group of aerial demons.[2] They were hostile to Indra, they have shown their superior nature. They have treated the ambassador of Indra respectfully and it is remarkable to note that they offered to establish the pure relationship of a sister with her. They did not kill her in spite of the fact that they were not ready to release the cows of Indra. They were not afraid of Indra. The enemy strongly rejected the plea, but never dishonoured her. Hence, summarily we can reject any theory of the personification of a natural phenomenon in the case of the Paṇis. The Paṇis were the people who dwelled on the border regions of the Vedic India.

Generally, the Paṇis are mentioned in plural form. It is true that the Paṇis are always associated with cows. Gods have taken back cows stolen by the Paṇis.[3] According to a sage, the Paṇis were cruel.[4] The Aṅgirasas have brought back the wealth, cows and horses.[5] Bṛhaspati removed the stones and got cows.[6] Saramā has tried to trace the way in the hills where cows were hidden by the Paṇis.[7] From the hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, we can have a legend according to which the cows of Aryans were stolen by the Paṇis and kept hidden in the hilly caves beyond the border. Indra first sent the envoy named Saramā with a message to return the cows. However, this peaceful mission bore no fruits. Ultimately, Lord Indra along with Aṅgiras, Bṛhaspati and others went and attacked the Paṇis and recovered the cows.

The later development of the legend, however, gives us an account of the weakness of Saramā. The milk or *Payasyā* was offered to her by the Paṇis and she accepted it. This action of Saramā was known to Indra who kicked her [8] But, we do not find any such indication in the *Saramā-Paṇi-Saṃvāda* in the *Ṛgveda*. On the contrary, the Paṇis wanted to convert her by offering the relationship of a brother and a sister. Also they were ready

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1. *Vedic Mythology*, I. p. 83.
2. Macdonell : *Vedic Mythology*, p. 157.
3. *ṚV.* IV.58.4.
4. *Ibid.*, VI 51.14.
5. *Ibid.*, I.83 4.
6. बृहस्पतिरभिनद् अद्रिं विदद् गाः ।
7. III.31.6.
8. *Bṛhad-devatā*, VIII.24-30.

to give some cows to Saramā with comforts, if she joined them and deserted Indra. Thus originally, Saramā is brilliant, faithful and fearless messenger.

Yāska has rightly mentioned that the Paṇis were the traders.[1] Sāyaṇa mentions them as '*Vyavahāri*',[2] people doing business and transaction. The philological changes in the word *Paṇi*-s into *Vaṇi* and *Vaṇik* are to be traced. The letter *B* is the third one from the *P* in the Paṇis.

If we trace the origin of coins, we can find that the Paṇis were the first traders who introduced the marketing system in the early Vedic age.[3] We find the references for Aryans having cows and the grain as their property. In the sacrifice, cows were given and in a legend we come across a father named Ajīgarta who demanded cows in exchange of his own second son named Śunaḥśepa.[4] Ordinarily the transaction was prevalent by exchange of commodities like cows, grain etc. This barter system was faithfully observed by the Vedic people. The Paṇis introduced coins for the first time in that age. The coins they had with them and hence they were called Paṇis. Coin in Sanskrit is called *Paṇa*. The word has reflected in various meanings : a coin equal in value to 80 *cowries* or playing with dice. *Paṇa* means a shop also. The word *Paṇi* also means Market or a miser. Yāska calls them traders who are misers by nature. They are called as deceitful people.

The word *kārṣāpaṇa* also means a coin or weight of different values. This is also a *paṇa* obtained from the Paṇis.

We do not find any reference to coin given in exchange of commodities in the *Ṛgveda*. When Āryans came in contact with the tribe like the Paṇis, they found *Paṇa*-s with them. In the border area the Paṇis introduced these *paṇa*-s or coins in place of any commodity.

The historians brought many a coin to light which give us the political account of the period to which they belong. We learn about some ancient coins which were issued by the Greek rulers of Bactria who ultimately conquered the Punjab and the North Western Frontier.[5] A plate of Indian

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1. *Nirukta*, 2.17. पणिर्वणिग् भवति; सायण–'पणि: मा भू:, व्यवहारी मा भूया: ।' *ṚV.* I.33.3.
2. *Bhāṣya* on *ṚV.* I.33.3.
3. Kawthekar, *Journal Indore Uni.* Oct. 75, p. 40.
4. *ṚV.* I.24.
5. Majumdar, R. C. : *Vedic Age*, p. 57.

coins (I) is preserved in the British Museum.[1] But these all are post-Vedic coins. We, however, certainly come across with some interesting symbols punched on plates found in the Indus valley. The seals and plates of the Indus civilisation give us some idea of the most ancient usage of signs which in later age became coins. We see the earliest tendency to depict deities or religious symbols including some popular animals as can be seen on the seal depicting Śiva, the *Triśūla,* horned deity and Śiva Paśupati.[2] This sort of identification in respect of any particular religion of early age has inspired rulers of later age to use the marks of their identity on coins.

Sanskrit words like *āpaṇa, paṇya, paṇya-strī* etc. denote their origin from the Paṇis. The word *āpaṇa* means the market and this was introduced by the Paṇis in the early Vedic age. This system of coins in the transaction must have created some sort of confusion in the mind of Vedic people. A bit of metal instead of any gross material should be accepted to carry the value of the material to be exchanged and this innovation was ultimately accepted because of the fact that it was useful for the transaction itself for both, the Paṇis as well as the Vedic Āryans.

The commentators have regarded the Paṇis as traders, and also they are cheaters.[3] They must have deceived the people of the Aryan land. They had their own business with the West. Moreover, the Jews of those days were mostly wanderers for the trade and their livelihood. They were not culturally attached to the Vedic people as such. They were only interested in earning money. They used to lend the money for the sake of money itself. The earning of money on the money was also a new device of the trade. Since they had the value of money in their mind, they were misers and never liked to part with the money they had. In fact, even today, by and large, we find some business tribes and houses who are misers by nature. So was the case with the Paṇis.

They were shrewd enough. They tried to bribe the Vedic woman ambassador deputed by Indra named Saramā. This Vedic legend supported by later versions available traditionally gives an idea that the Paṇis introduced a different way of trade in Vedic India. The most important feature of the race was that they were the traders and primarily interested in the money-making business by all means which was rather a new approach to

1. Smith, V. A.; *Early History of India*, Edn. IV, p. xii.
2. Pusalkar A.D.: *Vedic Age*, pp. 176-77.
3. पणय इव लुब्धक: Sāyaṇa, *ṚV*, 10.108,10, *Nirukta*, 2.17,

life for Āryans of those days. The Paṇis used to penetrate into the land and mind of the Āryans by way of theft and trade both. It was the goodness of Indra that he sent his envoy to the Paṇis for returning of stolen cows—the most valuable wealth to Āryans. They were not *dāsa*-s or *dasyu*-s. They were *asura*-s. In the west the region of the Zend Avestā calls *deva*-s as *asura*-s. The Paṇis belong to the western tribe called *asura*-s. Indra also preferred to maintain initially proper relations with the foreigners like the Paṇis. His attack on the Paṇis was justified after the political negotiations failed and in this case the Paṇis were morally week. On the border area the check-post was essential and the action taken by Lord Indra was then appropriate.

The Paṇis lived beyond the river Rasā. The crossing of a river was a difficult task in those days. Perhaps the Paṇis were confident for their safe position due to the big river Rasā. They are surprised to find Saramā in their camp in spite of the river. As the name Saramā reveals, she could cross the river swimming over the current of the big river. The Āryans also had to cross the river. Indra and others attcked the Paṇis.

Coins were easily carried over to the Vedic land. It was enough to create the stir in the mind of Vedic people. The Paṇis perhaps were the Fonis, Fenek or Punic as per the Greek and German versions. The trade-relations of Āryans with the West were strengthened by the association with the Paṇis. The slaves from the Vedic stock of *dāsa*-s migrated to the West along with popular stories of Vedic India. Perhaps Aesope, the great Greek fabulist, was originally from India and the stock of his fables with moral was Indian in nature. Many a story compiled under the name of Aesope (6th century B. C.) migrated from the *Jātaka* and the *Pañcatantra* stock. The Paṇis also in the Vedic age might have carried over the Indian goods along with popular short stories which were well received in the West. One is tempted to say that the Pathāns today are the Paṇis of the Vedic age known for their money-lending business.

The Paṇis being first coiners in the world, used the material for their coinage like a bit of stone of the metal. The word 'coin' goes back to Latin 'cuneus' meaning a wedge. The philological probe into the words Coin, Kena and Cuneus may help to trace the original usage of such pieces with some impression on them for giving wedges. Also the word in Sanskrit *Koṇa* (of any material) used for coining has formed into coin of the western word. It was the *Koṇa* of metal or stone which was introduced by the Paṇis and in the Vedic age the people having the Paṇas with them were obviously called the Paṇis. Thus, we can trace safely the origin of the coinage introduced by the Paṇis and the words in Sanskrit *āpaṇa* for the market, the word *paṇa*, *kārṣāpaṇa*, *paṇya* etc. strengthen the thesis presented in this article.

ABHINAVAGUPTA'S INTEGRAL VIEW OF AESTHETIC CONCEPTS

K. Krishnamoorthy

I

It is well known that virtually aesthetic concepts—*Rasa, Guṇa, Alaṅkāra, Bandha* and *Vṛtti*—were familiar to all literary theorists from Bharata down to Jagannātha. Yet every writer has his own way of defining, classifying and illustrating them that leads to lopsided emphasis of one of them at the cost of the others. This was sought to be remedied by Ānandavardhana in his *Dhvanyāloka*. Yet how exactly it could integrate every concept into a unified whole philosophy of beauty in literature and art was left to be explained in the two major works of Abhinavagupta—the *Locana* and the *Abhinavabhārati*. Unfortunately, the misreadings in both these in important contexts have impeded even the best scholars from getting at the crucial thought of Abhinavagupta.

This article fixes correct readings in a few specimen passages of Abhinavagupta on the basis of unpublished manuscripts testimonia and highlight how Abhinavagupta was a thinker who went beyond even Ānandavardhana and Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka in his aesthetics and how he explained for the first time the precise part played by each of the aesthetic concepts in a given poem or play.

II

Usually, we take for granted the meanings of key terms as *śabda, artha, bhāva, rasa, bandha, guṇa, lakṣaṇa* and *alaṅkāra* without any serious thought about their deep implications or relative status. A close study of Abhinavagupta alone can bring clarity into our confused theorisings.

Let us start with *śabda*. It is not mere sound; not even mere units of spoken language such as syllable, base, affix, word, phrase and sentence. It

is these and some thing infinitely more in poetry. It is the whole poem which is heard by our outer ear in recitation or inner ear in silent reading. The poem is an essentially organised or patterned linguistic sound-symbol—*vācya-vācaka-sammiśraḥ śabdātmā kāvyamiti vyapadeśyaḥ...dhvanirityuktaḥ* as Ānandavardhana would say[1]. If Bhartṛhari can speak of *śabda-brahman*, Ānandavardhana talks of all poetic language as *Dhvani* in his all comprehensive aesthetics. In this sense only can poetic language be differentiated from other uses of language—the empirical and the scientific. *Dhvani* thus is primarily *kāvya-viśeṣa* or *śabda*. Its differentia or *ātman* is *pradhāna-vyaṅgyārtha*.

2. Let us now turn to *artha*. It is not dictionary meanings of particular words or even direct import of individual sentences or paragraphs or even whole works. The word *artha* does not mean 'sense' or meaning as usually misunderstood. It means aesthetic value only as Abhinavagupta rightly points out :

> koḥ kavatervā kavanīyam kāvyam tatra ca padārthavākyārthau raseṣveva paryavasyataḥ ityasādhāraṇyāt prādhānyācca kāvyasyārthāḥ rasāḥ arthyante prādhānyenetyarthāḥ/ na tvarthaśabdo'bhidheyavācī, kiṃ tu prayojanavācī[2]//

(Earlier editions read '*sa*' instead of '*na*'). This is also echoed by the *locana* often. For example while commenting on *kāvyārtha*[3] Abhinavagupta states—*kāvyasya tattvabhūto yo'rthaḥ*[4] and the *Kaumudi* clarifies it further as—

> iha sarvatra arthaśabdo nābhidheyavacanaḥ, svaśabdābhidheyat vasya nirastatvāt/ kiṃ tu arthyate prādhānyena ityarthaḥ, vācyasyār thasya taṃ prati sarvathā paryavasānāt[5]//

In this integral view, only *rasa* is *kāvyārtha* and *kāvya* is *śabda* intended by the poet to result in *rasa*. Such a creative use of *śabda* or *dhvananavyāpāra* indicates the genius of the poet (*kavipratibhā*) on the one hand and the sensitive imagination of the reader (*pratipattṛpratibhā*) on the other, which can go beyond the referential meanings of a poem :

> tacchaktitraya (=abhidhā-lakṣaṇā-tātparyā-śakti-traya)—upajanita-arthāvagamamūla-tatpratibhā pavitrita-pratipattṛ pratibhāsahāya-arthadyotana-śaktiḥ dhvananavyāpāraḥ[6].

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1. *Dhvanyāloka*, KSRI Edn., Madras, p. 244.
2. *Abhinavabhāratī*, G. O. S. Edn., Vol. I (2nd edn.) p. 343.
3. *Dhvanyāloka*, I.7.
4. *Locana* and *Kaumudī*, KSRI, Edn., p. 172.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
6. *Ibid.*

Thus understood, the evocative power of poem itself becomes *Dhvanana* or *Dhvani*, a power *sui generis* to poetic language as such. The form of a poem is termed its *śarīra* or body; and the unique value-content, viz. *rasa*, its soul or *ātman*.

It is this focal point of *rasa* towards which all elements of formal beauty, viz. *alaṅkāra* and *guṇa* converge. All aspects of poetic content like *vastu* also get their entry into the portals of poetry only to the extent they serve the end of *rasa*, first visuaslised by the poet at one end and intended to be actualised by the *sahṛdaya* at the other end. *Rasa* is aesthetic experience in leading to which the story, the characters, and style of a poem—all contribute in their own way. Therefore, poetic content or *artha*, even when considered objectively, can only be envisaged in relation to *rasa*. Hence Abhinavagupta rightly regards all objective content of poetry as coming under the category of *vibhāvādi*. Any object in the world of nature or in the world of poet's imagination (even if it be non-existent in the hard world of reality) is grist to the mill of the poet, if it partakes of the power to induce *rasa* in the reader by becoming a *vibhāva* or stimulant, *anubhāva* or ensuant and *vyabhicāribhāva* or accessory of an emotional nucleus, which alone has the capacity to be transmuted into *rasa*. The poets' art of plot-construction, and characterisation, as well as diction and style are determined thus by the singular norm of *rasaucitya* which is exclusively aesthetic and a-moral. Thus the scope of the term *rasa*, considered objectively, is extended to include its semblances (*ābhāsa*-s) and variations in intensity (*udaya, śānti*) and admixtures (*śabalatā*) with other emotional shades as well. Emotions describcd may be either permanent ones (*sthāyi*) or transitory (*vyabhicāri*). Both are *bhāva*-s because they are mental states described in poetry. The former alone are regarded as *rasa*-s proper, viz. *śṛṅgāra*, (the erotic) etc., while the latter are designated only as *bhāva*-s. Though aesthetic experience or *rasa* as such is an undifferentiated (*akhaṇḍa*) experience of bliss, within the heart of the reader its *viṣaya* or referential counterpart in the poem, that is to say, the pivotal emotion around which all descriptions revolve as *vibhāvādi*-s, may include eight or nine distinguishable *rasa*-s and thirty-three distinguishable *bhāva*-s. In short, poetic content (*kāvyārtha*) is distinguished from prosaic content (*śāstrārtha*) only by reason of its *vibhāvādi-artha* converging to a *rasa* or *bhāva* which evokes aesthetic experience immediately in the sensitive reader. All this and much more is suggested by Abhinavagupta in the initial verse itself of his *Locana* :

apūrvaṁ yadvastu prathayati vinā kāraṇakalāṃ
jagad grāvaprakhyaṃ nijarasabharātsārayati ca/
kramāt prakhyopākhyāprasarasubhagaṃ bhāsayati yat
Sarasvatyāḥ tattvaṃ kavi-sahṛdayākhyaṃ vijayate//

III

We are able to envisage the comprehensive significance of key-terms like *śabda, artha, lakṣaṇa, guṇa, alaṅkāra, dhvani, rasa, bhāva, vastu* and *aucitya* only because of Abhinavagupta's integral approach to poetic theory as a systematic philosopher. Explaining *Kāvya-bandha*[1], he states that just as an engineer interested in building a palace, starts by levelling the ground, designing the lay-out and goes on to raise walls, with room for windows etc., so too a poet's starting point in his work is selection of proper words and verse-forms, *lakṣaṇa*-s or interesting aspects of plot constitute the walls, *guṇa*-s and *alaṅkāra*-s serve as paintings decorating the wall, and literary genres are like lovely windows etc[2]. He clearly mentions later on that the poetic process itself is variously termed by different theorists and *bandha, gumpha, bhaṇiti, vakroti, kavivyāpāra* are all synonyms[3]. We can easily see how *rīti* is synonymous with *bandha* and *dhvani* with *kavi-vyāpāra*. Thus the seeming diversity of opinion among literary theorists is displaced in Abhinavagupta's integral approach. His philosophy is spelt out by Abhinavagupta as follows :

yathā paramātmā svacaitanyaprakāśamatyajannapi deha-kañcukocita-cittavṛttirūpitamiva svarūpamādarśayati,...preka-ṣakapakṣe na naṭābhimānaḥ, tatra rāmābhimānaḥ iti darśayati/ tathā naṭo'pi/ etadāśayenaiva asmābhiḥ tatra tatra pratītireva vyākhyātā rasādhyā-yādau[4].

"Just as even God might choose to play the role of man, conditioned by mental states limited by the human body, without losing his illumined self-awareness, so too an actor plays the role of characters without shedding his individuality. Therefore, throughout our exposition, we have interpreted *rasa* only as a *pratīti* or experience of something as it appears. Art is an appearance or illusion which can lead to real bliss; that is the magic of *rasa*. Acting (*abhinaya*) in drama and description (*varṇanā*) in poetry are illusions devised skilfully to evoke self-experience of joy :

1. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, XV.227.
2. *Abhinavabhāratī*, G. O. S. Edn., Vol. II, p. 292.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 322.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 124.

abhinayanam hi cittavṛttisādhāraṇatāpatti-prāṇasākṣātkāra-kalpa-adhyavasāya-sampādanam[1].

The secret of the alchemy of art-experience is unerringly highlighted as *sādhāraṇatāpatti*. This is very often wrongly understood as generalisation or universalization by scholars. It is explained pointedly as *sādhāraṇānyonyānu-praveśa* under XXXII.299 of Bharata's text which is indeed famous :

pitā-putra-snuṣā-śvaśrū-dṛśyam yasmāttu nāṭakaṁ/
tasmādetāni sarvāṇi varjanīyāni yatnataḥ//

Kissing, embracing, sleeping, loosening of garments etc. are disallowed on the stage by Bharata because a play is an entertainment to be seen by a whole family including one's father, son, daughter-in-law, mother-in-law etc. A spectacle whose *rasa* can be shared by one with every member of his family without any embarassment, is spoken of as having *sadhārana-anyonyānupraveśa* or commonly shared entertainment. If in a scene, the elderly members or ladies cannot participate freely, one should take it as an instance of *rasabhaṅga.*

tataśca raso bhajyeta/ sa hi sādhāraṇānyonyānupraveśa-prāṇaḥ
iti pratipadaṃ vadāmaḥ[2].

It is indeed a mistake to think that either poets or critics are having identical tastes. The adage '*loko bhinnaruciḥ*' is true in the world of literature also. To satisfy equally the readers with diverse tastes, poets embody diverse *rasa*-s and *bhāva*-s. As Bharata says—"*na hyekarasajaṃ kāvyam kiṃcidasti prayogataḥ, bhāvo vāpi raso vāpi* .."[3]. But the resultant joy or delight in the readers is common, though the factors that lead up to it might be different from reader to reader. It is this aspect of *rasa* as a common communal or social entertainment that is emphasized by the term *sādhāraṇīkaraṇa.*

The stimulii of *vibhāvādi*-s in plays and poems are common to all spectators and readers. And hence the *rasa* arising from their contemplation also is felt as freed from personal feelings arising from locating it either as one's own, or another's, as a friend's or a foe's or a neutral person's in any given time or place. The fear which is felt as *rasa* on listening to the verse *grīvābhaṅgābhirāmaṃ*...in *Śākuntala* is fear, pure and simple, freed from all limitations of time, place, subject and object :

1. *Ibid.*, p. 150.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 225.
3. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, VII. 119, G. O. S. Edn., Vol. I, p. 379.

asyāṃ ca yo mṛgapotakādirbhāti, tasya viśeṣarūpatvābhāvād... bhayameva paraṃ deśakālādyanāliṅgitaṃ, tata eva bhīto'haṃ bhīto'yaṃ śatrurvayasya madhyastho vā ityādipratyayebhyo duḥkhasukhādi kṛtahānādibuddhyantarodaya-niyamavattayā vighnabahulebhyo vilakṣaṇam...[1].

The young deer is not a particular deer. It is a symbol of fear universal, irrespective of time, place, and circumstance, man, bird and beast. This is another kind of *sādhāraṇīkaraṇa* which is neither idealization nor generalisation in a reasoned manner. The emotion aesthetically contemplated and enjoyed as *rasa* is neither objective nor subjective but symbolic of the instinctive emotion of oneself as well as of all others seeing the same *vibhāvādi*-s. (*svasambandhitvena anyasambandhitvena ca sādhāraṇyātpratītair abhivyaktibhūto vāsanātmatayā sthitaḥ sthāyī pānaka-rasanyāyena carvyamāṇo... rasarūpatāmāpnoti*...[2] If it is not acceptable to a wide public, but appealing only to a microscopic minority at any given period, the poem or play may be deemed to be a failure. The secret of classical literary works is that they can appeal to large sections of cultivated readers, transcending the boundaries of time and place. The concept of *anaucitya* or *rasadoṣa* is clearly pinpointed here.

IV

It follows as a corollary from the above that ethically offensive features and evil are to be located only in villains whose ultimate annihilation at the hands of heroes representing good, can be widely appreciated. This is one of the reasons for the absence of tragedy in Indian lirerature. Heroes may be of several kinds, *udātta*, *uddhata*, *lalita*, *śānta* etc., but they all share the common quality of *dhīratva* or nobility. As Abhinava says :

sarveṣveva nāyakabhedeṣu dhīratvameva viśeṣaṇatayoktam[3].

He also gives for the first time the rationale behind the dictum that the ruling *rasa* in a major work must either be *śṛṅgāra* or *vīra*. He says :

strīṇāmuttamatvaṃ śṛṅgārarasaparyantameva ; puruṣāṇāṃ tu vīrarasaviśrāntam[4].

The best in women is represented in love, while the best in men in their heroic exploits for achieving goals of national or universal importance.

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1. *Abhinavabhāratī*, G. O. S. Edn., Vol. I, p. 279.
2. Cf. *Rasārṇavasudhākara*, Ed. T. Venkaṭācārya, Adyar, Madras, 1979, p. 252.
3. *Abhinavabhāratī*, G. O. S. Edn., III, p. 158.
4. *Op. cit.*, p. 153.

V

Hṛdaya-saṃvāda or empathy is the term popularised by Abhinavagupta to explain aesthetic psychology, though it was already found in Bharata's text :

> yo'rtho hṛdayasaṃvādī
> tasya bhāvo rasodbhavaḥ/
> śarīraṃ vyāpyate tena
> śuṣkaṃ kāṣṭhamivāgninā//[1]

Abhinava's commentary on this portion is lost; it is quoted by him in the *Locana* without any explanation. Fortunately, an unpublished commentary on the *Locana* cites here the explanation of Abhinavagupta presumably from his lost *Abhinavabhārati*. Many other citations herein expressly state the name of this source; though here it is just implicit :—

> arthaḥ=vibhāvādirūpaḥ/ Hṛdayasaṃvādi=hṛdayatanmayībhava-naśīlaḥ ityarthaḥ/ tasya bhāvaḥ=udayaḥ, athavā bhāvo camatkāraḥ; rasodbhavaḥ=rasotpattisthāna-bhūtaḥ/ Tena śarīraṃ=arthāt śrotuḥ vyāpyate, śroturhṛdayavyāpti-pūrvakaṃ śarīramapi vyāpyate/ Eka eva hi śarīre pulakādyudayaḥ[2]/

The published commentary, *Kaumudi* also is similar :

> yo vibhāvādi-rūpaḥ satkavi-varṇanādhirūḍho'rthaḥ hṛdayasaṃ-vādī=hṛdayasaṃvāda-viṣayībhavana-śīlaḥ tasya arthasya bhāvaḥ= nirmalahṛdayamaṇimukurasīmni samunmeṣaḥ; rasodbhavaḥ=rasot-pattiheturbhavati tena ca tathābhūtena arthena na kevalaṃ hṛdayameva vyāpyate; tadvyāptipūrvakaṃ śarīraṃ vyāpnoti/ Tatra kārtsnyena jhaṭityeva tadaikarūpyeṇa ca vyāptau dṛṣṭāntaḥ— "Śuṣkaṃ kāṣṭhamivāgninā" iti. Kāṣṭhameva ca vyāpyate, na śilādikaṃ; tena na dārṣṭāntike ratyādivāsanāvirahitahṛdayasya śrotri-yādeḥ sahṛdayatvābhāvaḥ śuṣkamiti kāvyānu-śīlana-kṛta-mano-vaiśadya-śālitvaṃ sūcitam. Agninetri guṇālaṅkārasambandha-saun-daryanibandhanaṃ vibhāvatvaṃ darśitam[3]/

I have given this long extract because its exact meaning has been missed by modern translators of Bharata like the late Dr. Manmohan Ghosh. His translation is :

1. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Vol. I, G. O. S. Edn., VII.7.
2. Adyar Library MS. No. 7471, Madras, p. 181. The author says he hails from *Dāśarathi-kula*.
3. *Dhvanyāloka*, KSRI Edn., Madras, p. 78.

> The psychological state proceeding from the thing which is congenial to the heart, is the source of the sentiment and it pervades the body just as fire spreads over dry wood[1].

It should have been :

> The presence or contemplation of a *vibhāva*, capable of finding a ready echo in the responsive heart of a connoisseur, becomes an immediate stimulant of *rasa* or aesthetic experience. One's whole frame becomes suffused with it even like dry wood that has caught fire.

And it also shows how in Abhinavagupta's integral aesthetics, *hṛdayasaṃvāda* or *tanmayībhavana* is an essential constituent of *rasāsvāda*. Incidentally, it dovetails deftly into his scheme the concepts of *guṇa* and *alṅkāra* also. Those who think that Abhinavagupta underrated traditionally recognised beauties of *guṇa* and *alaṅkāra* are misinterpreting Abhinava. The term *vibhāva* is semantically related to the evoking of *rasa*; yet its occurrence in poetry is only by way of the language medium which is made poetic only by a proper use of *guṇa*-s and *alaṅkāra*-s. This patterned structure of poetry is called *saṅghaṭanā* or *racanā* or *bandha*; and figurative turns that adorn *vācaka-śabda*-s and *vācyārtha*-s are *alaṅkāra*-s. That is why the *vibhāva*-s etc. are all regarded as *alaukika* or super-normal, in their structure as well as end-value of *rasa*. If the experience (*saṃvedana*) of *rasa* is not immediate, then they cease to be *vibhāvādi*-s. That is why *rasādi* is described as *asalaṃlakṣyakrama-vyaṅgya-dhvani*-

VI

The same anonymous commentator on the *Locana* gives another long extract from *Abhinavabhāratī* on the *āryā* describing *vīrarasa* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, viz.,

> utsāhādhyavasāyādaviṣāditvādavismayāmohāt/
> vividhādarthaviśeṣādvīra-raso nāma sambhavati//[2]

This portion is not traceable in the present printed edition :

> tatrāmunā kṛtaṃ vyākhyānaṃ :—arthyate ityarthaḥ (karmaṇi ghañ) =dharmādi caturvargaḥ karmaṇyutpattyaiva hi dharmādayaḥ puruṣārthāḥ ityucyante, puruṣeṇārthanīyatvāt arthaviśeṣasya vividhatvaṃ dharmādi-bhedāt tadayam arthaḥ :—Vividham=dharmādi-rūpam arthamabhisandhāya aviṣāditvāt avismayāsammohaśceti dvandve

1. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Manisha publications, II Edn., Calcutta, 1967.
2. VI.67.

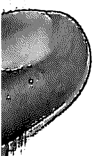
ekavadbhāvaḥ avismayādasammohācca hetoryo'dhyavasāyo niścayaḥ sa cotsāhayati iti ṇijantāt pacādyajantatvena vyutpattyā utsāhahetuḥ/ Etadukṭm bhavati/ Āpadi hṛdayasya nimagnetvaṃ tatparavaśatvaṃ viṣāditvam/ Svalpe'pi santoṣo vismayaḥ mithyājnānaṃ mohaḥ/ Etattrayamapāsya yastattvaniścayarūpo'dhyavasāyaḥ sa utsāhahetuḥ/ Evaṃ ca viṣāditvāditrayāpāsanapūrvakamudbhūtena adhyavasāyena hetunā ya utsāha utpadyate sa vīra-raso nāma iti[1].

How Abhinavagupta clearly integrated the pursuit of recognised life-values or *puruṣārtha*-s under *vīra-rasa*; and how great literature was thus set in clear relation to life as inculcating right attitudes, (covertly though!)—is self-evident in this extract. There are a number of such extracts untraceable in the present text of the *Abhinavabhārati*, which I might highlight on another occasion. We said that only great literature combined this didactic purpose, because Abhinava clearly states that there are minor literary forms like *bhāṇa* whose goal is just popular entertainment (*rañjanā-phala*)[2].

Now I should like to conclude that Abhinavagupta is the foremost thinker who integrates for the first time virtually all the disparate concepts of Indian poetics into a well-organised aesthetic philosophy. This aspect of his contribution has not received sufficient attention in modern studies of his idea of *rasa* in general and of *śāntarasa* in particular. This anonymous commentator's mouthful praise is worth quotation:

Eṣa hi vyākhyātā Nārāyaṇa ivāparimeyaśaktiśālī, mūlagranthaṃ kṣīrasāgaramiva gambhīraṃ nijamatibalena mandareṇeva nirmathya tatra nigūḍhamarthaviśeṣaṃ pīyūṣarasamiva sphuṭaṃ prakāśamānatāmānīya vibudhairāsvādyamānaṃ vidadhāti[3].

1. *Loc. cit.* MSS. pp. 95-96.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 67.
3. *Loc. cit.* p. 204.



मेघदूत में अलकावर्णन और सङ्गीत

सुषमा कुलश्रेष्ठ

निर्गतासु न वा कस्य
कालिदासस्य सूक्तिषु ।
प्रीतिर्मधुरसार्द्रासु
मञ्जरीष्विव जायते ।।

संस्कृत साहित्य के अप्रतिम कवि कालिदास की कृतियों में उनका विविध शास्त्र–विषयक पाण्डित्य परिलक्षित होता है । व्याकरण, दर्शन, आयुर्वेद, वनस्पतिशास्त्र तथा संगीत आदि ललित कलाओं में कवि परम निष्णात थे । **गीतं वाद्यं तथा नृत्यं त्रयं सङ्गीतमुच्यते**—संगीत के अन्तर्गत गायन, वादन तथा नृत्य तीनों को परिगणित किया जाता है । वैसे ये तीनों संगीत की स्वतन्त्र तीन विधायें हैं । इन तीनों के अनेकविध उल्लेख कालिदास की सभी कृतियों में उपलब्ध होते हैं । कालिदास-साहित्य का अनुशीलन करते समय पाठक इतना रसविभोर हो जाता है कि उनके साहित्य में किसी शास्त्र अथवा विद्या के कितने उल्लेख हैं, इसकी ओर उसका ध्यान सहज ही नहीं जाता किन्तु जब केवल संगीतशास्त्र की दृष्टि से कालिदास-साहित्य का अध्ययन किया जाये तो ज्ञात होता है कि संगीत-कला के जितने अधिक उल्लेख कालिदास की कृतियों में हैं, उतने किसी भी अन्य संस्कृत-कवि के साहित्य में नहीं हैं । ये सब सांगीतिक उल्लेख केवल यों ही काव्य में प्रयुक्त नहीं हैं, अपितु कवि ने उनका बड़ा औचित्यपूर्ण तथा सरस प्रयोग किया है । संगीत-सम्बन्धी उन उल्लेखों ने कालिदास के साहित्य को एक अपूर्व रमणीयता तथा मधुरता प्रदान की है । वे सब उल्लेख कवि के संगीतविषयक परम वैदुष्य के सूचक हैं । संगीत के अल्प-ज्ञान से युक्त कवि वैसे प्रयोग कभी कर ही नहीं सकता । संगीत की तीनों बिधाओं के शास्त्रीय और क्रियात्मक उभयपक्षों से कवि भली भाँति परिचित थे । प्रस्तुत शोध-पत्र में मेघदूत के केवल तीन पद्यों में कवि के संगीत-प्रयोग की दक्षता को दिखलाने का प्रयास किया गया है ।

प्रथम पद्य प्रस्तुत है—

विद्युत्वन्तं ललितवनिताः सेन्द्रचापं सचित्राः
सङ्गीताय प्रहतमुरजाः स्निग्धगम्भीरघोषम् ।
अन्तस्तोयं मणिमयभुवस्तुङ्गमभ्रंलिहाग्राः
प्रासादास्त्वां तुलयितुमलं यत्र तैस्तैर्विशेषैः ॥

अर्थात् जिस अलका में ललित ललनाओं वाले, रंग-बिरंगे चित्रों से युक्त, संगीत के लिए थाप दिये गये मृदंगो वाले, पत्थरों से बने फर्श वाले और गगनचुम्बी शिखरों वाले प्रासाद, कौंधती बिजलियों वाले, सतरंगे इन्द्रधनुष् से युक्त, स्निग्ध और गम्भीर गड़गड़ाहट वाले, भीतर भरे हुए जल वाले और अत्यन्त ऊँचे उठे हुए (हे मेघ !) तुम्हारे साथ, उन विशेषताओं के कारण समता करने में समर्थ हैं।

इस पद्य में **'सङ्गीताय प्रहतमुरजाः'** तथा **'स्निग्धगम्भीरघोषम्'** संगीत विषयक पद हैं। मेघ की गड़गड़ाहट स्निग्ध तथा गम्भीर है। अलका के प्रासाद समृद्ध लोगों के प्रासाद हैं जहाँ अन्य अनेक विशेषताएं तो हैं हीं; एक बहुत महत्वपूर्ण विशेषता यह है कि वहां मृदंग निरन्तर बजते रहते हैं। उन पर थाप दी जा रही है, संगीत-प्रस्तुति के लिए। गायन, वादन और नृत्य—इन तीनों की गणना संगीत में है, जैसा संगीतरत्नाकर में कहा गया है—**'नृत्यं, वाद्यं तथा गीतं त्रयं सङ्गीतमुच्यते ।'** चतुर्थी विभक्ति यहाँ संगीतङ्कर्तुं के अर्थ में **'क्रियार्थोपपदस्य च कर्मणि स्थानिनः'**[1] के अनुसार संगत है। मुरज का अर्थ है मृदंग। अमरकोष में उल्लेख है—**मृदङ्गाः मुरजाः** । शब्दार्णव के **अनुसार 'मुरजा तु मृदङ्गे स्याद् ढक्का-मुरजयोरपि ।** मृदंग को वेष्टित होने के कारण 'मुरज' (**मुरं वेष्टनं जातमस्य**—रामाश्रमी) कहा जाता है। 'प्रहत' का अर्थ है—'ठनकाये गये' या 'हाथ से बजाये गये' या थाप लगाये गये। 'प्रहता मुरजा येषु ते प्रहतमुरजा' (बहुव्रीहि समास)। कालिदास के इस पद्य में सर्वत्र एक पद वाले विशेषण ही उभय पक्ष में दिये गये हैं–मेघ के विशेषण हैं—**विद्युत्वन्तं, सेन्द्रचापं, स्निग्धगम्भीरघोषम्, अन्तस्तोयम्**, और **तुङ्गम्** तथा दूसरी ओर प्रासाद के विशेषण हैं—**ललितवनिताः, सचित्राः, मणिमयभुवः, अभ्रंलिहाग्राः** और **संगीताय प्रहतमुरजाः** । प्रकृत विशेषण को छोड़कर सभी एकपदात्मक ही हैं। इस स्थान पर दो पदों के प्रयोग से प्रक्रमभंग दोष आ गया है। वस्तुतः जैसा प्रयोग आरम्भ किया जाये, उसे अन्त तक निभाना चाहिये अन्यथा प्रस्तावौचित्य बिगड़ जाता है। भग्नप्रक्रम का लक्षण है—**'भग्नः प्रक्रमः प्रस्तावौचित्यं यत्र तत्'** (काव्यप्रदीप)। नागेश ने प्रस्तावौचित्य के सम्बन्ध में लिखा है—**येन रूपेणोपक्रमस्तेनोपसंहारः** । अतः प्रस्तुत श्लोक में भी एकपदात्मक उपक्रम का अन्त तक पालन करना चाहिए, किन्तु कालिदास ने यहां **संगीताय** और **प्रहतमुरजाः** यह दो पद लिखकर उसका **भग्न कर दिया**, अतः भग्नप्रक्रम दोष आ गया। इस दोष का निवारण कर दिया है दक्षिणावर्तनाथ ने

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1. अ० २.३.१४

'संगीतार्थप्रहतमुखा.' पाठ देकर। इस प्रकार दक्षिणावर्तनाथ के पाठ को रमणीयता की दृष्टि से अधिक अच्छा पाठ माना जा सकता है।

'सङ्गीताय प्रहतमुरजाः' इस तथ्य का द्योतक है कि मृदंग के अतिरिक्त अन्य संगीत यथा गानादि भी वहाँ चल रहा है। सुबोधा के अनुसार संगीताय का अर्थ गानार्थ है। बल्लभदेव ने अपनी पञ्चिका टीका में बहुत अच्छा लिखा है—**'तेऽपि गुणिनिकार्थं प्रहतमुरजाः वादितमृदङ्गाः'**, अर्थात् संगीत के साथ मृदंगों का वादन वहाँ लगातार हो रहा है। इस प्रकार प्रवर्तमान संगीत तथा वाद्यमान मृदंग से प्रासादों में एक श्रुतिमधुर और अतीव मनोरम वातावरण की सृष्टि होती है। अलका के तत्कालीन प्रासादों में ही ऐसी संगीतधारा प्रवहमान हो, अन्यत्र नहीं, ऐसा नहीं है। आज भी संगीत से थोड़ा भी प्रेम रखने वाले लोगों के गृहों में रेडियों, ट्रांजिस्टर, टेपरिकार्डर, रिकार्डप्लेयर आदि द्वारा मधुर संगीत का रसास्वाद प्राप्त किया जाता है। किसी भी प्रकार के शैक्षिक तथा सांस्कृतिक कार्यक्रम जहाँ सम्पन्न होने वाले होते हैं, वहाँ भी कार्यक्रम प्रारम्भ होने के पूर्व तथा एक कार्यक्रम से दूसरे कार्यक्रम के मध्य जो समय होता है, उसमें इस प्रकार का वाद्यसंगीत प्रायः सुनने में आता है जो अत्यधिक कर्णप्रिय लगता है तथा श्रोताओं के आगामी कार्यक्रमों के प्रति औत्सुक्य को बढ़ाने में सहायता करता है।

मृदंग का स्वर अतिगम्भीर तथा श्रुतिमधुर होता है। मेघ की गड़गड़ाहट भी मृदंग की ही भाँति गम्भीर तथा स्निग्ध होती है; तभी कवि ने दोनों में साम्य का उल्लेख किया है। मृदंग–ध्वनि तथा मेघगर्जन के साम्य का वर्णन साहित्य में अनेकशः उपलब्ध है। मृदंग का शास्त्रीय वर्णन द्वितीय पद्य की व्याख्या के अनन्तर प्रस्तुत किया जायगा।
द्वितीय पद्य है—

यस्यां यक्षाः सितमणिमयान्येत्य हर्म्यस्थलानि
ज्योतिच्छायाकुसुमरचनान्युत्तमस्त्रीसहायाः ।
आसेवन्ते मधु रतिफलं कल्पवृक्षप्रसूतं
त्वद्गम्भीरध्वनिषु शनकैः पुष्करेष्वाहतेषु ॥

अर्थात् जिस अलका में उत्कृष्ट कोटि की स्त्रियों से युक्त यक्ष संगमरमर के बने हुए और सितारों की परछाई जैसी फूलों की कारीगरी वाले प्रासादों के फर्शों पर पहुंच कर तुम्हारी भाँति गम्भीर ध्वनि वाली पखावजों के ठनकायी जाने पर कल्पवृक्ष से उत्पन्न होने वाली रतिफल नामक मदिरा का सेवन करते हैं।

यक्षाः—अमरसिंह के अनुसार यक्ष एक देवयोनि है। इस शब्द की व्युत्पत्ति से भी यह बात प्रकट होती है। **यक्ष् पूजायाम्** (चुरादि) धातु से घञ् प्रत्यय करके यक्ष शब्द निष्पन्न होता है। यक्षों को देवरूप में बौद्ध, जैन और ब्राह्मण तीनों मानते थे। शुंगकाल से लेकर गुप्तकाल तक यक्ष समस्त भारतीय कलाओं पर छाये हुए थे। कालिदास की कल्पना उसी से प्रेरित हुई होगी। साहित्य में यक्षों को संगीतादि ललित कलाओं में रुचि रखने वालों के रूप में चित्रित किया गया है।

उत्तमस्त्रीसहायाः—ललिताङ्गनासहचराः —मल्लिनाथ
वरपुरन्ध्रिसहिता —पञ्चिका

उत्तमा चासौ स्त्री चोत्तमस्त्री। सा सहाया येषान्ते। उत्तमा का एक विशेष अर्थ है। अमरकोष के अनुसार— यह वरवर्णिनी-का पर्याय है—'**उत्तमा वरवर्णिनी।**' रुद्र के अनुसार—

शीते सुखोष्णसर्वाङ्गी ग्रीष्मे या सुखशीतला।
भर्तृभक्ता च या नारी सा भवेद् वरवर्णिनी॥

और फिर '**तमु काङ्क्षायाम्**' धातु से 'उत्तमा' निष्पन्न भी तो होता है। **उत्तमस्त्रीसहायाः** के सम्बन्ध में महिमसिंहगणि का कथन है—'**अत्र उत्तमपदस्यायमभिप्रायः उत्तमा उत्तमकुलप्रसूता परिणीता या स्त्री सैव सहाया सम्भोगावस्थायां द्वितीया एषां ते तथा।**'

यक्षगण अपनी संगीतनिपुणा उत्तम स्त्रियों के सान्निध्य में मधुपान कर रहे हैं, साथ में पुष्करवादन का भी आनन्द ले रहे हैं। पानगोष्ठी तथा संगीत गोष्ठी का प्रचुर उल्लेख साहित्य में उपलब्ध है। यहाँ मुख्यतः पानगोष्ठी वर्णित है किन्तु मधुपान के समय वहाँ वाद्य संगीत भी चल रहा है, आनन्द वृद्धि के लिए। यहाँ केवल पुष्करवादन का उल्लेख है किन्तु कल्पना की जा सकती है कि वहाँ गान और नृत्य भी चल रहा होगा और उस गान और नृत्य के अनुरूप पुष्करों का वादन हो रहा होगा और फिर पानगोष्ठी भी चल रही होगी। यह अर्थ **शनकैः** से ध्वनित होता है। ऐसा ही मत भरतमल्लिक ने प्रस्तुत किया है—

'यस्यामलकायां यक्षा उत्तमस्त्रीसहाया प्रशस्तवनिताद्वितीयाः सन्तः हर्म्यस्थलानि सौधादिस्थानानि एत्य प्राप्य तव गम्भीरध्वनिरिव ध्वनिर्येषां तेषु पुष्करेषु मृदङ्गपरेषु शनकैर्मन्दं गाननृत्यानुकूलं यथा स्यात्तथा आहतेषु ताडितेषु सत्सु मधु मद्यम् असेवन्ते पिबन्ति। शनकैरित्यनेन सङ्गीतानुगतम् इदमिति सूचितम्। शनकैः क्षणं मधु पीयते क्षणं मृदङ्गा वाद्यन्ते इत्यर्थः।'

यक्षगण मधुपान तथा संगीत दोनों का रसास्वाद एक साथ कर रहे हैं जो उनके मन्दीभूत काम को उत्तेजित करने में सहायक हैं—

मधुपानं मृदङ्गानां वादनं चन्द्ररश्मयः।
प्रासादशिखरं रम्यं पुनरुत्तेजयेत् स्मरम्॥

इति रन्तिः।

आधुनिक परिवेश में भी प्रसिद्ध जलपानगृहों में जहाँ पानगोष्ठियाँ चलती हैं, वहाँ संगीत भी सतत मन्द्र ध्वनि में चलता रहता है, विशेषतः वाद्य संगीत।

शनकैः के सम्बन्ध में सारोद्धारिणी में उल्लेख है—**कथं शनकैः मन्दं मन्दम्। भृङ्गाराङ्गत्वात् पानगोष्ठ्यां कठोरवादित्रं नोपयुज्यते इति भावः।**

प्रस्तुत पद्य इस बात का भी सूचक है कि अलका के यक्ष-दम्पती सदा सुखी हैं अन्यथा पानगोष्ठी तथा संगीतगोष्ठी का आयोजन सम्भव नहीं है ।

उन पुष्करों की ध्वनि की तुलना कवि ने मेघ की गम्भीर ध्वनि से की है । मेघ–ध्वनि तथा पुष्कर–ध्वनि के साम्य का उल्लेख साहित्य में अनेक बार प्राप्त होता है ।

अब पुष्करवाद्यका शास्त्रीय विवेचन यहाँ प्रसंग प्राप्त है ।

पुष्कर, मृदङ्ग और मुरज

मृदंग आदिकाल में 'पुष्कर' वाद्य का नाम था । पुष्कर वाद्य में चमड़े से मढ़े हुए तीन मुख थे । दो मुख बायीं और दायीं और रहते थे, तीसरा मुख ऊपर रहता था । उस का पिण्ड मृत् या मिट्टी से बनाया जाता था । इसी कारण इसका नाम मृदंग पड़ा । कुछ समय के बाद बायीं और दाहिनी ओर दो ही मुख वाले वाद्य की सृष्टि हुई । फिर उसका पिण्ड लकड़ी से बनाया गया । इन पुष्कर आदि वाद्यों की उत्पत्ति के विषय में नाट्यशास्त्र में एक वृत्तान्त है ।

स्वाति और नारद संगीतवाद्यों के आदि ग्रन्थकर्ता हैं । इनमें स्वाति एक बार अनध्याय के दिन एक सरोवर पर पानी लाने के लिए गये । आकाश मेघों से घिरा हुआ था, वेगपूर्वक वर्षा होने लगी । तब वायु-वेग से सरोवर में जल की बड़ी बड़ी बूंदों के पड़ते समय पद्म की बड़ी, छोटी और मंझोली पंखुड़ियों पर वर्षा-बिन्दुओं के आघात से विभिन्न ध्वनियाँ उत्पन्न हुईं । उनकी अव्यक्त मधुरता को सुनकर आश्चर्यचकित स्वाति ने उन ध्वनियों को अपने मन में धारण कर लिया और आश्रम पहुंचने पर विश्वकर्मा से कहा कि इसी प्रकार के शब्द उत्पन्न करने के लिए एक वाद्य बनाना चाहिए । फलतः पहले पहल तीन मुख से युक्त 'मृत्' से पुष्कर की सृष्टि हुई । बाद में उसका पिण्ड लकड़ी या लोहे से बनाया गया । तब हमारे मृदंग, पटह, झल्लरी, दर्दुर आदि चमड़े से मढ़े हुए वाद्यों की सृष्टि हुई ।

मृदंग का पिण्ड बीजबृक्ष (तमिल में बेङ्गै) या पनस की लकड़ी से बनाया जाता है । उसकी लम्बाई २१ अंगुल है । लकड़ी का दल आधे अंगुल का है । दाहिना मुख १४ अंगुल और बायां मुख १३ अंगुल है, मध्य में १५ अंडुल है । दोनों ओर के मुख चमड़े से मढ़े जाते थे । किनारे पर चमड़ा सघन रहता था । उस चमड़े के घेरे में २४ छिद्र रहते थे । छिद्रों का पारस्परिक अन्तर एक अंगुल रहता था । उन छिद्रों में वेणी की भाँति चमड़े की रस्सी से दोनों और खींचकर दृढ़ता से बांधा जाता था । रस्सी के बंधन को ढीला करने या तानने से मृदंग के स्वर को ऊंचा या नीचा कर सकते थे ।

सुधाकलश ने भगवान् शंकर को मृदंग या मुरज का आविष्कारक बताया है । प्राचीन ग्रन्थों में मृदंग, पणव तथा दर्दुर को पुष्कर वाद्य कहा गया है । ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से मृदंग, मुरज आदि का उल्लेख वैदिक वाङ्मय में प्राप्त नहीं होता है । रामायण, महाभारत में मृदंग और मुरज का उल्लेख प्राप्त होता है, किन्तु बाद में मुरज तथा मर्दल मृदंग के पर्याय रूप में

प्रयुक्त होने लगे। यही मत शार्ङ्गदेव[1] तथा अभिनवगुप्ताचार्य[2] का है। नाम परिवर्तन के साथ साथ मृदंग का वह रूप जो प्राचीन काल से भरत के समय तक प्रचार में रहा, कब लुप्त हो गया, इसका पता लगाना कठिन हो गया है। जिस वाद्य को आज हम उत्तरभारतीय मृदंग अथवा पखावज के नाम से जानते हैं, दक्षिण भारतीय जिसे अपना मृदंगम् कहते हैं, वह भरत-कालीन मृदंग का केवल एक भाग है। मृदंग में यह परिवर्तन लगभग सातवीं शताब्दी से ही होने लगा था, जो शार्ङ्गदेव के समय तक पूरी तरह बदल गया था।

मेघों के गम्भीर गर्जन तथा मृदंग ध्वनि में बहुत साम्य होता है, तभी तो ओषधिप्रस्थ नगर के गृहों पर घिरे हुए मेघों के गर्जन से मिश्रित मृदंगध्वनि ताल और लय से पहचानी जाती थी। ताल और लय ही मेघगर्जना तथा मृदंगध्वनि के भेदक तत्व थे—

शिखरासक्तमेघानां व्यज्यन्ते यत्र वेश्मनाम्।
अनुगर्जितसन्दिग्धाः करणैर्मुरजस्वनाः ॥[3]

मेघदूत में अनेक स्थलों पर मुरज का उल्लेख हुआ है। यथा—

निर्ह्रादस्ते मुरज इव चेत्कन्दरेषु ध्वनिः स्यात्।[4]
सङ्गीताय प्रहतमुरजाः स्निग्धगम्भीरघोषम्।[5]
त्वद्गम्भीरध्वनिषु शनकैः पुष्करेष्वाहतेषु।[6]

मृदंग की मायूरी मार्जना से मालविकाग्निमित्र में लोगों को ज्ञात हो जाता है कि मालविका का नृत्य प्रारम्भ होने वाला है।[7] रघुवंश में राजा अग्निवर्ण नर्तकियों के नृत्य करते समय स्वयं मृदंग बजाकर ताल देते थे।

स स्वयं प्रहतपुष्करः कृती लोलमाल्यवलयो हरन्मनः।
नर्तकीरभिनयातिलङ्घिनीपार्श्ववर्तिषु गुरुष्वलज्जयत् ॥[8]

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१. स० र०, पृ० ४५९
२. ना० शा०, ३४, पृ० ४०५
३. कुमारसम्भव, ६.४०
४. पूर्वमेघ, ६०
५. उत्तरमेघ, १
६. वही, २
७. १.२१
८. १९.१४

अन्तिम पद्य प्रस्तुत है—

अक्षय्यान्तर्भवननिधयः प्रत्यहं रक्तकण्ठै–
रुद्गायद्भिर्धनपतियशः किन्नरैर्यत्र सार्द्धम् ।
वैभ्राजाख्यं विबुधवनितावारमुख्या सहाया
बद्धालापा बहिरुपवनं कामिनो निर्विशन्ति ।।

अर्थात् जिस अलका में घर के अन्दर कभी भी समाप्त न हो सकने वाली निधियों को रखने वाले, अप्सरा रूपी वार-रमणियों को साथिन बनाने वाले और भाँति-भाँति की बातें करने वाले कामीजन कुबेर की कीर्ति का उच्चस्वर से गान करने वाले, मधुर कण्ठ वाले किन्नरों के साथ 'वैभ्राज' नामक बाह्योद्यान का सुख प्राप्त करते हैं।

प्राचीन काल से लेकर आज तक कामिजनों के अनेक शौकों में संगीत एक महत्वपूर्ण शौक रहा है। ऐसे अवसरों पर वार–स्त्रियों के सान्निध्य का उल्लेख भी प्रायः प्राप्त होता है। किन्नर तथा गन्धर्व, ये दो जातियाँ अपने संगीत–विशेषतः गायन के लिए विशेष प्रसिद्ध रही हैं। वे वीणा आदि बजाकर कण्ठ संगीत प्रस्तुत करते थे। व्याख्येय पद्य में भी उल्लेख है कि अलका के प्रासादों में रक्तकण्ठ किन्नर धनपति कुबेर के यश का उद्गान कर रहे है। गायक के लिए रक्तकण्ठ होना बहुत आवश्यक है। वैसे तो अभ्यास कर कोई भी गा सकता है, किन्तु यदि कहीं भगवत्कृपा से रक्त अर्थात् मधुर कण्ठध्वनि प्राप्त हो, तो गान का आनन्द द्विगुणित हो जाता है–ऐसे ही हैं, अलका के किन्नर। किन्नर कुबेर के यश का उद्गान कर रहे हैं अर्थात् वे उच्च स्वर से गान्धार ग्राम में कुबेर के यश का गान कर रहे हैं। मल्लिनाथ ने उद्गान के शास्त्रीय पक्ष पर प्रकाश डाला है—'**उद्गायद्भिरुच्चैर्गायनशीलैः। देवगानस्य गान्धारग्रामत्वात् तारतरं गायद्भिरित्यर्थः।**

संगीत में तीन ग्राम माने गए हैं, जिनमें षड्ज और मध्यम ग्राम मानवों के लिए तथा गान्धार ग्राम देवयोनि के लिए निर्णीत हैं—

षड्जमध्यमनामानौ ग्रामौ गायन्ति मानवाः ।
न तु गान्धारनामानं न लभ्यो देवयोनिभिः ।।

किन्नर देवयोनि हैं, इसीलिए वे गान्धार ग्राम में गा रहे हैं। कालिदास ने जब जब किसी देवयोनि के गायन का उल्लेख किया है, तब तब उद् उपसर्ग पूर्व गै धातु का प्रयोग किया है यथा —

अक्षय्यान्तर्भवननिधयः प्रत्यहं रक्तकण्ठै–
रुद्गायद्भिर्धनपतियशः किन्नरैर्यत्र सार्द्धम् ।[1]

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१. उत्तरमेघ, १०

उत्सङ्गे वा मलिनवसने सौम्य निक्षिप्य वीणां
मद्गोत्राङ्कं विरचितपदं गेयमुद्गातुकामा ।[1]

यः पूरयन् कीचकरन्ध्रभागान् दरीमुखोत्थेन समीरणेन ।
उद्गास्यतामिच्छति किन्नराणां तानप्रदायित्वमिवोपगन्तुम् ।।[2]

स्वामी चरणतीर्थ महाराज ने अपनी कात्यायनी टीका में '**बद्धालापाः**' के एक नितान्त नवीन अर्थ की ओर संकेत किया है, जो संगीत की दृष्टि से महत्वपूर्ण है। उनका मत है—**बद्धालापाः बद्धाः संप्रवेशिताः साधिताः रागाणाम् आलापाः यैस्ते** अर्थात् उन शृङ्गाररसिक यक्षों ने संगीत के रागों के आलापों को साध लिया है। किन्नरों के गान शब्द कुबेरयशोगान-परक हैं तथा वह गान संगीत के किसी राग में आबद्ध है और उस राग के स्वरों को विभिन्न आलापों के अभ्यास द्वारा यक्षों ने भी साध लिया है अर्थात् किन्नरों के गान के बीच बीच में यक्षगण भी आलाप प्रस्तुत कर रहे हैं—ऐसा अर्थ भी निकाला जा सकता है। इस प्रकार एक प्रकार से समूहगान चल रहा है।

प्रस्तुत श्लोक भरतमल्लिक, सनातन, रामनाथ, हरगोविन्द, कल्याणमल्ल तथा विलसन में प्राप्त नहीं होता। ईश्वरचन्द्र विद्यासागर भी इसे सन्दिग्ध पद्य मानते हैं।

सारोद्धारिणी, महिमसिंहगणि, सुमतिविजय, मेघलता, शिशुहितैषिणी तथा कुछ अन्य हस्त-लिखित प्रतियों में '**श्रद्धालापाः**' के स्थान पर '**बद्धापानम्**' पाठ मिलता है जिसकी व्याख्या सारोद्धारिणी के अनुसार '**रचितपानगोष्ठिकम्**' है। महिमसिंहगणि का मत है कि '**बद्धं रचितं आपानं बाह्यपानगोष्ठी यत्र तत्।**

वल्लभदेव के अनुसार यहाँ पाठ है '**मध्वापानम्**' जिसका अर्थ है—'**मधुनो मद्यस्यापानं पानगोष्ठिका यस्मिन् तत्।**' '**विबुधवनितावारमुख्यासहायाः**' के सम्बन्ध में सारोद्धारिणी में उल्लेख है—'**कलाकुशलाङ्गनावेश्यासहिता वा।**' इस प्रकार 'बद्धालापाः' के स्थान पर '**बद्धा-पानम्**' तथा '**मध्वापानम्**' पाठ अधिक उचित प्रतीत होते हैं क्योंकि कामिजन जहाँ चतुर कलाकुशल वारवनिताओं के साथ बैठकर सुन्दर कण्ठध्वनि वाले किन्नरों के कुबेर-यशोगानपरक मधुरसंगीत का रसास्वाद कर रहे हैं, वहीं यदि मधुपानगोष्ठी का आयोजन भी चल रहा हो तो कोई आश्चर्य नहीं है। संगीतगोष्ठी तथा पानगोष्ठी का एक साथ वर्णन कवि ने अन्यत्र भी किया ही है। '**विबुधवनितावारमुख्यासहाया**' तथा '**बद्धापानम्**' अथवा '**मध्वापानम्**' पद इस तथ्य के भी निदर्शक हैं कि कामिजन अभी तो किन्नरों के मधुर गान को वारवनिताओं के साथ

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१. वही २५
२. कुमारसम्भव १.८

सुन रहे हैं, किन्नरों के गान के पश्चात् जो वारवनितायें कलाकुशल हैं, वे भी संगीत या नृत्यादि अपनी कला प्रस्तुत करेंगी, जिसका आनन्द कामिजन किन्नरों के साथ प्राप्त करेंगे और बीच बीच में मधुपान का प्रसंग तो चलता ही रहेगा। इस प्रकार प्रस्तुत पद्य में संगीत-गोष्ठी, पान-गोष्ठी, उनके समुचित स्थान अर्थात् 'वैभ्राज' नामक बाह्योद्यान, कलाकार, श्रोता और दर्शकों का सुष्ठु निर्देश है।

अलकावर्णनपरक ये तीनों पद्य इस तथ्य के स्पष्ट परिचायक हैं कि अलका एक अतिसमृद्ध नगरी है जहां संगीत को विशिष्ट स्थान प्राप्त है तथा जहाँ के निवासियों की संगीत में विशेष अभिरुचि है। सब मिलाकर इन तीनों पद्यों के सांगीतिक पक्ष के विवेचन से यह सिद्ध हो जाता है कि कालिदास संगीत की बारीकियों से भली भाँति परिचित थे। यह तो केवल तीन पद्यों का विवेचन हुआ। केवल मेघदूत में ही लगभग ३७ पद्य ऐसे हैं जिनमें गायन, वादन अथवा नृत्य का उल्लेख उपलब्ध होता है।

A GLIMPSE OF VARIATIONAL AWARENESS OF THE INDIAN SCHOLIASTS

S. D. Laddu

I

1. In studies on thought and literature of the ancient Hindus, a notion was long current, and expressed with varying degrees of conviction, that they possessed little sense of history or change in any direction and that they were the worshippers of continuity and standardisation. An attitude of firm faith in the sacrosanct nature of the *Śabda* ('Word') coming from the authority of a Person or Text (*Āpta-vākya*) developed in them a lack of historical perspective, and, as time went on, made them blind and inappreciative towards the development in literature, philosophies etc. With a long and close acquaintance with the literary, scientific and philosophical writings of the (ancient) Hindus, the number of extreme adherents to the above view is diminishing.[1] Yet a feeling is still lurking with scholars even today that the Hindus were a tradition-ridden community, generally disallowing any thought on the possibilities of variations, whether social, regional or temporal and only rigidly abiding by a standard of some kind in the particular field.

2. 1 In part, the Hindus themselves are to blame for giving rise to such notions about their way of looking at the ancient texts. Does not a Hindu writer exhibit a general apathy to recording personal details or contemporary historical information ? Does he not cherish "a loyalty ingrained deeply" in his mental structure, a kind of "patternising tendency",[2] whether he is required to face questions in the Dharma-śāstra

1. See for some very balanced thinking, J. Gonda, *Change and Continuity in Indian Religion* 1965, Introduction : p. 14.
2. See S. N. Dasgupta, Preface (p. XC), to S. N. Dasgupta and S. K. De, *A History of Sanskrit Literature* : Classical Period : Vol. I, Calcutta, 1947.

(Law Code), Nīti-śāstra (Ethics), Alaṅkāra-śāstra (Rhetorics) or any other science ?

2. 2 Coming closer to Sanskrit Grammer, it is observed that when the original text of Pāṇini (P)'s rule did not cover the newly developed usages and was feared to have become out-dated, instead of altering the old rule or offering a new rule, commentators thought it better to maintain the sanctity of the text of the rule and at the same time to reinterpret the old rule which would satisfy the linguistic needs in the changed context in point of time, region etc. This is the method Kātyāyana (Kty) and Patañjali (Ptj) generally adopt, and Ptj is found frequently to give an expression to it : *sūtraṃ tarhi bhidyate*; *yathānyāsam evāstu.* This line of thinking is found stretched to the extreme in the words quoted by Kumārila (c. 750 A. D.)[1] and Durgasiṃha (8th c. A. D.),[2] thus :

> *sūtreṣv eva hi tat sarvaṃ yad vṛttau yac ca vārttike* /
> *sūtraṃ yonir ihārthānāṃ, sarvaṃ sūtre pratiṣṭhitam* //

Further, the same Kumārila has been condemned by K. K. Raja[3] as one who "did not care to look at the problem from the diachronistic point of view", when he was found rejecting the equivocal nature of a group of words (cf. *yava, varāha, vetasa*) supplied by Śabara[4] which carried, according to him (Śabara), two sets of meanings. And Śaraṇadeva (1170 A. D.) has his full work, *Durghaṭṭavṛtti*, devoted solely to reconciling the difficult forms (*lakṣya*-s) with the originally simple grammatical rules (*lakṣaṇa*-s). As for expressions which have come to stay in the language, Kaiyaṭa remarks that they must be explained *somehow* (*nityānāṃ śabdānāṃ yathākathaṃcid anvākhyānaṃ kartavyam iti manyate*).[5] His famous maxim, *yathottaraṃ hi munitrayasya prāmāṇyam*,[6] is generally understood in tradition, and even recently,[7] as stressing the relative excellence in ***interpreting*** P's Rules on the part of the three sages of Sanskrit Grammar, viz. P, Kty and Ptj in their progressively chronological border. Further, authors of the ***Prakriyāgrantha***-s

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1. *Tantravārttika* on 2.3.16.
2. *Kātantraparibhāṣāsūtra-vṛtti*, beginning.
3. "Diachronistic Linguistics in Ancient India", *JMadU* (Humanities) *Centenary Number*, 18:2.130 (Jan. 1957).
4. *JS.* 1.3.8-9 (*yavavarāhādhikaraṇa*).
5. *Pradīpa* (Haryana ed.), III.201 on *M*(*ahābhāṣya*), ed. Kielhorn, II.81.22 at Vt.3.1.96.3.
6. *Ibid.*, I.293 on *M.* I.91.18-20 at 1.1.29.
7. Vide Narahar Kurundkar's Note in *Parāmarsha* (a Marathi Journal), Poona University, I;3,83-87 (October 1979).

(like e. g. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita) are frequently found raising difficult cases with unclear formation (introduced by the words '*kathaṃ tarhi*') and offering solutions expected to meet them.

Where variation in usages was recorded by P in a number of ways, his commentators generally disappoint us by interpreting him wrongly. Thus P's references to the views of ten earlier grammarians (*pūrvācāryanirdeśa*), mostly given on the modes of pronunciation but also on grammatical formations,[1] are understood by them as cases allowing simple optionality in usage, for whtch, according to modern view, "there is no justification to believe".[2] Thieme has detailed the latter stand thus : "His intention must have been to draw attention to forms used or taught in the works of various well-known scholars, whose practice or theory he could not help taking into consideration, lest he should be charged with being incomplete.. ....What at the hands of the traditional interpretation has become a rather circumstantial device for intimating what could have been expressed easier and clearer by the words *vā* or *vibhāṣā*, thus receives a concrete sense".[3]

A recent study by Paul Kiparsky,[4] making a strong case for a new understanding of the significances of the three different terms (*vā*, *vibhāṣā* and *anyatarasyām*) used by P to express the idea of optionality, has, in effect, rescued these terms from their traditional interpretation which had ironed out the logic and intention behind the use of this variety of terms and has made them yield the blanket significance of just undistinguished optionality.

It may be observed that efforts at interpreting a Rule of P where it is not clear or exact in all its aspects, or where even if clearly worded it does not do justice to the changed picture of the language, in fact do the service of presenting a correct understanding of the Rule, where 'correct' means 'as intended by the Framer of the Rule (here, P)'. This basically good principle of making the author speak out his own mind, however, is put to bad implementation when the multiplicity of usages (i. e. social, regional or temporal variations) is made to correspond *not* with the needed respective multiplicity of Rules ('*Sūtrabheda*'), *but* with just one and the same Rule as *earlier* framed ('*yathānyāsam*') as if the developed usage was not new but

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1. See K. V. Abhyankar, *Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya : Prastāvanā Khaṇḍa* (Vol. VII of the Marathi Translation), 1954, p. 123.
2. See Madhav Deshpande, "Pāṇinian Grammarians on Dialectal Variation", *ALB* 42.76(1978).
3. "Pāṇini and the *Ṛkprātiśākhya*", *IHQ* 13.337 (1937); also, Deshpande, op. cit., p. 69.
4. *Pāṇini as a Variationist*, University of Poona, Poona, and the M. I. T. Press, Cambridge (Massachusetts, U. S. A.), 1979.

was envisaged by the original framer of the Rule i. e. was current since his time. This is done by investing the simple original Rule with (over-applicable or under-applicable) referential powers secured for it through a number of ingenious devices of interpretation.[1] This means that, in reaffirming Pāṇini's ruling in spite of its altered references, Kty and Ptj (and latter scholiasts) "were opposing the historical development of the language".[2]

3. 1. What could be the reason for this astonishing disregard shown by the Pāinīyas to the facts of linguistic variation specified by P ? A careful study of how Kty and Ptj handled the data from P revealed to M. Deshpande that Kty and Ptj mark the beginning of the process of fossilization of Sanskrit on way to becoming a classical language : "In a presentation-oriented formal synchronic description of a language on the way to fossilization, the dialectal limits, if any, had little practical significance. This change in the outlook of grammarians was forced mainly by the changing linguistic and religious situation".[3]

3. 2 It also seems possible that, at least in some cases, the reinterpretation or misinterpretation on the part of a scholiast, equally as in the case of a modern student of ancient texts, arises not necessarily out of a definitely standardized attitude or *śabda-prāmāṇya*, but just from an understanding which has somehow (and innocently) missed the point intended by the original framer of the Rule. The expectation does not concede to him more than what is just, as a Pāṇinīya is known to be inheriting the brilliant principle of upholding the usage above everything else.[4] And hence there are felt possibilities of finding at least a few gems of interpretation of a Rule, or of original presentation of a Rule, which would be providing genuine cases of variation either of the social, regional or temporal type.

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1. See : (i) Kielhorn, "Notes on the Mahābhāṣya : 7. Some Devices of Indian Grammarians", *IA* 16.244-52 (1887) ;
   (ii) S. K. Belvalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, 1915, 22-25 : "Technical devices used by Pāṇini"; and
   (iii) S. D. Laddu, "The Device of Contiguity as a Key to Interpreting Pāṇini's Rules", *CASS. Studies*, Number 1, University of Poona, 1973, pp.157-71.
2. J. C. Wright, *BSOAS* 25.624 (1962).
3. *Op. cit.*, p. 109.
4. Cf. *prayogāddhi bhavān śabdānāṃ sādhutvam adhyavasyati* (*M* I.8.24). See also S. D. Laddu, *Evolution of the Sanskrit Language from Pāṇini to Patañjali* (University of Poona, 1974), p. 8 f.

It would be our endeavour in what follows, to draw the attention of scholars to such instances collected at random[1] and mostly through Sanskrit Grammatical literature (only, but not through researches on it), which cannot be called purely interpretative, tradition-minded, or even unhistorical if 'history' is taken in its broad sense to be standing for variation of any kind and mainly of the nature of social, regional or chronological development.

The class of "social" variation would generally show synchronic records of peculiarities of a racial or a linguistic or other section of the society, and also those put on the name of individuals who possibly represented a section of the speech-community or who were people who 'counted' in the society whether as scientists or not. The type would also include usages which are not clearly identifiable (as regional, temporal etc.), and references to other Grammars or to early Grammarians (excluding the numerous references introduced by terms like *kecit, anye, apare* or *aparaḥ*). Records of Prakritic usages in the Munitraya writings which have been studied elsewhere,[2] as well as studies in the linguistic evolution during their period presented elsewhere,[3] are not included in this short survey. The Munitraya writings have all along received a good treatment, and would, therefore, be referred to in brief. It is inevitable that sometimes membership of a broad Class is looked at differently by some; e.g. what is mentioned as a Regional peculiarity may be taken as a Social one, or vice versa. But that is unavoidable.

II

A. REGIONAL

1. The *Kauṣītaki* (*Śāṅkhāyana*) *Brāhmaṇa*[4] is the earliest to record in clear terms general and wide preference for the Northern dialect : *tasmād udicyāṃ diśi prajñātarā vāg udyata, udañca u eva yanti vācaṃ śikṣitum, yo vā tata āgacchati tasya vā śuśrūṣante.*

2. (*i*) Yāska in a famous passage[5] refers to certain usage-peculiarities of the Kambojas, Northerners and Easterners.

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1. For penetrating reflections on important records from Sanskrit, Pāli, Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa and Marathi pieces of literature, see M. Deshpande, *Socio-Linguistic Attitudes in India : An Historical Reconstructian*, Ann Arbor., 1979.
2. See S. D. Laddu, "Prakritic Influences Revealed in the Works of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali", *Proceedings of the Seminar on Prakrit Studies (1973)*, (L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad 380009, 1978), pp. 88-100.
3. See S. D. Laddu (at fn. 4 on p. 244).
4. 7.6.
5. *Nirukta*, 2.2.

(*ii*) Elsewhere[1] he refers to the Southerners' use of the term *vijāmātṛ* to denote the husband of a purchased woman.

3. P's regional references, Kty tells us, are to be related to these spheres only.[2]

(*i*) P often refers to broad divisions of the Sanskrit-speaking community as Northerners (*udīcyāḥ*) and Easterners (*prācyāḥ*), the dividing line, on the word of the *Kāśikā*[3] at being probably the river '*Śarāvatī*' (modern Sutlaj).[4]

(*ii*) He also refers[5] to usages with a North-South demarcation shown by the river 'Vipāś' (mod. Beas).[6]

4. Kty too provides us with some data.

(*i*) As regards forms fallen out of currency (*aprayukta*), he is confident to find all such to be in use in some distant localities : *sarve deśāntare.*[7]

(*ii*) Called a Southerner by Ptj,[8] he is found extending the applicability of P's Rule to countries 'like Coḍa' : *kambojādibhyo lugvacanaṁ coḍādyartham.*[9]

(*iii*) He also refers to the use of the form *vartakā* among the Easterners : *vartakā śakunau prācām.*[10]

5. Ptj also presents to us some important material.

(*i*) To Yāska's dialectical references above, he adds[11] those to the Surāṣṭra and Prācya-Madhya (Central East ?) regions.

(*ii*) He identifies Kty's usage as being peculiar to the Southerners (See fn. 8. below).

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1. *Ibid.* 6 9.
2. *Ācāryadeśaśīlane ca tadviṣayatā.* 1.1.44.17.
3. 1.1.77.
4. See further Sukumar Sen, *Pāṇinica* (Calcutta, 1970), pp. pp. 12-15.
5. 4.2.74.
6. Which 'close observation' of P is praised in the *Kāśikā* beutifully as : *mahatī sūkṣmekṣikā vartate sūtrakārasya.*
7. *Pasp. Vt.* 5.
8. *Priyataddhitā dākṣiṇātyāḥ, M* I.8.8.
9. 4.1.175.1.
10. 7.3.45.8.
11. *M* I.9.25-10.1.

(*iii*) He shows further knowledge with their usages by his expansion of Kty's *Vt.* 4. 1. 175.[1]

(*iv*) He detects that the form *sarasī* used by a *Ślokavārttika*-kāra (on 1. 1. 19) was widely used in Southern India to denote a large lake : *dakṣiṇāpathe hi mahānti sarāṃsi sarasya ity ucyante.*[2]

(*v*) He distinguishes Vedic Schools (*Caraṇa*-s) from the nativity (*nivāsalakṣaṇa*) of their followers, as *Prācya* 'Eastern', *Udīcya* 'Northern' and *Madhyama* 'Central'.[3]

(*vi*) His most important reference is to the "focal area"[4] for Standard Sanskrit being the 'Āryāvarta' in which resided the selfless, righteous and learned Brahmins who were the cultured class of the society.[5]

6. (*i*) Kumārila (c. 700 A. D.) in his *Tantravārttika*[6] distinguishes the language of the Āryas from that of the Mlecchas whose habitat was outside the Āryāvarta, i. e. was the Deccan, and who spoke the *Mlecchabhāṣā*-s i. e. the South Indian languages.[7] He knows little of the South and Southern languages, as he loosely refers to Tamil as Āndhradrāviḍa.

(*ii*) While ridiculing the attempt of some over-enthusiasts who used to see[8] a Sanskrit origin for many Tamil forms (*cor, atar, pāmp, vayir*), he also makes reference to the Pārasīka (Iranian), Barbara, Yavana (Greek) and Raumaka (Turkish)

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1. *M* II.270.3f.
2. *M* I.73.5.
3. *M* II.301.5f. on 4.2.138.2.
4. Cf. "Focal areas are those areas whose economic, social or cultural prestige had led to the spread of their linguistic forms into other areas". Raven I. MacDavid, "Some Social Differences in Pronunciation", Paper 26 from *Readings in Applied English Linguistics*, New York, 2nd ed., 1964 (Ed. Harold B. Allen), p. 252.
5. III.174.215 on 6.3.109.
6. *Pikanemādhikaraṇa*, *JS* 1.3.10.
7. Śāradātanaya (13th c. A.D.), the author of *Bhāvaprakāśana*, has been quoted to be holding the same view
   dramiḍāḥ kannāḍāndhrāś ca huṇahimmīrasiṃhalāḥ |
   etā bhāṣāś ca sarvatra mlecchabhāṣety udāhṛtāḥ ||
   (Ullur S. Paramesvara Aiyar, Presidential Address to the Section of "Malayalam and other Dravidian Languages", *Proceedings and Transaction of the Ninth A. I. O. C.*, Trivandrum, 1940, p. 1236, fn. 5.
8. See H. G. Narahari, "Kumārila's Contribution to Philology and Mythology", *PQ* 68f. (1940).

languages[1] : *tad yadā drāviḍādibhāṣāyām idṛśi svacchandakalpanā, tadā pārasika-barbarayavanaraumakādibhāṣāsu kiṃ vikalpya pratipatsyanta iti na vidmaḥ.*[2] By this he draws a pointed attention to the error in treating Sanskrit to be the source of languages from distant lands.

(*iii*) He also knows the Lāṭabhāṣā i. e. the dialect of Gujarat of his days.

7. Rājaśekhara (c. 900 A. D.) in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (Ch. 6), imitating Ptj's famous observation on a stylistic trait of the Southerners, records parallel traits for the Berar people (being partiality for a nominal construction), for the Gauḍas i. e. the Bengalis or the Easterners (being love for compounding), for the Northerners (being fondness for the primary nominal derivative), while all (!) the speakers are said to prefer a verbal construction : *tatra dayita-subvṛttayo vidarbhāḥ*; *vallabha-samāsagatayo gauḍāḥ*; *priya-taddhitā dākṣiṇātyāḥ*; *kṛtprayogarucaya udīcyāḥ*; *abhiṣṭa-tiṅvṛttayaḥ sarve 'pi santaḥ.*

8. (*i*) Haradatta (c. 1100 A. D.), in the introduction to his *Padamañjarī*,[3] cites a form *kūcimañcī*,[4] in illustration of names (*saṃjñā*-s showing regional varieties, which are unacceptable (*asādhu*) in Sanskrit.

(*ii*) While explaining that a popular (*laukika*) usage to be accepted as correct (*sādhu*) has to be understood by all ('*sarva*'-*loka*), such as *go*, he points out[5] that, like *gāvī*, there could be many corruptions peculiar to each region, which have to be treated as incorrect (*apaśabda*) : ***pratideśaṁ bhinnapadatvāt apaśabdānām.***

(*iii*) Not only that : he exhibits higher and higher flights when he points out[6] that corruptions occur as peculiar to each different region, and even to each house or family, to each person, and to each physical condition, and that therefore, they are beyond the control of a generalised linguistic

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1. Cf. Ganganath Jha, *Kumārilabhaṭṭa's Tantravārttika* (Eng. Tran.), Vol. I, 1924, Preliminary Essay, p. XVII.
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. Varanasi ed. (by Dwarikadas Shastri and Kaliprasad Shukla), 1965-67.
4. I.10.
5. I.15.
6. I.17.

statement : *apaśabdā hi pratideśaṃ pratigṛhaṃ pratipuruṣaṃ pratyavasthaṃ bhinnāś cānavasthitāḥ; na te lakṣaṇenānuśāstuṃ śakyante.*

9. Vardhamāna (1140 A. D.) in his *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* (on *Kārikā* 47) refers (after Ptj above) to the use of *sarasī* (continued at his time ?) in the land of Karṇāṭa (ka).

B. TEMPORAL

Very few records of this kind are found, and not all with a direct reference.

1. Kty. can be understood as giving a suggestion that he has the time coordinate in his mind when, by way of comparison, he cites the case of sacrifices extended over long periods. Just as, in accomplishing these the Ritualists dextrously manipulate conformity with the Injunctions prescribing their performance, in the same manner forms (developed over new periods) can be made to fit in with the generalised Rules of derivation.[1]

2. Kaiyaṭa (c. 1050 A. D.), after stating that the verdict of Ptj was more authoritative than the statements of P and Kty (*munidvayāc ca bhāṣyakāraḥ pramāṇataram*), explains[2] that it is so because Ptj observed a stock of linguistic facts that was larger than the one seen by P and Kty (*adhikalakṣyadarśitvāt*).[3] This bears a strong implication of linguistic development in point of history.

3. (*i*) Haradatta (c. 1100 A. D.) cites[4] forms like *gāvī* as possessing (i. e. pointing to) an earlier stage (*ādi* [*avasthā*] *mat*) and coreference (*sama vācakatvābhimāna*) with forms like *go*, and calls them *apabhraṃśa*-s or *apaśabda*-s in contrast with *sādhu śabda*-s which are *an-idaṃprathama* ("not recent, long current"). This implies development in point of time.

(*ii*) As to how P was able to identify correct forms, he suggests[5] that, it was first from his own direct observation, and

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1. *Pasp. Vt.* 4 : *aprayukte dīrghasattravat.*
2. *Pradīpa*, II.862, at *M* on 4.4 26.7.
3. This is echoed first (*i*) by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri in his *Apāṇinīyaprāmāṇyasādhanam* (*APS*) (ed. E. R. Sreekrishna Sarma, Tirupati, 1968, p. 9, para 35) as *trimunivyākaraṇe uttarottaraṃ ca pramāṇam ity atrāpi bahuvittvam evottarottaraprāmāṇye hetuḥ*, and then (ii) by Nāgeśa in his *Uddyota* on the *Pradīpa* see fn. 6 on p. 242), thus : *uttarottarasya bahulakṣyadarśitvāt.*
4. I.8.
5. I.8.

secondly by relying upon the statement of the earlier grammarian Āpiśali. It was the same with Āpiśali; and yet it did not mean a chain of blind faiths, for, each of these grammarians did actually observe the currency of these forms in their respective times, so there was no harm in accepting their word, i. e. a sort of *mūla* or source. (*sarve eva hi te sve sve kāle gāvyādibhyo viviktān gavādiśabdān pratyakṣata evopālabhante.*)

(*iii*) Naturally, the entire stock of speech cannot be visualised[1] by a single ordinary human being, though this is quite possible of sages like P enjoying divine grace. Or better, as some one might observe some form and another might get another; so P, Kty and Ptj also may be looked upon as ordinary beings, each of them adding to the stock of forms forgotten to note or not perceived (in their respective time) by the earlier one of them.[2]

atha vā kasyacit kecid aparasyāpare tathā /
anyasyānye tathā śabdāḥ santi darśanagocarāḥ //
tathā ca—
yad vismṛtam adṛṣṭaṃ vā sūtrakāreṇa tat sphuṭam /
vākyakāro bravīty evaṁ tenādṛṣṭaṃ ca bhāṣyakṛt //

That is how, he goes on to say,[3] P's Grammar is looked at in tradition as a collective product of the three sages, P, Kty and Ptj (*trimunivyākaraṇam*).

This is a remarkably bold and independent line of thinking, which bears a suggestion of making a distinction between (1) forms forgotten to be noted by a grammarian but in fact being in currency then (and showing a linguistic continuity at a later stage), and (2) forms not (possible to be) perceived by a grammarian, being not current then (and so showing a kind of linguistic development at a later stage).

4. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri (1560-1666 A. D.), the versatile scholar of Kerala, in his *APS*[4] which takes up the task of proving the authority of non-Pāṇinian Grammars, has some very frank and fresh observations to make :

(*i*) The Pāṇinist owes to us an explanation for the pre-Pāṇinian correct usage whose existence cannot be denied by any logic.

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1. *sarvalakṣyadarśitvam*, 1.8.
2. I.9.
3. I.9.
4. See fn. 3 on p. 249.

It cannot be that people then could master the usage without the help of a Grammar. This proves the existence of Grammars even then which were later thrown into background by P's Grammar.[1]

(*ii*) What reminds us of Haradatta's observation above[2] is his view that, in spite of his efforts at data-collection, each later grammarian out of P, Kty, Ptj and Bhoja etc. tried to supply the usages which had escaped the attention of the earlier scholars[3] :

dṛṣṭvā śāstragaṇān prayogasahitān prāyeṇa Dākṣisutaḥ
proce, tasya tu vicyutāni katicit Kātyāyanaḥ proktavān /
tadbhraṣṭāny avadat Patañjalimunis tenāpy anuktaṃ kvacit
lokāt prāktanaśāstrato' pi jagadur vijñāya Bhojādayaḥ //

C. LITERARY

1\. (*i*) Yāska, in his memorable lines[4] which can as well be taken to be marking distinct periods of intellectual development and so as well belonging to the above class, may be said to be referring to the distinct literary stages in the composition of the Veda : Mantra, Brāhmaṇa and Vedāṅgas (*sākṣātkṛtadharmāṇo.......... vedāṅgāni ca*).[5]

(*ii*) He also supplies[6] the specific uses of *iva* and *nūnam* for the Vedic language (*anvadhyāyam*) in contrast with the colloquial speech (*bhāṣāyām*).

2\. Pāṇini in his Grammar has reference to two clear-cut phases of Sanskrit, viz. the ordinary speech (*Bhāṣā*) and the Vedic language (*Chandas*) wherein much departure from the ordinary norm[7] is detected.

3\. Kty also frequently maintains the distinction between the secular (*Laukika*) and the sacred (*Vaidika*) languages.

4\. (*i*) Ptj's students were required to study formations from both these phases of Sanskrit, but with a clear distinction (and

1. Paras 19-21, pp. 5f.
2. I.9.
3. Para 29, p. 7f.
4. *Nir.* 1.20.
5. See S. K. Belvalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* (2nd Revised ed., Delhi-Varanasi, 1976), p. 5, fn. 2.
6. *Nir.* 1.4.1.5.
7. *vyatyaya* : 3.1.85 or *bāhulya*,

found saying : "*vedān no vaidikāḥ śabdāḥ siddhā lokāc ca laukikāḥ*").[1]

(*ii*) When he admonishes an idle searcher denying the occurrence of some out-of-the-way expressions by pointing out the vast range of usage ("*upalabdhau yatnaḥ kriyatām* ; *mahān hi śabdasya prayogaviṣayaḥ*"),[2] he exhorts upon him to go to the literature which covered the entire Vedic literature in its branches, the *Vākovākya*, *Itihāsa*, *Purāṇa* and *Vaidyaka*[3] without doing which his search would be foolish and incomplete.

5. (*i*) Haradatta in the *Padamañjarī*[4] adds to this range of usage (*prayogaviṣaya*) : *Mīmāṃsā*, *Nyāya*, *Upapurāṇa*-s, *Smṛti*-s *Upasmṛti*-s, *Dhanurveda*, *Gāndharva*, *Arthaśāstra*, *Kāvya*-s and *Nāṭaka*-s.

(*ii*) He also refers[5] to the resolution of a (Vedic) textual difficulty in the case of variant readings, on the word of the Experts :

yathaiva vedavyākhyānāṃ pāṭhe saty api saṅkare |
bahūnām abhiyuktānām upadeśena nirṇayaḥ ||

6. Devabodha (before 1150 A. D.),[6] in the Introduction to his commentary *Jñānadīpikā* on the *Mahābhārata* : *Ādiparvan*, urges upon the ignorant, who is unable to derive words from the *Mahābhārata* according to P's system and hence doubts their correctness, to go in for other Systems of Grammar which are very vast as compared with P's :

na dṛṣṭa iti vaiyāse śabde mā saṃśayaṃ kṛthāḥ |
ajñair ajñātam ity eva padaṃ na hi na vidyate ||
yāny ujjahāra māhendrād vyāso vyākarṇārṇavāt |
śabdaratnāni kiṃ tāni santi pāṇinigoṣpade ||[7]

7. Sāyaṇācārya (14th c. A. D.) has an important observation in the Introduction to his Commentary on the *Ṛgveda*[8] regarding the variants

1. *M* I.5.9.
2. *M* I.9.19f.
3. I.9.20-23.
4. I.8.
5. I.9.
6. See S. K. Belvalkar (ed.), *Śrīdevabodhakṛtamahābhāratatātparyaṭīkā Jñānadīpikā* on the *Bhīṣmaparvan* (Poona, 1947), Introduction, p. 1.
7. Stanzas, 7.8.
8. See Jagannath Pathak (ed.), *Ṛgvedabhāṣya-bhūmikā* (/-*upakramaṇikā*), Varanasi, 1960, p. 15.

found in different Vedic texts, which records the practice of interpreting and resolving those on the basis of traditions from different Vedic Schools : *yathā mantreṣu pāṭhabhedaḥ śākhābhedena vyavasthitaḥ.*[1]

8. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri (16th-17th c. A. D.), in the *APS* as well as in the *Prakriyāsarvasva*[2] (*PS*), picks up a number of un-Pāṇinian forms scattered over the Sanskrit literature and makes a case for their due acceptance :

(*i*) Vyāsa is known to have used many forms which do not enjoy sanction of the Munitraya; but he used them on having consulted not only a number of non-Pāṇinian Grammars but the vast Purāṇa literature also.[3]

(*ii*) Śaṅkarācārya in his *Prapañcasāra* uses the form *hunet* for *juhuyāt.*[4]

(*iii*) Murāri in the *Anargharāghava*[5], Sureśvara (or Bhavabhūti) in the *Uttararāmacarita*[6] and Kālidāsa in the *Meghadūta,*[7] whose texts are quoted,[8] are found using the un-Pāṇinian form *viśrāma* for P's *viśrama.*[9]

(*iv*) Śrīharṣa in the *Naiṣadhīyacarita*[10] uses *alpamedhasi* for *alpamedhe.*[11]

(*v*) Vidyāraṇya (or Mādhava) in the *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti* uses *kathāpayati* for *kathayati.*[83]

D. SOCIAL

1. Yāska refers in the *Nirukta* to many schools of interpretation (besides individual teachers) such as the *Aitihāsika*-s, *Naidāna*-s, *Nairukta*-s, *Yājñika*-s and *Vaiyākaraṇa*-s.

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1. Cf. Haradatta, 5-(*ii*) above.
2. See S. Venkatasubramania Iyer, *Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's Prakriyāsarvasva : A Critical Study*, Trivendrum, 1972.
3. *APS*, Paras, 3, 6.
4. *Ibid.*, Para 3.
5. I.10.
6. I.39.
7. I.25.
8. Under 7.3.63 in *Kṛtkhaṇḍa* of *PS*.
9. *APS*, *l.c.*, and *PS*, in the *Kṛthaṇḍa* under 7.3.62.
10. 13.13.
12. *APS*, *l.c.*
13. *Ibid.*, Paras 3, 4, 38.

2. (*i*) Pāṇini perceives irregularity (*bāhulya*) in the currency of (*saṁjñā*-s) as in the case of Vedic forms.[1]

(*ii*) Besides referring to the usages preferred by his respectable predecessors, he gives a whole class of the irregular ***Pṛṣodarādi*** formations[2] which should be accepted in the form in which they are used (by the cultured people).

(*iii*) He refers to the following speech-communities (besides the *Prācya*-s and *Udicya*-s) : the Andhaka-Vṛṣṇis, the Uṣīnaras, the Prācya-Bharatas, the Madras and the Bāhīkas.

(*iv*) He refers to the communal idiom in accentuation,[3] and also

(*v*) to a woman's idiom.[4]

3. (*i*) Kty points out the important facts that the usage of the people was a natural phenomenon,[5] that upon it depends the use of the derivatives like *Kṛt, Taddhita* and *Samāsa*,[6] and that is not backed by it should not be given currency even if grammatically defendable.[7]

(*ii*) Yet, even if the people at large (*Loka*) may think of using a variety of forms to denote the same idea, it is the Science (*Śāstra*) that would choose the use of some for the good of the society.[8]

(*iii*) To P's communal idiom, he adds[9] the one for a Kṣatriya and a Vaiśya, and also.

(*iv*) The one for a woman.[10]

(*v*) He refers to the view of the great predecessors, Vājapyāyana[11] and Vyāḍi (105).

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1. Vide, *nityaṃ saṃjñāchandasoḥ*, 4.1.29, *ṅyāpaḥ saṃjñāchandasor bahulam*, 6.3.63. etc.
2. 6.3.109.
3. *pratyabhivāde' śudre* 8.2 83.
4. *strīṣu sauvīraśālvaprākṣu* 4.2.76.
5. *abhidhānaṃ punaḥ svābhāvikam*, 1.2.64.33=2.2.29.15.
6. .....*abhidhānalakṣaṇatvāt pratyayasya* 3.3.19.3.
7. *anabhidhānāt* 3.2.15 etc.
8. *Pasp. Vt.* 1 :.....*śāstreṇa dharmaniyamaḥ*.
9. 8.2.83.2.
10. 8.2.83.1.
11. 1.2.64.35.

4. Ptj observed a number of varying usages (more incorrect than correct[1]) current at his time, and his guidance in the matter was accepted with the highest respect.

(*i*) Some forms were preferred by some individual grammarians (like Kuṇaravāḍava, taking *śaṅgarā* as correct for *śaṅkarā*) or by some schools of grammarians (like the Bhāradvājīyas, Saunāgas etc.).[2]

(*ii*) But for the rest, Ptj had to consider the specialities shown in all those with the types represented by them, and then give his verdict on their use. From an analysis of his observations scattered over the *M*, he appears to assume the following principles :

(*General* :) 1. A '*prāpta*' (grammatically regular) or *prāpta*-like ('*avyutpanna*' unanalysable) form is *sādhu* or correct, the '*a-prāpta*' one being *a-sādhu* or incorrect.

E. g. (a) *Devadatta* etc.,[3] *ṛtaka*, *acakamata*,[4] as against *ḷtaka*, *acīkamata* respectively ;

(b) *go*, *śaśa*, *palāśa*, *mañcaka*,[5] as against *gāvī* (*goṇī*, *gotā*, *gopatalikā*), *ṣaṣa*, *palāṣa*, *mañjaka* respectively.

(*Special* :) 2. No. 1 is valid especially in the sacrificial context, e. g. *he 'rayaḥ* and *yad vā nas tad vā naḥ*, as against *he 'layaḥ* and *yarvāṇastarvāṇaḥ*[6].

3. A form which is *rūḍha* or *iṣṭa*, though *aprāpta*, *is sādhu*' e. g. (besides *Nipātana*-s and members of the *Pṛṣodarādi* class,) *pravetṛ* (as against *prājitṛ*)[7], *apunargeya* and the like (cases of *asamartha*

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1. Cf. *laghīyāñ śabdop ıdeśo, garīyān apaśabdopadeśaḥ*/ *ekaikasya śabdasya bahavo' pabhraṃśa.* (*M* I.5.20f. etc.).
2. See Kielhorn, "Notes on the *Mahābhāṣya* : 5. The authorities on grammar quoted in the *Mahābhāṣya*", *IA* 16.101-06 (1887).
3. See reference in fn. 19 above : p. 88.
4. See Ptj's interesting couplet on 3.1.48.1 at *M* II.55.4f.
5. See S. D. Laddu, "A Linguistic Phenomenon from the *Mahābhāṣya*", *Ṛtam* (*Prof. K. A. S. Iyer Felicitation Volume, 1975*), II-VI.69-71.
6. *M* I.11.11-14.
7. See the interesting story narrated by Ptj between a grammarian and a character (*M* I.488.17-20).

samāsa), stump-words (like *datta* or *bhāmā* for *devadatta* or *satyabhāmā*), stump-sentences[1], and even suspected idiolects[2].

4. A form which is an *anabhidhāna* (or *arūḍha*), though *prāpta*, is *asādhu*, e.g. *pravetṛ*, **ādityadarśa*, **himavacchrāva*, **grāmagāma* etc.

Remarks : —M. Deshpande sees in the linguistic picture of Ptj's society existence of "tensions between theoretical attitudes and the practical function of grammar............quite natural considering the historical situation in which Patañjali lived"[3]. It was Ptj's role in this situation, as we have stated elsewhere[4], to strike an intelligent balance between the demands of the science and the surging movements of the society, which was the role of a social leader in linguistic matters.

5. Śabara (200-400 A.D.), confronted[5] with interpreting the non-Aryan forms appearing in the Veda, remarks that it is the decision of the Mlecchas who use them that should be accepted in such a case : *coditam aśiṣṭair api śiṣṭānavagataṃ pratīyeta yat pramāṇenāviruddhaṃ tad avagamyamānaṃ na nyāyyaṃ tyaktum.* This is indeed a refreshingly generous remark for his age.

6. Varāhamihira (c.550 A.D.), in his *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*,[6] vies with Śabara in respecting the scientific approaches of the Mleccha, when he quotes Gargācārya approvingly :

mlecchā hi yavanās teṣu śāstram etat pratiṣṭhitam /
ṛṣivat te' pi sampūjyāḥ kiṃ punar devavid dvijaḥ //

7. Bhartṛhari (c. 650 A. D.), in the *Mahābhāṣya-dīpikā*, is found remarking (*i*) that the followers of the *Taittirīya* tradition utter the form *agni* as *agṇi*,[7] and (*ii*) that many expressions are tabooed by womenfolk.[8]

(*i*) Kumārila castigates[9] even the Munitraya by saying that these 'supreme' grammarians should not forget that they themselves are abundantly using forms on the same level as *gāvī* etc.

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1. *praviśa, piṇḍīm, tarpaṇam, kuru* : I.111.23.
2. An individualistic assertion from an arguer, not denying *his* use of certain forms, is seen in the folllowing : *abhyantaro 'haṃ loke, na tv ahaṃ lokaḥ* (*M* I.9.4f.).
3. *ALB*. 42.102; fn. 1.
4. See S. D. Laddu (reference in fn. 4 on p. 244), pp. 12.102.
5. *JS*. 1.3.10.
6. II.14.
7. 1.7f.
8. 33.11f.
9. *Mimāṃsādarśanam*, ed. by K. V. Abhyankar and Ganesh Shastri Joshi (ASS. No. 97, Vol. 2, Poona, 1970), 191f.

ye 'pi vyākaraṇasyaiva pare pāre pratiṣṭhitāḥ /
sutarāṃ te 'pi gāvyāditulyān eva prayuñjate //
sūtravārttikabhāṣyeṣu dṛśyate cāpaśabdanam /
aśvārūḍhāḥ kathaṃ cāśvān vismareyuḥ sacetanāḥ //[1]

(For P, he is probably referring here to the use of the un-Pāṇinian forms like *janikartṛ*, *tatprayojaka*, *tiryac*, *anvac*, *prokta* etc.[2]

(*ii*) His strong opposition (after Śabara above) to looking for a Sanskrit origin in any non-Aryan form borrowed in Sanskrit, in the lines mentioned earlier, is very remarkable for its modernity of thought.[3] (Later, the *Līlātilakam*, written during 1400-1480 A. D.,[4] is found borrowing the ideas and illustrations of forms supplied by Kumārila here, but without acknowledging the source.[5]

9. Jinendrabuddhi (8th c. A. D.), the author of the Commentary *Nyāsa* on the *Kāśikā-vṛtti*, alone of all those commenting on the *Ślokavārttika*-s (in the *M*), points out, though only at one place,[6] possibility of the other schools of thought suggested by the use of the first person there[7] : *'aham' ity ātmānaṁ vyapadeśayann 'apare' 'nyathā kurvanti iti sūcayati.*

10. (*i*) Haradatta explains[8] the term *'iṣṭyupasaṅkhyāna'* from the Introductory St. 2 of the *Kāśikā* as implying the forms which are not covered (*asaṅgṛhītaṃ lakṣyam*) by the *Sūtra*, thus including statements marked by *'vaktavyam'* also. The *Kāśikā* is thus said to be taking cognizance of forms derived by all these types of Rules.

(*ii*) He refers[9] to the fact of absence in usage of the form * *vacanti* though grammatically justifiable.

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1. *JS.* 1.3.24.
2. 1.4.30.55; 3.4.60.64; 4.2.64, respectively.
3. See M. Deshpande (at fn. 1 on p. 245, p. 20f. Also H. H. Narahari (at fn. 5 on p. 246) p. 70 who finds him here 'anticipating the work of the Philologists of our time''.
4. Vide K. R. Pishati, "*Līlātilaka*- A Study'', *B. C. Law Volume II* (B. O. R. I., 1946), p. 341.
5. See U. S. P. Aiyar (at fn. 4 on p. 246), p. 1237, fn. 7.
6. *M.* II.87.10 on 3.1.122.
7. Other spots where the personal reference is made (in words like *manye*, *aham*, *mama*, *me*, *te*) are on 1.1.57, 3.1.27, 3.1. 112, 5.2.45, 6.4.62, 7.4.92, 8.2.108),
8. I.5.
9. I.10.

(*iii*) It has already been seen above how he detects[1] usages peculiar to certain houses (i. e. families), certain individuals and to certain physical conditions.

(*iv*) He gives[2] a fine definition for the '*Ākṛti-gaṇa*' as the class of forms that are to be accepted on possessing the common characteristic (*ākṛti*) and on observing the actual usage : *prayogadarśanena ākṛtigrāhyo gaṇaḥ ākṛtigaṇaḥ*.

(*v*) He has found the *Kāśikā* recording forms which were not earlier noted by the Munitraya on the *Sūtra*-s, 1.2.59, 2.3.32, 2.4.58, 4.1.54 (at I. 368, II. 190, II. 301, III. 357 respectively),[3] the basis for which, as he observes, was the extension of usage (*prayoga-bāhulya*) sanctioned by the *Sūtra*-s.

11. Nārāyṇa Bhaṭṭatiri, as already seen, makes a very systematic advocacy of the validity of the un-Pāṇinian usages used by writers.

(*i*) Vyāsa actually studied nine Grammars and then in the *Mahābhārata* employed usages sanctioned in them.[4]

(*ii*) The great Grammarians of the other schools (*śāstrāntara-mahājana*) like Candra, Bhoja and Vopadeva have sanctioned many un-Pāṇinian forms,[5] and a responsible writer knows what he is writing[6] and would not record anything without evidence (*nirmūla*).

(*iii*) Even P respects the usages favoured by earlier Grammarians, and thus an equal respect is due to the both types of usages (*matabhede dvayaṃ grāhyam*).[7]

(*iv*) The Munitraya statements are never rigid or restrictive (saying '*eta eva sādhavaḥ*'), but adapt themselves to the actual usage (*prayogataḥ*) of the *Sūtra*-s (*śiṣṭaprayogānusārin*), just one proof of which is the setting up of many an *Ākṛtigaṇa*[8] all

1. I.15
2. II.80.
3. See Mahesh Dutt Sharma, "*kāśikāyāṁ pāṇinīyetaravyākaraṇānāṁ prabhāvaḥ*", *Sāgarikā*, 8.3.1, fn. 1 (1970).
4. Paras 3, 6.
5. Paras 3, 15.
6. Para 23.
7. Paras 25, 30, 33.
8. Paras 13-15.

the member-forms of which cannot have been perceived by Ptj with all his learning.[1] Even the greatest fidels of P would agree that a Usage gives rise to a Rule and also vice versa. Thus, this science is purely objective (*tad, vastuparaṃ śāstram*).[2]

(*v*) Acceptance of a variety of usages and views is thus based on the special merits of each writer, and that is the property equally of the non-Pāṇinian Grammarians as of P : we therefore respect all equally.[3]

Thus he summarises :[4]

pāṇinyuktaṃ pramāṇaṃ, na punar aparam candrabhojādiśāstram
ke 'py āhus tal laghiṣṭhaṃ, na khalu bahuvidām asti nirmūlavākyam |
bahvaṅgīkārabhedo bhavati guṇavaśāt, pāṇineḥ prāk kathaṃ vā
pūrvoktaṃ pāṇiniś cāpy anuvadati, virodhe 'pi kalpyo vikalpaḥ ||[4]

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1. Paras 28.
2. Paras 24, 17.
3. Para 18.
4. *APS.*, p. 1. Also appearing at the beginning of the *Lārthaviśeṣa* Khaṇḍa of the *PS*.

TWO NOTES ON YASNA 10

M. A. Mehendale

(1)

Yasna 10.17 reads :

vīspe haoma upastaomi
× × ×
yaēcit̰ azahu dərətaŋhō
jaininąm upadarəzāhu

"Alle Haoma's preise ich,... ; auch die, welche, in Gefangenschaft gehalten, sich in der Fesseln der Weiber befinden". Wolff[1].

What is meant by 'the Haomas held in captivity (or narrowness) with the chains (or in the bundles) by women is not clear. It is generally believed that the *jani* of *Y.*10.17 is the same as the *mairyā jani* of *Y.*10.15. She is a roguish woman who makes use of Haoma for illegitimate purposes. But this can hardly be the correct interpretation since Zarathushtra is not likely to think of praising (*upastaomi*) such Haomas.

Two suggestions are offered here to explain the above passage.

(1) It is possible that the word *janayō* refers to the 'fingers' which hold the Haoma stalks. In the *Ṛgveda*, the fingers, in relation to Soma, are often spoken of as the (ten) 'sisters'. In many passages, however, the verbs used with them are expressive of some kind of forward movement, e.g. *hinvanti*[2]; *hinvánti*[3]; *aheṣata*[4]; *ájanti*[5]. But in two passages, the "holding" or the "restraining" of Soma by the 'sisters' is, indeed, referred to, e.g. *ā gṛbhṇánti*[6]

1. "die in der Enge gehalten sind in den Bündeln der Frauen". Lommel.
2. 9.26.5.
3. 9.65.1.
4. 9.71.5.
5. 9.91.1.
6. 9.1.7.

and *yatáḥ*[1]. Hence it is possible to suggest that the word *janayō* in the *Yasna*[2] does not refer to real women but refer, figuratively, to fingers. The Haoma stalks held tightly by fingers are apparently spoken of as the ones held in captivity by women.

(2) Alternatively, it is possible that the tight holding of the Haomas has a reference to the practice of the tight binding of the Soma stalks. This is referred to in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[3]. After the description of the purchase of the Soma stalks for a Soma sacrifice, we read :

> *átha somopanáhanasya samutpāryā́ntān uṣṇī́ṣeṇa vígrathnāti* ... (18). *átha mádhye 'ṅgúlyākāśáṁ karoti ... tám áyatīva vā́ enam etát samāyácchann aprāṇám iva karoti/tásyaitad áta evá madhyatáḥ prāṇám útsṛjati*(19).

"Having gathered up the ends of the Soma-cloth, he (the *Adhvaryu*) ties them together by means of the head-band...(18).

"He then makes a finger-hole in the middle (of the knot), ... for, in compressing (the cloth), he, as it were, strangles him (Soma and the sacrificer) and renders him breathless; hereby now he emits his breath from inside, ..." Eggeling.

In the light of this description it is likely that the word *janayō* of the *Yasna*[4] refer to the ends of the cloth. We have to presume that the Avestan word for the 'end' of the cloth was in the feminine gender, like Sanskrit *daśā*[5]. If this assumption is correct, the Haomas held tightly by 'women' would be those which were tied up with the ends of the cloth.

It is conceivable that Zarathushtra praises such Haomas.

(2)

Yasna 10.14 reads :

> *mā mē yathá gāuš drafšō*
> *āsito vārəm acaire*
> *fraša frayantu te maδō*
> *vərəzyaŋuhāŋhō jasantu*

1. 9.28.4.
2. 10.17.
3. 3.3.2.18-19.
4. 10.17
5. In the *Śat. Br.* passage above, however, the word for the 'end' of the cloth is *ánta* (m).

"Nicht sollen sie mir beliebig wie das Stierbanner sich einherbewegen, (wenn) sie (dich) geniessen; stracks vorwärts sollen sie gehen, (die) sich an dir begeistern; mit energischem Schaffensdrang sollen sie sich einstellen". Wolff[1].

The above rendering does not seem satisfactory. The one who is drunk is himself likely to falter and not make some one else falter. The word *drafšō* is in the nominative and not accusative. And the connection between the two sentences also is not clear in the above rendering.

Prof. H. P. Schmidt has kindly supplied me with a completely different interpretation of the above passage offered by J. Kellens in his book *Les noms-racines de l' Avesta*, (Wiesbaden, 1974)[2]. This interpretation runs as follows : "when you are lying[3] in the strainer[4], do not stagnet[5] for me like the drop of milk (which, when coagulating does not pass through the strainer) ; let your intoxicating (jets) advance straight, let them come with a vital energy force".

This is, no doubt, a better interpretation of the passage. But it seems possible to modify a little Kellen's interpretation. It is difficult to imagine that the poet here thinks of a drop of coagulating milk passing through a strainer as the object of comparison. That would be a very special case. It is more likely that the poet thinks of the drop of milk which does not easily pass through the cow's teat when she, for some reason[6], holds back the flow of milk. The Haoma juice that does not pass easily through a strainer can be compared with a drop of milk that does not come through the teat.

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1. "Nicht soll mir wer davon getrunken hat, wie das Stierbanner nach Belieben (?= schwankend ?) sich einherbewegen. Wunderbar mögen herbeikommen deine Räusche, wirksam mögen sie kommen". Lommel.
2. The book is not accessible to me.
3. *āsito* understood as in *āsito-gātu*.
4. Cf. Skt. *vā́ra* 'strainer, hair-sieve'.
5. *acaire* loc. sg. of *acara* 'non-movement', *mā . . . acaire* lit. 'may you not be in immobility'.
6. One reason could be that she want to feed the calf first.

हिन्दी में अविकारी और विकारी कारक-विषयक भ्रान्ति

रमेश चन्द्र महरोत्रा

कितनी ही पुस्तकों में यह लिखा मिलता है कि हिन्दी में 'अविकारी' और 'विकारी' कारक हैं और केवल दो कारक हैं।[१]

यह कोरी भ्रान्ति है। अविकारी और विकारी रूपों को 'कारक' कहना घोर अज्ञान की स्थिति है। कारक वस्तुतः कर्ता, कर्म, करण, आदि ही हैं, जिन का द्योतन विभक्ति-परसर्ग या विभक्ति-प्रत्यय स्वरूप वाले कारक- चिह्नों के द्वारा किया जाता है, जैसे 'लड़के को' और 'तुझ को' में 'को' या 'तुझे' में '-ए' के द्वारा। यदि इन उदाहरणों में 'लड़के' और 'तुझ' में विकारी कारक विद्यमान हो, अर्थात् इन विकारी 'रूपों' को ही विकारी 'कारक' में कह दिया जाए, तो इन के बाद प्रयुक्त किए जाने वाले 'को' या '-ए' ('से', 'में', आदि) का क्या कार्य

(i) गॉर्डन एच० फ़ेयरबैंक्स, हिंदी–अनुशीलन, धीरेंद्र वर्मा–विशेषांक, "हिंदी में कारक", १९६०, पृष्ठ ७८-८१

(ii) भोलानाथ तिवारी, भाषाविज्ञान–कोश, १९६४, पृष्ठ ७६६ तथा ७८६

(iii) यमुना काचरू, एन इंट्रोडक्शन टु हिंदी सिंटैक्स, १९६६, पृष्ठ १३०

(iv) भारत सरकार (वैज्ञानिक एवं तकनीकी शब्दावली का स्थायी आयोग), मानविकी शब्दावली, १९६९ पृष्ठ, १५३

(v) कैलाश चन्द्र अग्रवाल, आधुनिक हिन्दी व्याकरण, १९७०, पृष्ठ ४५

(vi) ए बेसिक ग्रामर ऑफ़ मॉडर्न हिंदी, आर्येंद्र शर्मा, सेंट्रल हिंदी डायरेक्टोरेट, १९७५, पृष्ठ ३४

(vii) महावीर सरन जैन, भारतीय साहित्य, १९७६, वर्ष २१, अंक १-४, "हिंदी पद-रचना", पृष्ठ ३१-४२

(viii) रामेश्वर दयालु, मुग्धबोध भाषाविज्ञान, १९७८, पृष्ठ ३३०,

और अर्थ होगा ! वे किसलिए हैं ! वास्तव में इस 'लड़के' या 'तुझ' का वाक्य में व्यवहृत क्रिया से कारकीय सम्बन्ध दिखाने वाले कारक—चिह्न ये 'को', '-ए', 'से', 'में', आदि ही होते हैं। इन के बिना कारकीय सम्बन्ध नितान्त अस्पष्ट रह जाता है, जैसे **'लड़के को देखा–लड़के देखा'**, **'तुझ को देखा–'तुझ देखा'**, **'लड़के से देखा–लड़के देखा'**, **'तुझ में देखा–तुझ देखा'**, इत्यादि। केवल 'लड़के' (एकवचन) या 'तुझ' से कोई कारकीय अर्थ व्यक्त नहीं होता, अपितु वाक्य-रचना ही भ्रष्ट हो जाती है। यदि यह बात सही न हो, तो क्या, उदाहरणार्थ, **'लडके को'** और **'तुझ को/तुझे'** 'के बारे में यह कहा जाएगा कि इन में पहले विकारी कारक विद्यमान है है ('लड़के' और 'तुझ' में) और फिर 'को' या '–ए' से द्योतित होने वाला 'कर्म कारक' विद्यमान है, अर्थात् इन उदाहरणों में आगे–पीछे दो–दो कारक हैं। वस्तुतः कहना यह चाहिए कि 'लड़के (एकवचन विकारी)', 'तुझ', 'उस', आदि 'विकारी' अवश्य हैं, पर 'विकारी रूप' हैं, 'विकारी कारक' नहीं।

समस्या का समाधान अत्यन्त सरल है। 'लड़का' का एक परिवर्त 'लड़के' भी है—जिस तरह 'लड़की' की एक परिवर्तित शक्ल 'लड़कि–' भी है ('लड़कियाँ' और लड़कियों' में); जिस तरह 'पानी' का एक परिवर्त 'पनि–' भी है ('पनिहारी' में)—जिस का प्रयोग किसी कारकीय परसर्ग के पूर्व किया जाता है। अर्थ दोनों परिवर्तों का बिलकुल एक है। इसी प्रकार, 'तू' का परिवर्त 'तुझ' है (अर्थ दोनों का बिलकुल एक है), जिस का प्रयोग किसी कारकीय परसर्ग अथवा कारकीय प्रत्यय के पूर्व किया जाता है। 'वह' और 'उस' भी एक ही रूपिम के संरूप या उपरूप हैं, जिन में अर्थ की दृष्टि से कोई अन्तर नहीं है। विशिष्ट कारकीय अर्थ देने के लिए बाद में विशिष्ट कारक-चिह्न जोड़ दिया जाता है और उसका साथ देने के लिए 'वह' का विकारी रूप 'उस' प्रयुक्त किया जाता है। यहाँ विकारी रूप (मूल उपरूप नहीं, विकारी उपरूप) ही कारक-चिह्न ग्रहण करता है। एकवचन 'लड़का--लड़के' की बात एक बार फिर दुहरानी है—'लड़के को' में 'लड़के' का अर्थ केवल 'लड़का' है, उस में कोई कारक-चिह्न नहीं है। 'लड़का' अविकारी रूप है, जो कर्ता कारक में प्रयुक्त होता है और शब्दकोश में मिलता है, जब कि 'लड़के को' में 'लड़के' विकारी उपरूप है, जो कर्ता से इतर कारकों में व्यवहृत होता है ('ने' परसर्ग लेने वाले अभिकर्ता कारक में भी)। अविकारी रूप स्वतन्त्रता और स्वच्छन्दता से प्रयुक्त होते हैं, इसलिए इन्हें मूल रूप कहा जाना सङ्गत है; विकारी रूप आगामी बिभक्ति आदि से प्रतिबन्धित रहते हैं। 'मैं' और 'मुझ', इत्यादि परस्पर तभी भिन्नकारकीय हो सकते थे, जब 'मुझ' में 'मैं' के अर्थ के अतिरिक्त किसी कारक का (कर्म, करण, सम्प्रदान जैसा) भी अर्थ सम्मिलित होता। कारकीय अर्थ परवर्ती कारक-चिह्न से ही निकलता है। ये कारक-चिह्न अपने पूर्ववर्ती शब्द-रूप में बहुत बार विकार पैदा नहीं भी किया करते, जैसे **'पिता को'**, **'बैल को'**, **'हम को'**, आदि में पर कई बार दूर—दूर तक कर दिया करते है, जैसे **'उस के बड़े लड़के को'** में। उपर्युक्त विवेचन का निचोड़ निम्नानुसार प्रदर्शित किया जा सकता है—

मात्र उपरूपात्मक स्तर पर भिन्न		अतिरिक्त रूपिम
अविकारी रूप (कर्ता कारक में प्रयुक्त होने वाला)	विकारी रूप (अन्य कारकों में प्रयुक्त होने वाला)	कारक-चिह्न विभक्ति-परसर्ग या (विभक्ति-प्रत्यय)
लड़का	लड़के	को
मैं	मुझ	को/-ए
तू	तुझ	को/-ए
वह	उस	को/-ए
लड़के (-ए = बहुवचन)	लड़कों (-ओं = बहुवचन)	को

आगे विविध वाग्भागों के विकारी उपरूपों का उल्लेख किया जाएगा। सर्वनामों को छोड़ कर अन्य वाग्भागों में एकवचन में केवल आकारान्त पुल्लिङ्ग शब्द विकार ग्रहण कर के एकारान्त हो जाते हैं, किन्तु कुछ आकारान्त पुल्लिङ्ग संज्ञाएं भी विकारी नहीं बनतीं, जैसे पिता, राजा, वक्ता, श्रोता; चाचा, दादा, नाना, लाला, बाबा, काका, फूफा; डालडा, डेल्टा, डैटा; सुदामा, भोला (व्यक्तिवाचक), कोकाकोला; आगरा, कलकत्ता, मथुरा, अमेरिका, आस्ट्रेलिया, कनाडा; इत्यादि। अन्य सभी प्रकार के अन्तों वाले एकवचन पुल्लिङ्ग शब्द कारक—चिह्नों के पूर्व भी स्थिर रूप में अर्थात् अविकारी रहते हैं, जैसे घर, कवि, हाथी, भानु, भालू आदि। एकवचन स्त्रीलिङ्ग शब्द भी विकृत नहीं होते। बहुवचन में पुल्लिङ्ग और स्त्रीलिङ्ग दोनों ही प्रकार के शब्द विकारग्रस्त हो कर ओंकारांन्त बन जाते हैं।

एकवचन पुल्लिङ्ग शब्दों के विकार ग्रहण करने वाले विविध प्रकारों का सोदाहरण विवरण निम्नानुसार है—

		अविकारी	विकारी
1.	संज्ञा	घोड़ा, धोखा	घोड़े (को), धोखे (को)
2.	क्रियार्थक संज्ञा	करना	करने (को)
3.	कर्तृवाचक संज्ञा	रखवाला	रखवाले (को)
4.	सर्वनाम	मैं, तू, यह, वह, जो, कौन, कोई	मुझ, तुझ, इस, उस, जिस किस, किसी (को)
5.	व्यक्ति--सम्बन्ध-सूचक	मेरा, तेरा	मेरे, तेरे (लड़के को)
6.	निजता-सम्बन्ध सूचक	अपना	अपने (लड़के को)

7.	**विशेषण**	काला, ऐसा, दूसरा, चौगुना, इतना-सा	काले, ऐसे, दूसरे, चौगुने, इतने-से (लड़के को)
8.	वर्तमानकालिक कृदन्त	दौड़ता	दौड़ते (लड़के को)
9.	भूतकालिक कृदन्त	दौड़ा हुआ	दौड़े हुए (लड़के को)
10.	सम्बन्धवाचक तद्धितान्त	का	के (लड़के को)

अंत में, कारकों की बात न सोचते हुए विविध प्रकार के शब्दों के अविकारी और विकारी रूपों के परस्पर परिवर्तन के खेल के लिए निम्नलिखित बड़े उदाहरण देखिए—

	अविकारी रूप	**विकारी रूप**
(1)	मेरा वह काला घोड़ा	मेरे उस काले घोड़े
	का उतना बड़ा बच्चा	के उतने बड़े बच्चे
	का दौड़ता हुआ चला जाना	के दौड़ते हुए चले जाने (को)
(2)	यह बड़ा लड़का (ने)	इस बड़े लड़के (ने)
	अपना रखवाला (से)	अपने रखवाले (से)
	हमारा दौड़ता हुआ बछड़ा (को)	हमारे दौड़ते हुए बछड़े (को)
	पीटना (को कहा) ।	पीटने (को कहा) ।

HOW MANY AND WHO WERE THE SONS OF GAUTAMĪPUTRA SĀTAKARṆI?

V. V. Mirashi

Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi was a well-known king in the Sātavāhana family of Mahārāshṭra. It was probably during the reign of his father called Śiva-Svāti in the Purāṇas that the Śakas invaded Northern Mahārāshṭra and Vidarbha, and occupied the districts of Poonā and Nāsik as well as the country of Vidarbha. Inscriptions of the time of the Śaka Kṣhatrapa Nahapāna have been discovered in these districts of Western Mahārāshṭra[1], and another of the Śaka Kṣhatrapa Rupiamma has recently been found in Vidarbha[2]. Consequently, the Sātavāhanas had to leave their original capital of Junnar and to move to Pratishṭhāna near Aurangābād.

Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, son of Śiva-Svāti, rescued his family in this debacle. He not only won back the aforementioned territory from the Śaka Kṣhatrapas but carried his arms far and wide north of the Narmadā. A Nāsik Cave inscription[3] of his son Puḷumāvi records that the following countries were comprised in his kingdom: Saurāshṭra (Kāṭhiawāḍ), Kukura (south-east Rājaputān), Ākarāvantī (Mālwā) and Anūpa (modern Indore and Nemāḍ districts of M. P.), Aparānta (North Koṅkaṇ), Ṛśhīka (Khāndesh), Aśmaka (Ahmadnagar District), Mūlaka (Aurangābād District) and Vidarbha. Some of these districts had been conquered from the Western Kṣhatrapas, Nahapāna and Rupiamma.

The personal name of this great king is not known. Sātakarṇi was his family name. Really speaking, his family name was Sātavāhana which is actually mentioned in the aforementioned Nasik Cave inscription of

1. Lüders' *List*, Nos. 1099, 1131, 1132, 1134 etc.
2. *EI.* XXXVII, pp. 201 ff.
3. Lüders' *List*, No. 1123.

Puḷumāvi. Sātavāhana was the progenitor of the family, but after two or three generations there arose a great and powerful king in that family, named Sātakarṇi I who increased its power, kingdom and prestige. Then the family came to be known as Sātakarṇi. Several of his successors adopted this family name and added their personal names to it to distinguish themselves. We thus find Skanda Sātakarṇi, Vijaya Sātakarṇi, Yajña Sātakarṇi, Kumbha Sātakarṇi, Karṇa Sātakarṇi and so forth among his successors. Gautamīputra also adopted the same family name Sātakarṇi. He was known as Gautamīputra because he was a son of the queen Gautamī Balaśrī (Śrī-Bālā of the Gautama—*gotra*). He must have had a personal name also, but it is not recorded anywhere. The Puraṇic list of Andhra (*i.e.* Sātavāhana) kings generally makes no mention of metronymics, but Gautamīputra is an exception. His personal name is not known.

The Purāṇas mention only Pulomāvi (1) as a son of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. See the following extract from the Puraṇic list of Andhra (Sātavāhana) kings[1] :

राजा श्रीगौतमीपुत्र एकविंशत्ततो नृपः ।
अष्टाविंशः सुतस्तस्य पुलोमा वै भविष्यति ।।
शिवश्रीर्वै पुलोमा तु सप्तैव भविता नृपः ।
शिवस्कन्धः सातकर्णिर्भवितास्यात्मजः समाः ।।
नवविंशतिवर्षाणि यज्ञश्रीः सातकर्णिकः ।
षडेव भविता तस्माद्विजयस्तु समा नृपः ।।

This passage gives the following genealogy :—

Gautamīputra
|
(son)
Pulomā
|
(son ?)
Śiva-śrī Pulomā
|
(son)
Śiva-Skandha
|
(Son ?)
Yajña Sātakarṇi
|
(son ?)
Vijaya Sātakarṇi

1. Pargiter, *D. K. A.* p. 42.

This genealogy does not agree with that known from contemporary inscriptions and coins and has, therefore, to be corrected in several places. We proceed to examine it in the light of their stronger evidence.

The Purāṇic statement that Gautamīputra was succeeded by his son (i.e. Puḷumāvi) is correct. His last known regnal date known from inscriptions is the twenty-fourth. So he may have ruled for twenty-eight years as stated in the Purāṇas. He is called Vāsisaṭhīputra in his inscriptions. So he was a son of Gautamīputra from his queen of the Vasishṭha *gotra*. His inscriptions and coins have been found over a wide territory south of the Narmadā such as Western Mahārāṣhṭra, Karnāṭaka, Vidarbha and Andhra. Some of his coins are of the portrait type in silver and contain Draviḍian words signifying his rule in the Andhra country. He was evidently ruling over the entire kingdom of his father, south of the Narmadā. The provinces north of that river had evidently been reconquered by the Western Kṣhatrapas after Gautamīputra's death.

The Purāṇic statement that Pulomā (Puḷumāvi) was succeeded by [his son (?)] Śiva-śrī Pulomā is wrong. In ancient times several kings of the Sātavāhana, Kadamba and Pallava families prefixed the epithet Śiva to their names optionally. So Puḷumāvi is not different from Śiva-śrī Puḷumāvi. The Tarhāḷā hoard of the potin coins of the Sātavāhanas contained coins of Śrī-Puḷumāvi and also of Śiva-śrī-Puḷumāvi. His lead coins in the Wategaon hoard mention his name as Vāsisṭhī-putra Śiva-śrī-Puḷumāvi, while his silver coins found elsewhere give it as Vasisthī-putra Śrī-Puḷumāvi. So the Purāṇic statement that Śiva-śrī-Puḷumāvi flourished after Śrī-Puḷumāvi is incorrect. The two names were borne by the same king, viz., the son and successor of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.

According to the Purāṇas, Śiva-śrī was succeeded by Śiva-Skandha who was his son. This statement also is erroneous. In the first place, the correct name of the successor was not Śiva-Skandha, but Śiva-Skanda. Secondly, he was not a son of Śiva-śrī-Puḷumāvi but was his uterine brother. Several lead coins of this king were noticed in the Wāṭegāon hoard. They name him as Vāsishṭhīputra Skanda Sātakarṇi, which showed clearly that he was, like Puḷumāvi, a son of Gautamīputra from this queen of the Vasisṭha *gotra*. A silver portrait coin of this king has recently come to notice at Nāsik. His coins of other metals like potin and lead have been found in other parts of Western Mahārāshṭra and Vidarbha. But they have not yet been discovered in Andhra[1]. It seems, therefore, that after the death of Puḷumāvi, the

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1. Raṃa Rao, *Sātavāhana Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum*, pp. 17 ff.

Sātavāhana empire was divided between the two brothers, Skanda Sātakarṇi getting Mahārāshṭra and Vidarbha, and another son of Gautamīputra getting the Andhra country.

This third son of Gautamīputra was Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi. His copper coins with the legend *Sātakarṇi* have been found in abundance in Andhra. They do not indeed mention his metronymic Vāsishṭhī-putra, but it occurs on a silver potrait coin of his recently discovered at Nāsik[1]. The legend on the reverse of this coin contains some Draviḍian words which show that it was originally meant for circulation in Andhra.

An inscription of an *Amātya* of the queen of this Vāsishṭhi-putra Sātakarṇi, who was the daughter of the Śaka Mahākṣhatrapa Rudradāman, exists in a cave at Kānherī in North Koṅkaṇ[2]. That record is probably of an earlier time when Rudradāman had reconquered North Koṅkaṇ from Puḷumāvi after Gautamīputra's death and given it to his son-in-law.

The personal name of this Sātakarṇi does not occur on his coins found in Andhra[3]. Nor does it occur on his portrait coin. So it becomes doubtful whether these coins belong to him or to some other Sātakarṇi. His silver coin has, however, his portrait which, as shown below, helps us in solving this question.

Recently, Shrimatī Gokhale has published a silver portrait coin of Vāsishṭhī-putra Vijaya Sātakarṇi[4], which shows that Gautamīputra had another son of that name from his queen of the Vasishṭha *gotra*. Coins of Vijaya Sātakarṇi have indeed been known for a long time. They were found in both the Chāndā and Tarhāḷā hoards of Sātavāhana coins. His name was not read when the Chāndā hoard was published, but we showed long ago while publishing the coins of the Tarhāḷā hoard that the coins with the fragmentary legend *ya Sātakarṇi*, or [*ja*] *ya* Sātakarṇi in that hoard belonged to him. But those coins bore no metronymic. They were, therefore, ascribed to Vijaya Sātakarṇi mentioned in the Purāṇas as a successor of Yajña Sātakarṇi. The silver portrait coin now discovered has the metronymic *Vāsishṭhī-putra* quite clear in its legend. It shows that he was another son of Gautamīputra from his queen of the Vasishṭha *gotra*. He lived in an earlier age than the Vijaya Sātakarṇi mentioned in the Purāṇas who succeeded Yajña Sātakarṇi. From a recently published Nāgārjunakoṇḍa

1. *J N S I.* XXI, pp. 9 ff.
2. Lüders' *List*, No. 994.
3. See Rama Rao, *Sātavāhana Coins* etc. pp. 50 ff.
4. See the *Annual* (*Vārshika*) of the Vidarbha Saṃshodhan Maṇḍala for 1979.

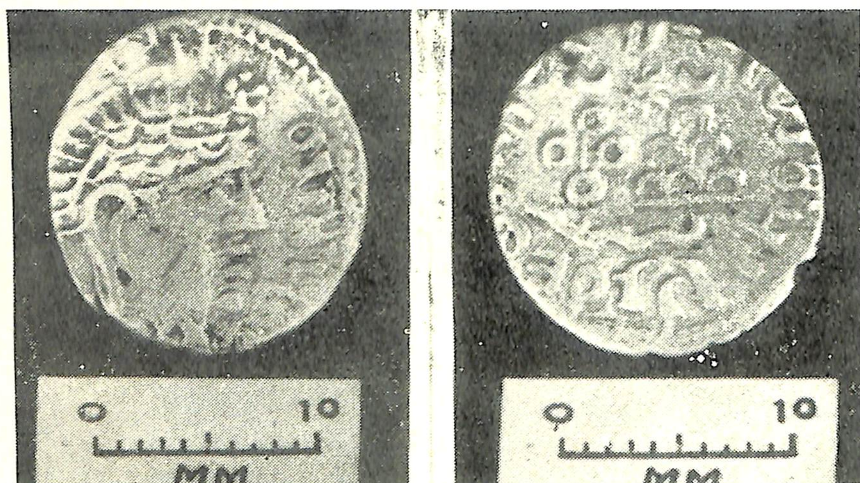


Fig. 1
Vijaya Sātakarṇi (Portrait Coin)



Fig. 2
Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi (Portrait Coin)

stone inscription[1] we learn that the latter was Gautamīputra *i.e.* son of a queen of the Gautama *gotra*. Yajña Sātakarṇi also was a Gautamīputra. So Vijaya was evidently his uterine brother and succeeded him. He was reigning in Andhra as the aforementioned Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription mentions his capital Vijayapurī (modern Nāgārjunakoṇḍa). He was different from Vāsishṭhīputra Vijaya Sātakarṇi who was ruling in Vidarbha as shown by his potin coins in the Chāndā and Tarhāḷā hoards.

So Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi had four sons from his queen of the Vāsishṭha *gotra*, viz., Puḷumāvi, Skanda Sātakarṇi, Vijaya Sātakarṇi and Sātakarni. Puḷumāvi ruled over the whole Sātavāhana Empire after his father's death. After his death the empire seems to have been divided into two parts. Skanda and, after him, Vijaya ruled over Western Mahārāshṭra and Vidarbha, and Sātakarṇi over Andhra. Later Sātakarṇi seems to have held the western provinces also as his coins have been found there.

As stated before, Vijaya Sātakarṇi mentioned in the Purāṇas was a later king. He was Gautamīputra and so he seems to have been a younger brother of Yajña Sātakarṇi, who also had the same metronymic[2]. During his reign the centre of Sātavāhana kingdom seems to have shifted to Andhra. He founded the city of Vijayapurī[3] (modern Nāgārjunakoṇḍa) and made it his capital. Later Sātavāhana kings ruled from the same city. Hence, the Purāṇas which were composed later call the dynasty Andhra, though it originally hailed from Western Mahārāshṭra.

Of the four aforementioned sons of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, the first three, viz., Puḷumāvi, Skanda and Vijaya had distinct personal names, but the fourth, viz. Sātakarṇi is known only by his family name. How is this? He also must have had a personal name, but it is mentioned nowhere. It is not mentioned in the aforementioned Kānheṛī inscription also but this may be because that inscription is not a record of the Sātavāhana family. It is of an *amātya* of his queen who may have mentioned only his family name. The question, therefore, arises, 'Is the fourth son Sātakarṇi identical with Vijaya Sātakarṇi?' In that case, the personal name of Sātakarṇi which was not known so far would be Vijaya mentioned in the legend of the recently discovered portrait coin. This supposition would be quite likely and in fact we were at first inclined to subscribe to the same view. But when we saw the portrait on the coins of Vijaya, it left no doubt that it was different from the silver coins of Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi. The silver coins of both are illustrated here from which readers can form their own opinion. (See the attached Plate).

1. *EI*. XXXVI, pp. 273 ff.
2. Lüders' *List*, No. 1146.
3. *EI*. XXXVI, pp. 273 ff.

SOME LEXICAL PROBLEMS IN THE VĀLMĪKI RĀMĀYAṆA

Sheldon Pollock

For all the apparent simplicity of its style, the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* bristles with passages where we simply must confess that we cannot understand exactly what is meant. Virtually every page of the text can in some way reproach us for the vagueness of our comprehension of its verbal detail. Modern students of the poem, rather more so than their counterpart in the medieval tradition of *Rāmāyaṇa* exegesis, seem all too often prone to allow these obscurities to remain such. But however minor each individual uncertainty may be, the ambiguity will of course be cumulative, and as a consequence our comprehension and appreciation of the Indian epic tends to a greater imprecision than scholarship in comparable Indo-European epic traditions has tolerated. To a large extent this is a result of the critical deficiency in our scholarly tools. We have no complete grammar of the epic dialect, no adequate dictionary (let alone specialized lexica, as of particles), and worst of all no concordances. Until all the evidence is fully and sensitively assembled, the philological study of the epic will not progress much beyond the work of the 12th century pioneers, and a tentative and provisional character will unavoidably still attach to it.

Under such a proviso, I wish to examine here, as a modest contribution in honour of Dr. Saksena, a few minor lexical problems of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. These include both items which, correctly explained by the medieval scholiastic tradition, have been ignored by modern scholarship, as well as a few, which, I believe, have been imperfectly understood both in the Indian tradition and the West. My objects of study here are principally questions of nuance, slight in their isolated impact, but cumulatively significant. The arguments

to be summoned can sometimes, and by necessity, rest on nothing more secure than likelihood[1].

SATYAPARĀKRAMA— Stock epithets constitute one major area of ambiguity, and the primary cause of this is precisely the fact that they are so often used formulaically: It is the frequent absence of context-sensitivity, or apparent absence, that makes it difficult for us to distinguish their exact semantic content.

SATYAPARĀKRAMA—Presents us with an example of this kind of vagueness in our comprehension, and the most recent translator of the *Mahābhārata* demonstrates the problems one faces in gauging the right shade of meaning: "mighty in truth" (I.70.24); "gallant in his truth" (III.61.46); "whose powers is his truth" (V.86.23); "whose valor is the truth" (V.134.21)[2].

As the above translations show, it is the martial sense of *parā + kram* ("to stride out", sc., to battle; cf. *yuddhāya . . . parākrāntu*[3]; thence, "to be brave, bold") that is foremost in the translator's mind, and understandably so, since it is the one we most frequently encounter in the epics. What I take to be the more general signification, "to strive for", "to make a zealous effort towards", seems rarely to be found in the epics. It is, however, the primary one in the Pāli canon[4] and the Aśokan Inscriptions. The latter offer one particularly instructive example in Rock Edict VI (Shahbazgarhi), line 16 (Hultzsch):

yaṃ ca kiṃci parakramami kiti bhūtānaṃ anaṇiyaṃ vraceyaṃ . . . .
tathā ca me putra naptaro parakramaṃtu sarvalokahitaye
dukara tu kho imaṃ añatra agrena parākramena

"And any e f f o r t that I a m m a k i n g is so that I may discharge the debt I owe to living creatures. . . . Likewise, that my sons

1. Much of this material is drawn from my annotated translation of the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* (forthcoming). All references to the *Rāmāyaṇa* are to the critical edition, Baroda, 1960-75.
2. J. A. B. van Buitenen, *The Mahābhārata* (Chicago, 1973-78).
3. *MBh.* V.179.17.
4. Cf. for example *Dhammapada* 383, *chindo sotaṃ parakkama*, and the common collocation *ārambha, nikkama, parakkama* (as, e.g., in *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, V.66, 104ff.).

and grand sons may strive for the welfare of all the world. But this indeed is a difficult thing to accomplish without intense effort"[1].

The evidence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* tends to suggest that in certain contexts and compounds it is this signification which is in fact operative.

Although it is not frequent that the substantive is used independently in this more neutral sense, instances can be found. After learning of his father's "order" to go into banishment, Rāma takes leave of his mother, begging her permission to be allowed to depart for the forest. We read,

prasādayan naravṛṣabhaḥ sa mātaraṃ
parākramāj jigamiṣur eva daṇḍakān /[2]

The Śiromaṇi commentary, seeking to preserve something of the usual sense, explains, "[He wanted to go] 'in order to attack [*ākrama-*] the enemies [*para-*]', sc., of the sages". The more cogent explanation, and the only one fully authorized by the narrative itself—Rāma after all has been pleading with Kausalyā for much of the chapter—is that suggested by the Aśokan parallel :

"The bull among men strenuously entreated his mother—he wanted only to go to the Daṇḍakas . . . "

After having answered the Lokāyata arguments expressed by the minister Jābāli, Rāma sets forth his own understanding of what constitutes proper conduct, summarizing in this way :

satyaṃ ca dharmaṃ ca parākramaṃ ca
bhūtānukampāṃ priyavāditāṃ ca /
dvijātidevātithipūjanaṃ ca
panthānam āhus tridivasya santaḥ //[3]

The commentators, those at least who are willing to address the problem (Maheśvaratīrtha and Govindarāja are not), find themselves at something of

1. See also *Buddhacarita* 13.59 (concerning Śākyamuni during his quest for *samyaksambodhi*) :
yo niścayo hy asya parākramaś ca
tejas ca yad yā ca dayā prajāsu /
aprāpya notthāsyati tattvam eṣa .... //
("Such is his resolve, his *zealous effort*, his [spiritual] power and compassion for creatures, that he will not stand up until he discovers the truth ....").
2. *Rāmāyaṇ*, II.18.40.
3. *Ibid.*, II.101.30.

a loss here. Taking *parākrama-* in its more usual epic sense, 'bravery, valour", they are consequently forced to restrict Rāma's prescription to the *kṣatriyavarṇa* only (thus Kataka and Tryambaka), quite out of keeping with the drift of the passage, which aims at a generalized characterization of moral behaviour. Tilaka on the other hand glosses "ascetic acts", in a rather desperate attempt to preserve the wider application of the ethics. The neutral sense of the term eliminates the problem :

> "Truthfulness, righteousness and strenuous effort, compassion for creatures and kindly words, reverence for brahmans, gods and guests is the path, the wise say, to the highest heaven".

That "strenuous effort", i.e., with regard to truthful and righteous conduct, is the correct analysis here is, I think, shown by the collocation of the items in the (vocative) compound, *satyadharmaparākrama*[1].

In the light of these independent usages we can more confidently address the signification of the compound, *satyaparākrama-*. Rāma describes his father as follows :

> *satyaḥ satyābhisaṃdhaś ca nityaṃ satyaparākramaḥ* /[2]

The context of the verse will help us here. Any reference to warrior prowess would not only be utterly irrelevant to the argument, but quite contradictory as well, since Rāma has just discountenanced it[3]. What is essential is that he emphasizes the righteousness underlying all his father's behaviour, and this we grasp if we translate.

> "[My father is] truthful, true to his word and ever striving for truth"[4].

In this way, too, we can perceive the intended function of the three qualifications. They are meant to comprehend the tripartite division of the psychophysical personality, *vāk, kāya, manaḥ*, "words, deeds and thoughts", which we find so often referred to in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (cf., for example, *manovākkāya-saṃyatān*).[5] Daśaratha is not only truthful in his thoughts and words, he also strives to be truthful in his actions.

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1. *Ibid*, II.103.7. The Northern Recension (NR) may be glossing this with *satyadharma-parāyaṇa*. (On the glossarial function of the NR, cf. my brief remarks in *Festschrift Sternbach*, Lucknow, 1981, pp. 317 ff.).
2. *Rāmāyaṇa*, II.19.7.
3. *Ibid.*, II.18.36.
4. A type of *bahuvrīhi*, with *viṣaya-* or *nimittasaptamī* in the *pūrvapada* : *satye viṣaye [nimitte vā] parākramo yasya*.
5. *Rāmāyaṇa*, II.88.18.

No doubt analogous to *satyaparākrama-* is *satyavikrama-*[1] and related to it *dharmavikrama-*. The latter appears in an interesting environment in *dharmajñau dharmavikramau*[2] (which is paralleled by *dharmajñaṃ rāmaṃ satyaparākramam*[3]). The juxtaposition of the compounds clearly indicates that we are to see a complementarity: "who know and strive (to follow) the ways of righteousness". Here then would be a bipartite formulation, "knowing and doing" (in contrast to what has been cited above)[4], one which we are to encounter again below[5].

KṚTAJÑA— PW knows no signification for the compound other than the standard classical one, "grateful", "thankful", and in the main this is indeed the sense it bears in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. But there are instances where we cannot admit this sense without dulling or obscuring altogether the meaning of a verse, and where consequently we must be prepared to discover some other nuance.

Sītā is waiting for Rāma to return after his coronation :

devakāryaṃ sma sā kṛtvā kṛtajña hṛṣṭacetanā /
(abhijñā rājadharmāṇāṃ rājaputraṃ pratīkṣate)//[6]

Tilaka strives to find an application for the common signification :" 'grateful': She worships the gods in gratitude for their beneficence in granting (Rāma) the kingship". Besides the fact that Rāma has not yet received the kingship, I do not know that gratitude to the gods ever finds ritual expression in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Ritual is employed only either to avert evil[7] or to secure good fortune[8]. It is far likelier that the compound stands in apposition to the gerundial clause :

"She performed the rites for the gods in deep delight, k n o w i n g t h e p r o p e r t h i n g s t o d o (and was waiting for the prince, aware of the kingly attributes to expect)".

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1. *Ibid*,. II.66.28.
2. *Ibid* , II.104.3.
3. *Ibid* , II.58.50.
4. *Ibid.*, II.19.7.
5. Thus Śiromaṇi and Satyatīrtha correctly gloss *dharmavikramau* as *dharmapravartakau*. That, incidentally, both a bipartite and a tripartite analysis of human action may co-exist in one culture is shown for example by the Homeric tradition. See C. Barck, *Wort und Tat bei Homer* (Hildesheim—New York, 1976), pp. 8-13.
6. *Rāmāyaṇa*, II.23.4.
7. See the commentators on *Rāmāyaṇa*, II.3.32.
8. Cf. e.g. *Rāmāyaṇa*, II.17.6,

This is in fact how Śiromaṇi understands[1], and the probability of such an interpretation is strengthened by the following passage, in which Rāma addresses Kaikeyī :

> *hitena guruṇā pitrā kṛtajñena nṛpeṇa ca/*
> *niyujyamāno viśrabdhaṃ kiṃ na kuryām ahaṃ priyam//*[2]

Even more noticeably than in the previous case, "gratitude", "thankfulness" has no semantic propriety in the verse, for it has nothing at all to do with the authority Daśaratha exercises over Rāma. What does count, again, is Daśaratha's truthfulness and righteousness, and the never questioned assumption that whatever he might ask is the correct thing to do[3] :

> "If enjoined by my benefactor, guru, father, a man w h o k n o w s w h a t i s r i g h t t o d o and who is my king, what would I hesitate to do in order to please him?"

Widening the semantic range of the compound also aids us in explaining an otherwise peculiar juxtaposition in the list of Rāma's virtues at the beginning of the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* :

> *śāstrajñaś ca kṛtajñaś ca*[4]

The copulative particles (*ca . . . ca*) demand a close relationship between the two terms, which no other translation allows us to establish but the following :

> "[Rāma was] learned in the sciences and skilled in practice, too"[5].

I would additionally suggest that here again (as in *dharmajñau dharmavikramau* above), but more explicitly, the text is drawing the distinction between "theory" and "practice" that was to become so significant a topic in Indian thinking of classical period (normally under the opposition *śāstra-prayoga*).

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1. Maheśvaratīrtha and Govindarāja similarly, "knowing the appropriate rituals", though they understand prospectively (the rituals that she was going to do when Rāma returned). Note also the reading *dharmajñā* in two D MSS.
2. *Rāmāyaṇa*, II.16.31.
3. Note once again the NR's variant, *dharmajñasya* (376*). The commentators here seek too much specificity : Kataka, Tilaka, "cognizant of Kaikeyī's deed, i.e., how she had saved him"; Tīrtha and Govinda, "cognizant of his own deed, i.e., his having granted the boons".
4. II.1.20.
5. See also III.14.27, 31.19 for further examples. I now notice that Böhthlingk's abridged dictionary does record "knowing what is right", citing *MBh.* XII.104.6 vulg. (in the critical edition replaced by *kṛtaprajñaḥ*, XII.105.6).

PRIYA— Besides the common meanings of the adjective I think we may discern a signification which has been recorded only in *kośa*-s[1]. Dáśaratha for the first time learns that the conjunction of the constellation Puṣya with the moon, the date set for Rāma's consecration, is to occur the following day[2]. He sends for Rāma and upon his arrival :

> *praveśayām āsa gṛhaṃ vivakṣuḥ priyam uttamam//*[3]
> "[King Daśaratha] had him shown into his chamber, anxious to pass on the important news".

When Kaikeyī first learns of Rāma's consecration she tells Mantharā :

> *idaṃ tu manthare mahyam ākhyāsi paramaṃ priyam/*[4]
> "What you have reported to me, Mantharā, is the very best news".

Daśaratha similarly in Chapter 10,

> *priyārhāṃ priyam ākhyātuṃ viveśāntaḥpuram . . . //*[5]
> ". . . entered into the inner chamber to tell his beloved wife the good news".

To cite one last example from among many : Rāma's friends, as soon as they hear the announcement concerning the prince's consecration,

> . . . *priyakāriṇaḥ /*
> *tvaritāḥ śighram abhyetya kausalyāyai nyavedayan //*
> *sā hiraṇyam . . .*
> *vyādideśa priyākhyebhyaḥ . . . . //*[6]
> ". . . they hurried off bearing[7] the good news and at once informed Kausalyā. She directed that gold . . . be given to those who announced the good news"[8].

Such passages enable us to interpret with greater precision verses where the use of *priya-* is more ambiguous. When, on the day of the consecration, Daśaratha's trusted adviser Sumantra comes to Rāma.

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1. Cf. PW s.v., 3b "Nachricht [*vartta*], Dha. im SkDr.".
2. *Rāmāyaṇa*, II.4.1-2.
3. II.4.9.
4. II.7.29.
5. II.10.1.
6. II.3.29,30
7. Cf. the gloss of the NR, *priyanivedinaḥ*.
8. Rewarding the bearer of good news appears again in II.7.31 and frequently in the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* (VI.1.11, 101.15-17, 113.40).

tatraivānāyayāmāsa rāghavaḥ priyakāmyayā //[1]

Tilaka explains, " 'Desiring to do a kindness', that is, to his father"—the sort of comment that obscures rather more than it clarifies. More probably,

> "Rāghava had them straightaway fetch [the charioteer],
> for he was anxious for the news".

After the death of Daśaratha, envoys are despatched to the land of the Kekayas, in order to bring back the new king-to-be, Bharata :

> *bhartuḥ priyārthaṃ kularakṣaṇārthaṃ*
> *bhartuś ca vaṃśasya parigrahārtham* /
> *aheḍamānās tvarayā sma dūtāḥ* . . .[2]

bhartṛ- here refers to Bharata (as *pāda* b indicates), whom the envoys like the people of Ayodhyā already consider to be their king[3]. The commentators mistakenly understand *daśarathasya*, and this error along with the uncertainty about *priya-*, leads them astray : Tīrtha and Govinda, "It is a 'kindness to their master' [i.e., Daśaratha] insofar as his reaching the other world depends on Bharata's being quickly brought and his performing the funeral rites". The passages already adduced permit us, I think, to explain instead,

> "To bring their master the news (i.e., the message that he is to return at once), to ensure the safety to their master's House and his succession in the dynasty, the messengers wasted no time but hurried on . . . ."

PARALOKA— A verse cited above, in which Rāma describes his father, continues as follows :

> *paralokabhayād bhīto nirbhayo' stu pitā mama* //
> (*tasyāpi hi bhavet asmin karmaṇy apratisaṃhṛte* /
> *satyaṃ neti manastāpas tasya tāpas tapec ca mām* //[4]

Here lies one of those crucial details that must colour much of our understanding of the psychological motivations underlying the action of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. What precisely conditions Daśaratha's behaviour? Is it the "fear of the other world", solicitude about his fate after death, or is it rather "fear of people", of what they would say were he to break his promise to

1. II.14.5.
2. II.62.15.
3. Cf. II.64.2, 65.22, 75.1.
4. II.19.7-8.

Kaikeyī? A similar problem confronts us in the case of Rāma. Soon after leaving Ayodhyā he says to Lakṣmaṇa,

> *adharmabhayabhītaś ca paralokasya cānagha |*
> *tena lakṣmaṇa nādyāham ātmānam abhiṣecaye ||*[1]

Though not absolutely conclusive the evidence weighs in favour of the second interpretation, a sense unrecorded in the lexica.

Both Śiromaṇi[2] and Satyatīrtha[3] agree in giving the compound *paraloka-* the sense of "other people", "public opinion". More important is the Northern Recension's interpretative reading in 47.26, *lokavāda-*, "public talk" (for *paraloka-*). When the sense "other world" is required in *Rāmāyaṇa*[4] the uncompounded form is preferred[5], or far more frequently replaced by *param* alone[6], *svargam*, *tridivam*, etc. I can locate only one instance in the critical edition where *paraloka-* indubitably bears the meaning "other world"[7] (note that it is picked up in vs. 8 by the uncompounded form), though there is a second case I will examine below.

The context[8] to my mind clearly urges the second analysis. The charge of dishonesty, "*satyaṃ na*", requires some reference to public censure, while the king's emotional response, *manastāpaḥ*, would hardly seem to be one commensurate with eschatological terror. In 20.5-6, moreover, Lakṣmaṇa is doubtless answering Rāma's argument here when he says,

> *asthāne saṃbhramo yasya jāto vai sumahānayaḥ||*[9]
> *dharmadoṣaprasaṅgena lokasyānatiśaṅkhayā . . . .*
>
> "This is no place for panic—that has given rise to such imprudence—from worry about the people's respect[10] if there should happen to be a lapse from righteousness . . . ."

It is perfectly obvious in Daśaratha's interview with Kaikeyī what kind of fears are preying on his mind :

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1. II.47.26.
2. *Rāmāyaṇa*, II.19.7.
3. *Ibid.*, II.47.26.
4. II.VI.
5. Cf. *Ibid.*, III.59.8.
6. Cf. *Ibid.*, II.100.16; similarly *paratra*, *Ibid.* , II.37.8, etc.
7. *Ibid.*, III.59.6.
8. *Ibid.*, II.19.7.
9. So I read for the critical edition's *sumahān ayam*.
10. Divide *ānati-śaṅkhayā*, with Govinda's second interpretation and the NR gloss, *lokavādabhayena*.

akīrtir atulā loke dhruvaḥ paribhavaś ca me//[1]

"My infamy in the eyes of the people will be unequalled, and my disgrace inevitable".

Elsewhere, in the northern tradition, Daśaratha states explicitly,

kiṃ māṃ vakṣyati loko' yam[2]

"What are people going to say about me"?

The arguments to be brought against this interpretation are not particularly cogent. The principal one is the opinion of the other commentaries: "what causes fear in the world to come, i.e., falsehood" (Tīrtha, Tilaka); "fear relating to the loss of the world to come" (Govinda, Kataka). The propensity to see eschatological reference here may be thought to find support in passages where the metaphysical implications of conduct are openly voiced.[3] But it is quite an easy matter to assemble witnesses against all such examples, passages that reflect a deep concern about one's duties and one's fame in this world[4]. I, therefore, feel compelled to render the two passages as follows:

"Let (my father) be freed from the fear he has, of what other people might say. (For if this rite were not called off, he too would suffer mental torment, to hear his truthfulness impugned, and his torment would torment me")[5].

"I fear the danger unrighteousness poses, blameless Lakṣmaṇa, and I fear what other people might say. That is why I do not have myself consecrated this very day"[6].

The testimony of one further passage must still be considered, for it is significant thought not, I feel, unequivocal.

After Rāma's departure Sumantra attempts to comfort Kausalyā, citing first Rāma's equanimity in the face of his misfortune[7], and then Lakṣmaṇa's devotion to him :

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1. *Ibid*, II.11.6.
2. App. I13, line 39.
3. Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, II.101.8,11,15,30.
4. *Ibid.*, II.18.39, 101.7.9.10. If further evidence is required of how strong the power of public opinion was felt to be, one needs only point to the events in *Yuddhakāṇḍa* (VI.103 ff.), where Rāma allows the ordeal of Sītā because he fears the reproach of people (VI.106 12), and in *Uttarakāṇḍa* (VII.42 ff.), where Rāma drives Sītā from the kingdom because of what the people are saying.
5. *Ibid.*, II.19.7-8.
6. *Ibid.*, II.47.26.
7. *Ibid.*, II.54.5.

lakṣmaṇaś cāpi rāmasya pādau paricaran vane |
ārādhayati dharmajñḥ paralokaṃ jitendriyaḥ ||[1]

Besides the fact already noted that the compound form *paraloka-* rarely occurs in the poem in the sense "other world", the use here of *ā*+the verbal root *rādh* is particularly problematic. The form of the verb always appears to construe with a personal object in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[2], and in fact I am unable to locate a single example in Sanskrit literature of its being employed with an impersonal object, as it would be here if we understood *paraloka-* in its usual sense (PW s.v. ean adduce only one citation, the present verse). The very important group of D MSS, $D_{4,5,7}$ clearly found the usage impossible, offering instead,

ārādhayiṣyan dharmeṇa kākutstham abhivatsyati || (1302*)
"[Lakṣmaṇa] will be dwelling [in the forest] winning the regard of Kākutstha by his righteousness".

All the rest of the Northern Recension similarly felt the need to recast the line :

vasatītaḥ paraṃ lokam arjayan dharmanirjitam|| (1301*)

The variant is interesting on two counts. It demonstrates both the tradition's discomfort with the use of *ārādh* with an impersonal object, and the difficulty it found with the compound form *paraloka-* in its metaphysical signification[3]. Finally, let us observe how frequently elsewhere in the book reference is made to the esteem Lakṣmaṇa has won in the eyes of the people for his selfless sacrifice[4].

One would, therefore, be inclined to render II.54.6 as follows :

"Lakṣmaṇa, too, by serving Rāma in the forest, by his self-restraint and sense of duty, is winning the regard of other men".

On this verse, however, the commentators are unanimous in their explanation: "is gaining the higher world". And they find strong support in an Aśokan inscription :

hidalogaṃ ca paralogaṃ ca ālādhayeyū[5]
"That they might gain both this world and the world to come".

1. *Ibid.*, 54.6.
2. Cf. *Ibid.*, II.4.40, 23.32, 99.4; III.10.86, etc.
3. Here I think it far likelier that we have not, as usual, an interpretation of the original *ārādhayan paralokam*, as $D_{4,5,7}$ offers, but a revision.
4. *Rāmāyaṇa*, II.35.22, 42.7, 80.1 etc.
5. Separate Rock Edict II (Jaugaḍa), line 7.

The Aśokan parallel may be just enough to tip the scale in the case of the following verse[1]:

> "Lakṣmaṇa, too, (by serving Rāma in the forest, by his self-restraint and sense of duty), is gaining the higher world".

It appears to me, however, that it is insufficient to impugn the arguments adduced for the other two passages, and that we must instead posit a bivalence in the term for the *Rāmāyaṇa*[2].

ŚATRU— Lakṣmaṇa urges Rāma to resist his unjust banishment, and asserts that he himself is able to defeat anyone who might stand in the way. Moreover,

> *na cāhaṃ kāmaye' tyarthaṃ yaḥ syāc chatrur mato mama //*
> *asinā. . .*
> *pragṛhītena vai śatruṃ vajriṇaṃ vā na kalpaye //*[3]

"enemy", "opponent", "foe", the standard significations of the word, are not applicable here. The sense "conqueror", or better, "match" is what is required :

> ". . . nor am I very eager that anyone[4] be thought my match: With my sword . . . held ready I count one my match, be he Indra himself, God of the thunderbolt".

"Match" is the sense I think we must give the word also in such passages as *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.6.3.8, the famous mispronunciation of *indrśatruḥ* (Tvaṣṭṛ wants a son to c o n q u e r Indra, who has enemies enough already), and for the name Ajātaśatru, which should signify "whose match has not been born".

VAŚIN— In a verse already cited Daśaratha goes off to tell Kaikeyī the news of Rāma's coronation :

> *priyārhāṃ priyam ākhyātuṃ viveśāntaḥpuraṃ vaśi*[5]

The commentators Kataka and Tilaka remark on the epithet, "self-controlled', in all things except what concerns his wife", while Govinda explains,

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1. *Rāmāyaṇa*, II.54.6.
2. Are we to explain this as reflecting a period of ethical transvaluation, where a shift is taking place from a "heroic" concern for communal approbation to a more personal pre-occupation with heavenly rewards ?
3. *Rāmāyaṇa*, II.20.26-27.
4. *yaḥ* is reduced from *yat* [or, *yadi*] *kaścit*, as often (cf. Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax* [Leyden, 1886], p. 356).
5. *Rāmāyaṇa*, II.10.1.

"everything is under his own control', that is, he is independent and would tell Kaikeyī himself". Neither explanation allows us to grasp the true implication; "of one's own accord" (here, "willingly", even, "gladly"), a rare sense attested it seems only in *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*[1], does permit us to catch the important suggestion, that the king believes Kaikeyī will be as pleased as he is himself to learn of Rāma's consecration (as in fact she would have been but for the "poisonous counsel" of Mantharā). Again, later in the book Rāma says to Bharata, who is pleading with him to return,

> *sa svastho bhava mā śoco yātvā cāvasa tāṃ purīm |*
> *tathā pitrā niyukto' si vaśinā. . . . ||*[2]
>
> "Compose yourself and do not grieve. Go back and take up your residence in the town, as father of his own accord directed you to do. . . ."

Here, as Govinda's previous gloss helps us to perceive, Rāma's crucial purpose is to re-affirm in Bharata's eyes the validity of their father's command by emphasizing the fact that the king, in the final analysis at least, is absolutely autonomous,

KĀÑCĪ— After slaying Jaṭāyuḥ, Rāvaṇa takes hold of Sītā and flies up into the sky[3]. The golden Sītā shines like lightning within the arms of Rāvaṇa, blueblack as a storm-cloud (vss. 13, 22), or like the moon peeping out through a dark cloud (vs. 18). Then comes the following simile :

> *sā hemavarṇā nīlāṅgaṃ maithilī rākṣasādhipam |*
> *śuśubhe kāñcanī kāñci nīlaṃ maṇiṃ ivāśritā ||*[4].

kāñci-, to my knowledge, is nowhere found in any sense but "belt, girdle", which here makes obvious difficulties. Several commentators, Tilaka and Śiromaṇi for example, without any manuscript support alter the lection of *pāda* d, reading *gajam* for *maṇim,* "[like a golden girth] around a [dark] elephant". But the *upamā* is still asked, for Sītā is not embracing Rāvaṇa, she is being held within his embrace, as the other similes serve to indicate. Those commentators who read with the critical edition are driven to rather desperate explanations, as Govinda: " 'like a girdle (*mekhalā*, or, 'band'?) on [in conjunction with?] a sapphire'. Every one knows it is silver that is used to highten the beauty of a sapphire. Gold by contrast dulls it, and thus the

1. 3.4.2.2.
2. *Rāmāyaṇa,* II.98.37.
3. *Ibid.,* III.50.1-12.
4. *Ibid.,* III.50.21,

verb actually expresses the opposite, '(she was as little beautiful, i.e.,) she was not beautiful (in Rāvaṇa's embrace)". The word *kāñcī-*, I have little doubt, is here being used in an unattested sense, "lustrous streak", which is also suggested by the D_1 variant *lekhā*, and the *Dhātupāṭha* gloss of *kaci, kāci*, "*dīptibandhanayoḥ*"[1]. I would, therefore, render as follows:

> "Maithilī was golden-skinned, the rākṣasa was deep blueblack, and in his arms she looked just like the star that glitters within a sapphire".

It is interesting to note that a principal source of star-sapphires is Ceylon itself: "Ceylon has for ages been famous for sapphires . . . . Some of the slightly cloudy Ceylon sapphires, usually of greyish-blue colour, display when cut with a convex face a chatoyant luminosity, sometimes forming a luminous star of six rays, whence they are called 'star-supphires'."[2]

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1. Ed. Böhtlingk, I.182-3.
2. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition, s.v. sapphire.

DHARMA AND *TRIVARGA* IN THE KHMER LANGUAGE

Saveros Pou*

It may seem unnecessary to stress the importance of the word *dharma* in the Khmer vocabulary when one knows the cultural and spiritual bases of the language. And so it could appear even stranger to include in the study the word *trivarga* which is entirely absent from the Modern Khmer vocabulary; indeed I have not found it in any epigraphic or literary text from the end of the Middle period (circ. XVth c.) up to the present day, nor in any of the extant dictionaries. Why then couple the two words in the same study? It is because they occur closely related in the ancient epigraphy of Cambodia, *trivarga* meaning specifically 'the three elements, i.e. *dharma, artha* and *kāma*'. In fact, the link has survived until our time, but greatly changed by cultural influences. In other words, these have affected the concept of *trivarga* and dismembered it to the point where it becomes unrecognisable.

I now propose to retrace this development which, in my view, well illustrates the effect—in this instance very considerable—of the change brought about by civilisation on the vocabulary, hence on the language.

I. The Ancient Epigraphy

The word *dharma* frequently occurs in the inscriptions of Ancient Cambodia, in Sanskrit and Khmer[1], directly and indirectly, as a product of Indian import, specifically an element of the Indian spiritual heritage. From its start, epigraphy shows the implantation of various religions coming from overseas: Brahmanic[2] and Buddhist religions including Theravāda[3]. Con-

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1. Concerning the Khmer language three periods are usually reckoned:
   Old Khmer : VIth. c.—XIVth. c.
   Middle Khmer : XVth. c.—beg. XIXth. c.
   Modern Khmer : XIXth c. onward,
2. Cf. K. Bhattacharya (1961).
3. *Ibid.*, p. 16, 19,

sequently, one should not be surprised to meet frequently the word *dharma* in the inscriptions, with very varied uses and meanings.

Indeed, one notices *dharma* (a) as a lexical element with various connotations, (b) as an onomastic element which witnesses on the one hand to its popularity and on the other to its polysemy. In the present study I shall not dwell on the onomastics as such[1]. Straightaway I am going to examine the semantics of the lexical element which certainly will throw light on the onomastics[2].

1. COSMIC MEANING

We start with the classical meaning of 'order', the order which governs the universe and the society. All the texts clearly show these two levels of the semantic field: cosmic order kept by the gods and social order secured by the king, whose chief assistants were the Brahmans. The cosmic aspect will not be dealt with since it entails the analysis of philosophical theories which are outside the present study.

Concerning social order, there is straightaway a simple example which, nevertheless, I find very colourful. Inscription K.725 of the VIIth c.[3] mentions a Brahman (well versed in the Veda and the Vedāṅga) (*vedavedāṅgapāragaḥ*), comparable with *dharma*, himself named *Dharmasvāmin* and living in the locality of *Dharmapura*.

In general, it is evident from the inscriptions that the king is the chief guarantor of *dharma*. One can very well understand this, thanks to speculative passages of an allegorical nature in the inscriptions, from the dawn of epigraphy down to the end of the reign of Jayavarman VII. For example K.235 (the famous Sdok Kak Thom inscription of XIth c.) tells us that the king Udayāditya, though avoiding the coveting of other men's wives, 'enjoyed frequent pleasure with Glory, Faith, Compassion and Steadfastness' which were 'wives of Dharma' (*dharmavilāsinī*)[4].

The most well-known allegory is that of the 'Bull' in the Skt. inscriptions (*vṛṣa* or *vṛṣabha*). It appeared among the earliest texts, e.g. K.81 of VIth c.[5],

1. Here are the most current onomastic items found in Ancient egigraphy : *Dharma, Vraḥ Dharma, Dharmadatta, Dharmahita, Dharmakara, Dharmalābha, Dharmapāla, Dharmapriya, Dharmāśraya, Mānudharma.*
2. For the etymology of *dharma* see in particular M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, (1963), Band II, p. 94,95 and 100.
3. In *IC* I, p. 7-12.
4. In *BEFEO*, XLIII (1943-46), p. 77, st. X.
5. In *ISC.*, p. 15, st. 30.

and constituted a highly cultivated theme in the great Angkorian *praśasti*. We are reminded that *dharma*—Bull—is *pādahīno* 'maimed' in the *kaliyuga*[1]; furthermore that, in all time, the king guards the integrity of the Bull's limbs, which could be translated by the preservation of order. The best examples of it are the *praśasti* of the great Jayavarman VII (end of XIIth c.). The king is called *vṛṣabhasthito*, 'seated on the Bull'; *vṛṣabhapriyo*, 'loving the Bull'. K.287 adds that 'the bellowing Bull shielded by him' (*saṃrakṣito yena vṛṣas... nadan*) triumphs over all the bulls[2].

Nevertheless, these evidences of a speculative nature are nothing alongside the mass of concrete evidence embodied in the word *dharma*.

2. The idea that immediately derives from the concept of 'order' is that of 'justice and duty'. The *dharmaśāstra* was known and practised throughout the whole history of Ancient Cambodia, in particular that of Manu. They were practically 'Codes of Law' which permit the organisation and maintenance of 'justice'. At court, there is often mention of some personages who were in charge of *svat dharmaśāstra*, lit. 'reciting the *dharmaśāstra*', and who could occasionally be described as 'experts in *dharmaśāstra*'. One should notice in K.910 of VIIth c.[3] a slave named *Mānudharma* (i.e. *Mānavadharma*), 'Law of Manu' which, if it does not indicate a knowledge of the treatise by the common people, at least shows they knew of it and may be, it was being popularised among them. I do not believe myself too much deceived in affirming that the common proper name *dharma* of numerous ordinary people (men and women, freemen and slaves)[4] had the practical connotation of 'justice and duty' rather than the moral one[5].

Justice and duty not only constituted the prerogative of the king but even more his obligations, whence the first meaning of *rājadharma*, 'the duties of the king'[6]. We notice in passing K.54 of VIIth c.[7] which mentions a servant of King Jayavarman I and calls him *dharmajña*-s, 'versed in duty'.

In this manner one can explain the sense of the word *dharmādhikaraṇa* as 'tribunal of justice'. And as justice stems from the king, it is not surprising to read *vraḥ dharmādhikaraṇa*, 'the Saint court of justice'[8].

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1. Cf. K.842 in *IC*. I, p. 149, st. X (XIth. c.).
2. In *IC*. IV, p. 241, st. LXVI.
3. In *IC*. V, p. 39.I.5.
4. See supra, n. 4.
5. Cf. infra, 3.2.
6. See the second meaning infra, 3.2.
7. In *ISC*., p. 57, st. 9.
8. For example in K.467, of XIth. c., *IC*. III, p. 220, 1.4 and pas.

3. RELIGIOUS MEANING

The word religious is not perhaps a happy choice but it allows me to gather together concepts and ideas related to religion.

3.1. *Dharma* in the sense of 'law' in a religious context means above all the Law of the Buddha and the ethics which stems from it. Although different forms of Buddhism were known by ancient Cambodians, it is the Mahāyānic inscriptions that convey to us most information about the word *dharma*. They mention the *dharmakāya* among the three bodies of the Buddha. K. 452 of Xth c.[1] speaks of Lokeśvara in terms of *dharmamūrto lokeśaḥ*, 'the Lord of the world who is incarnated in the *dharma*', to whom the author of the inscription caused a statue to be erected.

3.2. Then the meaning of *dharma* passes from the 'Law' of the doctrine to that of individual morality, that is to say, to the feelings of piety and the uprightness in conduct, or virtue. The ablative *dharmāt* for example could mean 'by piety' when it is a matter of a pious act[2]. And the inscriptions in Khmer often speak of *dhārmika* persons, 'pious or virtuous'[3], more often plainly expressed in Khmer *mān dharma*, lit. 'filled with piety, with morality, having good behaviour',

The corollary of this meaning is the designation of 'pious work of merit'. The semantic field of it is open since there is no limit to the list of these works. An old pre-Angkorian inscription K.359 describes as *dharma* the pious recitation of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the Pūraṇa and the *Mahābhārata*[4]. From the foregoing, one can now grasp the second meaning of *rājadharma*, 'pious work fulfilled by or in the name of the king', or 'royal foundation'[5]. We have numerous examples of *dharma* having the meaning of works represented by statues, sheets of water, temples, etc., that is to say some concrete objects. For example K.950 of Xth c. describes as *dharmaṃ imaṃ harau*, 'this monument for Hari'[6]. Let us move on to a still more notable example of *dharma* as object, culled from K.522 of Xth c.[7]: the temple today named Mébon was called *dharma*, built in the middle of Eastern Baray, surrounded by 'auspicious waters' (*puṇyavāribhiḥ*).[8]

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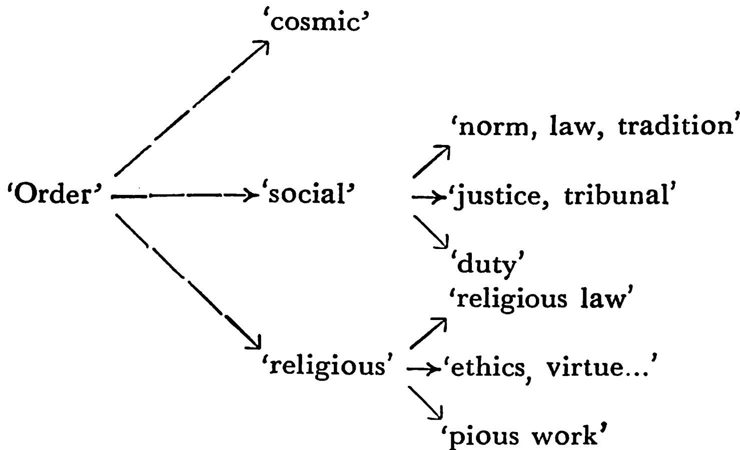
1. In *IC.* V, p. 156, st. III.
2. Cf. K.485 of XIIth. c., in *IC.* II, p. 172, st. XCI.
3. Cf. K.34I of VIIIth. c., in *IC.* VI, p. 25.1.4.
4. In *ISC.*, p. 30.
5. Cf. supra, 2.
6. In *IC.* VI, p. 116, st. VIII.
7. In *IC.* V, p. 121, st. XV.
8. We should note that 'pious deed' was rather called *puṇya* in the earliest Khmer inscriptions, as it is nowadays : pronounced /bon/.

3.3. To sum up the semantics of *dharma* I am going to quote some final passages from votive texts and make them up into a pattern, followed by a comprehensive semantic chart.

3.3.1. Thus :

—*neḥ gi roḥ dharmādharma*	'Here that which is good and that which is bad'
—*ge cicāy dharma neḥ...*,	'Those who destory this pious work' (curses follow).
—*ge paripāla (varddheya) dharma neḥ...*,	'Those who protect (or make to prosper) that pious work' (blessings follow).

3.3.2. Chart :



4. *Dharma* constitutes one of the elements of the *trivarga*, 'the triple objective' pursued by individuals throughout their lives, namely *dharma* (supra), *artha*, 'advantage, utility, and *kāma*, 'desire, pleasure'. But if *dharma* was popularised and popular in Ancient Cambodia, *trivarga* seemed to be the prerogative of the upper class or those having a certain standard of culture. We shall not return any more to *dharma* already analysed at length and only concern ourselves with *artha* and *kāma*. *Arthaśāstra* is mentioned from the time of the earliest inscriptions[1] : it is 'the science of wealth, which forms part of the knowledge of Brahmans and officials, otherwise called servants of the king. *Artha* was the secular or worldly objective of existence represented by 'success'. As regards *kāma* signifying 'desire', it should be

1. For instance K.53 of VIIth c , in *ISC.*, p. 67, st. 6.

understood *lato sensu*, with spiritual as well as physical connotations. In K.491 of IXth c.[1] the Earth, *Dharaṇī* is considered as the wife of King Yaśovarman and as such 'full to overflowing with virtue, pleasure and wealth', *dharmakāmārthasampūrṇā*.

Elsewhere, we learn of *trivargaphala*, 'some good fruits resulting from the practice of the *trivarga*'[2]. We have no concrete illustrations of these good fruits, but K.713 of IXth c.[3] says of King Indravarman that he 'brought prosperity and joy to his people by the practice of these three rules of conduct':

> *śrīndravarmmā trivarggeṇa*
> *vardhayan harṣayan prajāḥ*

The instrument which helped the king to achieve this end could be *nīti* or 'polity', as we are told in connection with Sūryavarman I in K.834: *trivarggaphalabhāṅ, nītyā*, 'thanks to his polity he enjoyed the fruits of *trivarga*'[4]

II. Middle and Modern Khmer

After having considered the concepts contained in *dharma* and *trivarga* and their practical applications in Ancient Cambodia, if one consults Modern Khmer (either through dictionaries or directly speaking to the users of the language) one will be surprised to learn that *dharma* only means 'the Law preached by the Buddha', and that *trivarga* is an unknown word[5]. It was also my view until recently, but my philological research has undeceived me and compelled me to revise this opinion, then to find new definitions. The final hold of Theravāda upon the whole Khmer thought is the cause of these linguistic upsets; it has not destroyed the Brahmanic inheritance, rather it has forced back many elements into the subconscious mind of the community. These elements, stripped of their 'signifiants' survived in a latent form like an uderground stream of 'signifiés',[6] that art and texts, properly analysed, are capable of bringing to light[7].

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1. In *IC*. II, p. 184, st. XI.
2. For example K.669 of Xth c., in *IC* I, p. 169, st. LII; K.834 of XIth c., in *IC*. V, p. 253, st. XXXV.
3. In *IC*. I, p. 19, st. III.
4. In *IC*. V, p. 253, st. XXV.
5. *Trivagg*—a hybrid form—occurs in literary Modern Khmer only in the sense of 'having three parts or sections'.
6. According to Saussure's terminology: *signifiant* 'phonic form' and *signifié* 'meaning'.
7. If they had not been transferred into the vocabulary of magic at an earlier stage.

1. We are accustomed to read the so-called classical texts (i.e. Middle Khmer) with modern eyes, therefore, our knowledge in general admits many mistakes. Regarding *dharma* let us take a significant example—a word which forms part of the everyday vocabulary of every speaker : *dharmatā~dhammatā*/ thcmmədaa[1]. Meaning 'in general, normally', this word is as innocuous as any such simple term which is used in the common parlance of men. However, the texts have compelled me to scrutinise this term and explicit it as 'according to the norm, the tradition, the law'. But which law? The puzzling thing is that it is not the Law preached by the Buddha even in the epoch of Buddhism. Some Buddhist scholars in Cambodia, then, desperately glossed over the difficulty by merely referring to a 'Pāli lexicon'—a poor makeshift indeed, because the Pāli lexicon brings us back again to the concept of 'norm, cosmic law'[2]. And we have seen that the ancient Khmers had always had that idea of the cosmic law, more specifically 'order', from which emanate the laws which govern society and which constitute the custom, the tradition. The 'signifié' and 'signifiant' of *dharm* existed before the final take over by Modern Theravāda brought in from Mon and Thai countries. Besides, the word *dharm* has found some applications in the Middle Khmer writings, and even some counterparts in Khmer proper, such as :

rapap
rapiep } All meaning 'order' with connotative nuances.
saṇtāp'

When the authors spoke of 'the law of the Buddha', they would say *braḥ dharm*, 'the sacred Law', or more explicitly *dharm braḥ*, 'the Law of the Lord (Buddha)'[3]. Consequently, one must discriminate when reading texts in middle Khmer and carefully consider the contexts before deciding upon one or the other meaning.

2. Of course, in the XXth c. *dharm* is centred on 'the Law of the Buddha', one of the well-known Three Gems. As such, it constitutes a new nucleus for polysemy—whose development curiously recalls the process of semantic expansion of *dharma* of yesteryear—namely :

'the Law of the Buddha' ↗ 'stanzas of the texts, prayers'
'the Law of the Buddha' ↘ 'religious virtue, uprightness and compassion'

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1. For Middle and Modern Khmer, *dharm* will be phonologically noted /thɔɔ/.
2. See *PTS.*, p. 339 : '.. general rule, higher law, cosmic law'.
3. See *Cpāp' Kūn cau*, st. 9-11, in *BEFEO*, LXIV, p. 170,172,183-4 and 193.

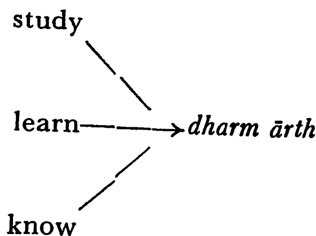
This compared with I,3.3.2. shows there was a substitution of a semantic pattern for another. However, one should note some empty cases represented by 'cosmic order' and 'pious work'. The place for 'justice' is not entirely empty, considering the subconscious meaning made up for in the XXth c. neologism *yuttidham*, 'Service of justice'.

3. What has happened to *trivarga*? One thing is certain : the term has disappeared from the lexicon. Yet its trace is not completely wiped out.

Let us say at once that the lexical item *artha*, 'profit, utility' has been eliminated by another Skt. loan *prayoja(n)*. Nevertheless, it has survived in two phrases where it is now spelt *ārth* and pronounced/aa/.

3.1. The first one is *ārth pālī* /aa baaley/ which is generally understood 'the substance of Pāli', i.e. the *dharm* as taught by the Buddha. The interpretation of *ārtha* by 'substance' is not far-fetched, if one remembers the meaning 'sense, content, substance' of Skt. *artha*. Actually, this phrase proves straightforward in its use.

3.2. The second phrase, *dharm arth* /thɔəaa/, is tacitly understood as a *tatpuruṣa* compound, to wit 'the substance of *dharm*', i.e. 'the *dharm* of the Buddha, the religion of the Buddha'. A semantic equivalent of the preceding (3.1.), its use is peculiarly restricted, however, to scholastics. Teachers of old urged their pupils to :



a kind of device for the attainment of wisdom.

But recent research revealed two difficulties :

(a) Semantically, *dharm ārth* does not merely mean 'the *dharm* of the Buddha'.

(b) Phonetically, if *dharm ārth* was a *tatpuruṣa* compound, the two elements should be linked into /thɔəmmaa/[1]. The pronunciation /thɔə aa/ suggests two autonomous elements linked into a *dvandva* compound, thus reflecting two separate concepts.

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1. Cf. *dhammās(n)*, *(dhamma+āsana)*, meaning 'the seat of the preaching monk', pronounced /thɔəm̩m̩aah∼thɔəmmiəh/.

These have been seen as two parts of the ancient *trivarga.* The third, *kāma,* has been eliminated therefrom, and with good reason. The modern Theravāda dooms the object *kāma,* which has been reduced to the lowest passions and in particular sexual desire. Then, one understands why the Buddhist teachers have banished it from their scholastic device.

Therefore, a careful discrimination is called for in philology. The meaning of 'sacred texts' must be confined to present day use. In the 'classical' texts, *dharm ārth* was a *dvandva* compound with active elements, full of meaning. Our ancient teachers preached to their students 'Learn *dharm* and *ārth*', i.e. : 'The religious law and the social law' and they banished *kāma* for ever.

Trivarga has evidently survived throughout the Middle Period, but like unto the Bull of the *kaliyuga* it was 'maimed' or *pādahīno.*

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ब्रजभाषा की उपवाक्यीय संरचना

श्याम प्रकाश

०.० डॉ० धीरेन्द्र वर्मा ने ब्रजभाषा को तीन प्रमुख भागों में विभाजित किया है—(१) पूर्वी (२) पश्चिमी अथवा केन्द्रीय (३) दक्षिणी। पूर्वी ब्रजभाषा के अन्तर्गत मैनपुरी, एटा, इटावा, बदायूँ और बरेली की बोलियाँ आती हैं। मथुरा, आगरा, अलीगढ़ और बुलन्दशहर की बोलियाँ पश्चिमी अथवा केन्द्रीय ब्रजभाषा के अन्तर्गत आती हैं। दक्षिणी ब्रजभाषा में भरतपुर, धौलपुर, करौली, पश्चिमी ग्वालियर और पूर्वी जयपुर की बोलियाँ सम्मिलित की जाती हैं।

इन में पूर्वी ब्रजभाषा पर पूर्वी बोली का प्रभाव होने के कारण विशुद्ध रूप हमें नहीं प्राप्त होता है। दक्षिणी ब्रजभाषा में राजस्थानी प्रभाव दिखलाई पड़ने के कारण इसे भी ब्रजभाषा का विशुद्ध रूप नहीं माना जा सकता है। पश्चिमी ब्रजभाषा के अन्तर्गत आने वाली बुलन्दशहर के उत्तरी भाग की बोली, खड़ीबोली और ब्रजभाषा के संक्रमण क्षेत्र की बोली होने के कारण विशुद्ध नही है। केवल पश्चिमी अथवा केन्द्रीय ब्रज के अन्तर्गत आने वाली मथुरा, आगरा और अलीगढ़ की बोली विशुद्ध रूप से ब्रजभाषा के रूप में स्वीकार की जा सकती है।

अतः प्रस्तुत निबन्ध के अन्तर्गत केवल इन्ही स्थानों में प्राप्य भाषा के सामान्य रूपों को दृष्टि में रखते हुए बिश्लेषण प्रस्तुत किया गया है।

१.० उपवाक्यीय संरचना के मूल में क्रियापद ही होते हैं, जो सम्पूर्ण संरचना को शासित करते हैं। किसी भी उपवाक्यीय संरचना के अन्तर्गत क्रियापद एक अनिवार्य नाभिकीय तत्त्व (Obligatory Nuelear) के रूप में रहता है। इस बात का यह प्रमाण है कि बिना क्रिया पदबन्ध (Verb Phrase) के उपवाक्यों की उपस्थिति सम्भव नहीं हो सकती है, जब कि संज्ञा पदबन्ध के अभाव में भी उपवाक्यों का प्रयोग देखा जा सकता है। इस प्रकार क्रियापद उपवाक्यीय संरचना की नींव का कार्य करते हैं। वस्तुतः जिस प्रकार के क्रियापद होते हैं वैसे ही तदनुरूप उपवाक्य (Clause Types) का निर्माण होता है। अतः उपवाक्य की आन्तरिक संरचना का नियमन क्रियापदों पर ही आश्रित है।

१.१ ब्रजभाषा में क्रियापदों की दृष्टि से निम्नलिखित उपवाक्य-प्ररूप प्राप्त होते हैं—

(१) अकर्मक प्ररूप
(२) सकर्मक प्ररूप
(३) द्विकर्मक प्ररूप
(४) प्रेरणार्थक प्ररूप
(५) वाच्यीय प्ररूप

इन का क्रमिक विवेचन यहाँ उदाहरण सहित प्रस्तुत किया जा रहा है।

१.१.१ अकर्मक प्ररूप—इस प्रकार के उपवाक्य प्ररूप के अन्तर्गत प्रयुक्त होने वाले क्रियापद अकर्मक होते हैं। इस के दो अनिवार्य संरचक होते हैं—कर्ता + क्रिया (अकर्मक)। उदाहरणार्थ—

(१)	रामु	सोबतु ऐ।	(राम सोता है)
(२)	किसन	जातु ऐ।	(किसन जाता है)
(३)	मीरा	घूमति ऐ।	(मीरा घूमती है)
(४)	वु	गिरतु ऐ।	(वह गिरता है)
(५)	बु	पछिताति ऐ।	(वह पछताती है)
(६)	तू	खेलैंगौ।	(तू खेलेगा)
(७)	हौं	चलुंगी।	(मैं चलूंगी)

१.१.२ सकर्मक प्ररूप—इस प्रकार के उपवाक्यों का निर्माण सकर्मक क्रियापदों द्वारा होता है। इस के तीन अनिवार्य संरचक होते हैं—कर्ता, कर्म और क्रिया (सकर्मक)। उदाहरणार्थ—

कर्ता + कर्म + क्रिया

(१)	छोरा	रोटी	खातु ऐ।	(लड़का रोटी खाता है)
(२)	कमला	फूल	चुन्ति ऐ।	(कमला फूल चुनती है)
(३)	बा नैं	गीतु	गायौ।	(उस ने गीत गाया)
(४)	बिमला	मुंह	धोमति ऐ।	(बिमला मुंह धोती है)
(५)	बु	पानी	पिऐगी।	(वह पानी पिएगी)
(६)	छोरा	सवाल	पूछतु ऐ।	(लड़का प्रश्न पूछता है)
(७)	बु	कहानी	सुनैंगौ।	(वह कहानी सुनेगा)

१.१.३ द्विकर्मक प्ररूप—द्विकर्मक प्ररूप की संरचना, द्विकर्मक क्रियापदों द्वारा सम्पन्न होती है। इस में चार अनिवार्य संरचक होते हैं—कर्ता, गौण कर्म, मुख्य कर्म और क्रिया (द्विकर्मक)। उदाहरणार्थ—

कर्ता + गौणकर्म + मुख्यकर्म + क्रिया

(१)	छोरा	कमला ऐ	फूलु देतु ऐ।	(लड़का कमला को फूल देता है)
(२)	बा नैं	राम ऐ	किताबु दई।	(उसने राम को किताब दिया)
(३)	बु	राम ऐ	चिट्ठी लिखति ऐ।	(वह राम को पत्र लिखती है)
(४)	बु	मोहन ऐ	खाना परोसति ऐ।	(वह मोहन को खाना परसती है)
(५)	बु	राधा ऐ	मेंहदी रचति ऐ।	(वह राधा को मेंहदी लगाती है)
(६)	बु	मोहन के काजैं	किताबु लावैंगो।	(वह मोहन के लिए किताब लाएगा)

१.१.४ प्रेरणार्थक प्ररूप—इस की संरचना अकर्मक तथा सकर्मक दोनों ही प्रकार के क्रियापदों से व्युत्पन्न प्रेरणार्थक रूपों से होती है। इसमें चार अनिवार्य संरचक मिलते हैं—प्रेरक कर्ता, प्रेरित कर्ता, कर्म और क्रिया। प्रेरित कर्ता का प्रयोग सदैव 'ते' परसर्ग के साथ होता है। उदाहरणार्थ—

प्रेरक कर्ता + प्रेरित कर्ता + कर्म + क्रिया

(१)	बा नैं	राम ते	किताब पढ़वाई।	(उस ने राम से किताब पढ़वाया)
(२)	बु	किसन ते	पाँव दबवावतु ऐ।	(वह किसन से पैर दबवाता है)
(३)	बु	मोहन ते	बिस्तरु बिछबाबतु ऐ।	(वह मोहन से बिस्तर बिछवाता है)
(४)	बा नैं	मोची ते	जूता बनवायौ।	(उस ने मोची से जूता बनवाया)
(५)	बु	छोरी ते	खाना पकबाबति ऐ।	(वह लड़की से खाना पकवाती हैं)
(६)	बा नैं	पुलिस ते	चोरू पकरबायौ।	(उस ने पुलिस से चोर पकड़वाया)
(७)	बु	सीता ते	दबाई भिजबाबैंगी।	(वह सीता से दवा भिजवाएगी)

१.१.५ वाच्यीय प्ररूप—इस प्रकार के उपवाक्यीय प्ररूप को दो वर्गों में विभाजित किया जा सकता है—

(१) कर्मवाच्यीय प्ररूप
(२) भाववाच्यीय प्ररूप

१.१.५.१ कर्मवाच्यीय प्ररूप—इस प्रकार के उपवाक्यों की संरचना में सदैव सकर्मक क्रियापदों का प्रयोग किया जाता है। ब्रजभाषा की कर्मवाच्यीय संरचना में मुख्य क्रिया के भूतकालिक कृदन्तीय रूप के साथ 'जानौं' सहायक क्रिया के रूपों का योग मिलता हैं। कर्ता का प्रयोग 'ते' परसर्ग के साथ होता है। इस प्ररूप के तीन संरचक हैं—कर्ता, कर्म और क्रिया। उदाहरणार्थ—

कर्ता + कर्म + क्रिया (सकर्मक मुख्यक्रिया + 'जानौं' सहायक क्रिया)

(१)	बा ते	आमु	खायौ गयौ।	(उस के द्वारा आम खाया गया)
(२)	बा ते	कामु	करौ जाएगौ।	(उस से काम किया जाएगा)

(३) बिमला ते	फूलु	सूंघ्यौ गयौ।		(बिमला द्वारा फूल सूंघा गया)
(४) बा ते	छोरा	मार्‌यौ गयौ।		(उसके द्वारा लड़का मारा गया)
(५) बा ते	पाँउ	धोयौ गयौ।		(उसके द्वारा पैर धोया गया)
(६) मोहन ते	किताबु	पढ़ी गई।		(मोहन के द्वारा पुस्तक पढ़ी गई)

१.१.५.२ भाववाच्यीय प्ररूप—इन की संरचना अकर्मक क्रियापदों द्वारा सिद्ध होती है। भाववाच्यीय रूपों की संरचना में मुख्यक्रिया का भूतकालिक कृदन्तीय रूप तथा सहायक क्रिया 'जानौं' या मुख्य क्रिया का वर्तमानकालिक कृदन्त तथा सहायक क्रिया 'बननौं' के रूप सहायक सिद्ध होते हैं। इस प्ररूप में क्रिया के रूप पुरुष-बचन या लिङ्ग-वचन से प्रभावित नहीं होते। मुख्यक्रिया और सहायक क्रिया के बीच निषेधात्मक 'नाइं' या 'नायँ' का प्रयोग होता है। इस के दो मुख्य संरचक है—कर्ता और क्रिया। उदाहरणार्थ—

कर्ता + मुख्यक्रिया + नायं/नाइं + सहायक क्रिया

(१) बा ते	उठतु	नायं बन्तु।	(उससे उठते नहीं बनता)
(२) मो ते	चल्तु	नायं बन्तु।	(मुझसे चलते नहीं बनता)
(३) बा ते	सोबतु	नायं बन्तु।	(उससे सोते नहीं बनता)
(४) बा ते	जातु	नायं बन्तु।	(उससे जाते नहीं बनता)
(५) बा ते	उठ्यौ	नाइं जातु।	(उससे उठा नहीं जाता)
(६) मो ते	बैठ्यौ	नाइं जातु।	(मुझसे बैठा नहीं जाता)
(७) बा ते	रुक्यौ	नाइं जाइगौ।	(उससे रुका नहीं जायगा)
(८) बा ते	जाग्यौ	नाइं गयौ।	(उससे जागा नहीं गया)

२.० निष्कर्षत : ब्रजभाषा में उपवाक्य प्ररूपों की ६ प्रकार की संरचनाएँ प्राप्त होती हैं–

(१) अकर्मक प्ररूप = कर्ता + क्रिया (अकर्मक)

(२) सकर्मक प्ररूप = कर्ता + कर्म + क्रिया (सकर्मक)

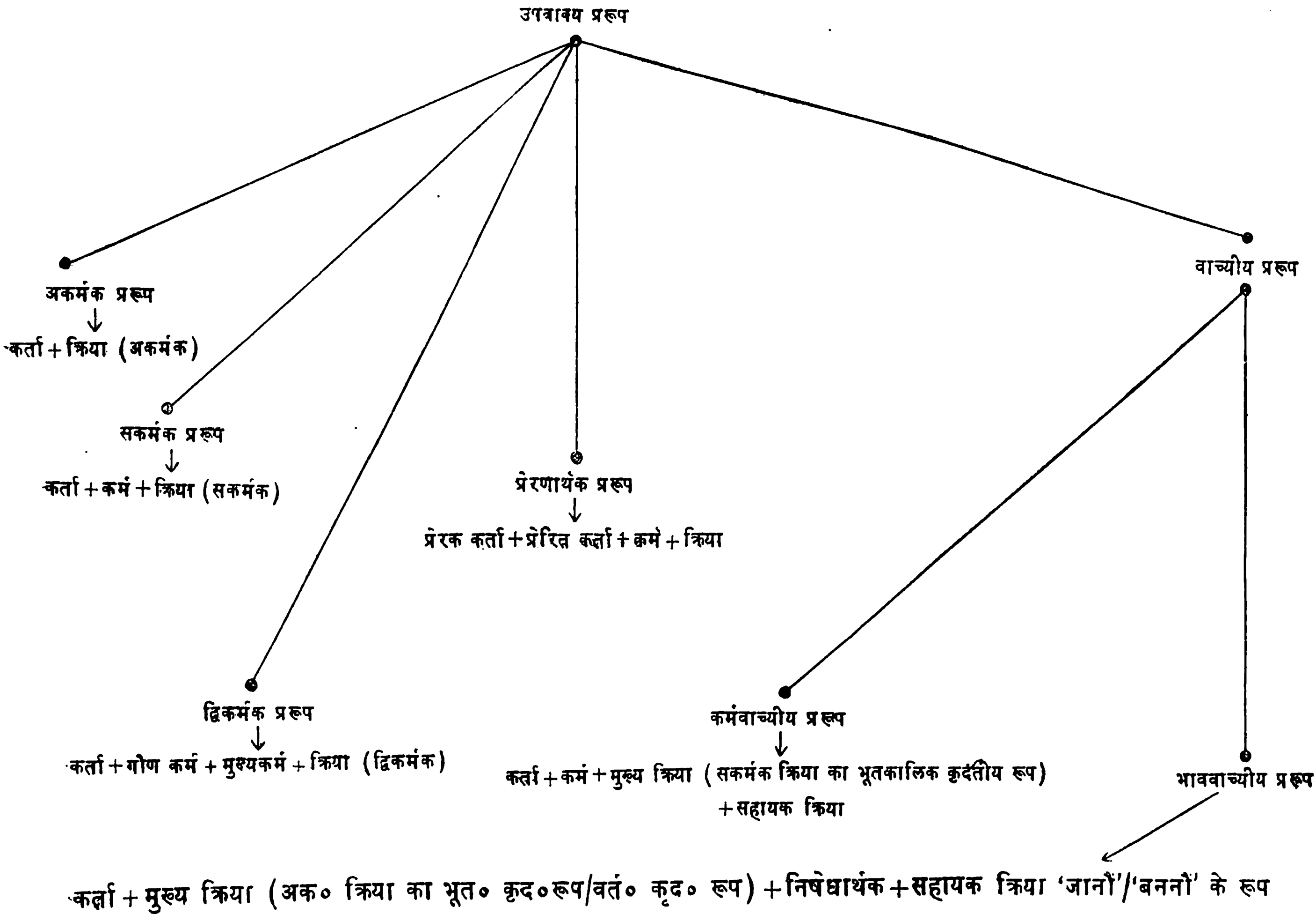
(३) द्विकर्मक प्ररूप = कर्ता + गौण कर्म + मुख्य कर्म + क्रिया (द्विकर्मक)

(४) प्रेरणार्थक प्ररूप = प्रेरक कर्ता + प्रेरित कर्म + कर्म + क्रिया

(५) कर्मवाच्यीय प्ररूप = कर्ता + कर्म + मुख्य क्रिया (सकर्मक क्रिया का भूतकालिक कृदन्तीय रूप) + सहायक क्रिया 'जानौं' का रूप

(६) भाववाच्यीय प्ररूप = कर्ता + मुख्य क्रिया (अकर्मक क्रिया का भूतकालिक कृदन्तीय रूप या वर्तमानकालिक कृदन्तीय रूप) + निषेधार्थक (नाइं/नायं) + सहायक क्रिया (जानौं' या 'बननौं' के रूप)

२.१ आरेख द्वारा प्रस्तुतीकरण—उपर्युक्त उपवाक्य प्ररूपों को सम्मुख दिए आरेख द्वारा इस प्रकार प्रस्तुत किया जा सकता है—


उपवाक्य प्ररूप
अकर्मक प्ररूप
कर्ता + क्रिया (अकर्मक)
सकर्मक प्ररूप
कर्ता + कर्म + क्रिया (सकर्मक)
द्विकर्मक प्ररूप
कर्ता + गौण कर्म + मुख्यकर्म + क्रिया (द्विकर्मक)
प्रेरणार्थक प्ररूप
प्रेरक कर्ता + प्रेरित कर्ता + कर्म + क्रिया
वाच्यीय प्ररूप
कर्मवाच्यीय प्ररूप
कर्ता + कर्म + मुख्य क्रिया (सकर्मक क्रिया का भूतकालिक कृदंतीय रूप)
+ सहायक क्रिया
भाववाच्यीय प्ररूप
कर्ता + मुख्य क्रिया (अक० क्रिया का भूत० कृद०रूप/वर्त० कृद० रूप) + निषेधार्थक + सहायक क्रिया 'जानौं'/'बननौं' के रूप

ON SOME BHOJAPURĪ WORDS

Sheo Shankar Prasad

Bihārī which is derived from Māgadhī, consists of three defined groups—Bhojapurī, Maithilī and Māgadhī. The first one i.e. Bhojapurī is influenced by Kosalī also and is not deficient in '*tatsama*' words. In the present article I have tried to trace the development of the following Bhojapurī words :—

1. *Aṃtarā* (अँतरा)—The Bhojapurī word '*aṃtarā*', meaning 'intermediate space' is traced to the Sanskrit word '*antara*', meaning 'a hole', intermediate time or space, difference between two things[1]. In Bhojapurī the final vowel has been lengthened or it might be taken to be an evolute from the indeclinable '*antarā*', meaning in the middle[2].

Example :—'*Pagalī ke dekha ke larikā saba konā aṃtarā me lukā gaïle*'.
(पगली के देख के लरिका सब कोना अंतरा मे लुका गइले)
(Seeing the mad women, all the children hid themselves in the corners and the intermediate spaces).

2. *Ināra* (इनार) —The Bhojapurī word '*ināra*' is used in the sense of a 'well'. It is an evolute from '*indra*', literally one who gives water[3]. In Indian mythology Indra, the lord of gods is considered to be the rain-god as well as master of water-resources. Village-people regard ponds and wells

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1. *antaram avakāśāvadhiparidhānāntardhirbhedatādarthye|*
chidrātmīyavinābahir avasaramadhye'ntarātmani ca ||
Amara., III.3.187.

2. *athāntare'ntarā |*
antareṇa ca madhye syuḥ......||
Ibid., III.IV.10.

3. "*irām dṛṇātīti vā*—he who gives food, but as the material cause of food is water, the implied meaning of '*irā*' is water".
Etyomologies of Yāska p., 127.

as seats of Indra (*indrāsana*). In ancient India people used to get water from wells. Hence, later on wells came to be known as *'indra'*. Due to *svarabhakti* first of all *'indra'* becomes *'indara'* and due to working of assimilation it developes into *'innara'* and later on it changes into *'ināra'*. Besides *ināra, inarā* and *ināra* are also used in Bhojapurī. Sometimes *'inārā'*, is used in the sense of a big well.

Dr. Sukumar Sen has derived this from *'indrāgāra'* (dwelling of Indra). But I think there is no use of deriving this word from *'indrāgāra'* in lieu of 'indra'.

Example :—*barā sundara ināra bā* (बरा सुन्दर इनार बा)
The well is a nice one.

3. *Uchāla* (उछाल)—The word *'Uchāla'* conveys the sense of 'vomiting. It is derived from the causative of the root *'cal'* prefixed with *'ut'*, meaning 'to jump up', 'to fly upwards'. *Uchāla* literally means 'going upwards'. The natural course of chewed food particles is to go downwards to the stomach through the gullet. But sometimes, due to certain causes the chewed food particles are ejected from the stomach through the mouth. This action is known as *'uchāla'* (vomiting).

uccala > Ucchala > uchāla.

Example :—*Babuā ke uchāla ho gaïla ha* (बबुआ के उछाल हो गइल हा)
(The boy has vomited).

4. *Kaniyā* (कनिया)—The Bhojapurī word *'Kaniyā'* is traced to the Sanskrit word *'kanyā'*, meaning 'daughter', 'unmarried girl'[1]. But in Bhojapurī it conveys just the reverse sense. It means a bride, a newly married woman. As a rule virgins are accepted as brides. What to talk of higher castes, even 'śūdras' prefer to marry virgins. Thus, later on it came to denote 'bride', 'newly married woman'.

Example :—*Kaniyā dekha cale ke cāhiṃ* (कनिया देखे चले के चाहीं)
(We should go to have a look of the bride).

In the *'Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa'* *'rājanya'* and *'dyauḥ'* are pronounced as *'rājaniya'* and *'diyauḥ'* respectively. Besides this, in the *Yajurveda* and even in the *Ṛgveda* we see that *'bhāvyam'* and *'vareṇyam'* are pronounced as *'bhāviyam'* and *'vareṇiyam'* respectively. Thus we come to know that there was a tendency to separate

1. *Kanyā Kumārī. Amara.*, II.6.8.

conjunct consonants with *'y'* by placing an *'i'* before the first consonant. Thus *'Kanyā'* becomes *'Kaniyā'* in Bhojapurī and other allied dialects.

5. *Kala* (कल)—The Bojapurī word *'Kala'* is a *'tatsama'* word. In Sanskrit it is used in the sense of sweet and indistinct sound[1]. But in Bhojapurī it is used in an altogether different sense. It conveys the sense of rest, the reverse of which is still preserved in the word *'vikala'* (agitated, restless).

Example:—*Kaïsana larikā hava, toharā taniko kala nā pare.* (कइसन लरिका हव, तोहरा तनिको कल ना परे)

(What sort of boy you are? You do not take rest for a while).

Monier Williams thinks that it is word of doubtful etymology. I think it is a word of Indo-European origin and it is somehow or the other related with the English word 'calm'[2], an adjective meaning peaceful, quiet.

6. *Jĕvanāra* (जेंवनार)—The Bhojapurī word *'Jĕvanāra'*, meaning 'feast' is derived from the Sanskrit word *'Jemana'*, meaning 'food'[3].

We come across this word in the *Śrīmadbhāgavata*[4].

Jemana is not a word of Indo-Aryan origin. It has been borrowed from Non-Aryan language. In Santal, we come across the word *Jam* and in Kuruku *'Jome'*. In some of the modern Indian languages the word *'Jeṃvana'* or its different forms are very popular. For example Hindī—*Jiṃvana*, 'to eat', *'jeṃānā'* to feed; Marāṭhī—*jevne*, 'to eat'.

In Apabhraṃśa 'm' coming betwen two vowels is changed to 'V' Thus *'jemana'* becomes *Jĕvana*. This is a very popular word of Bhojapurī folksongs.

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1. *Kākalī tu kale sūkṣme dhvanau tu madhurāsphuṭe kalaḥ / Amara.*, 1.7.2.
2. "Calm—an adj. meaning peaceful, quiet, particularly used of the weather, free from wind or storms, or of the sea, opposed to rough. The word appears in French calme, through which it came into English, in Spanish, Portuguese and Italian calma. Most authorities follow Diez (*Etym. wörterbuch der romanischen sprachen*) in tracing the origin to the Low Latin 'cauma' an adaptation of Gr. Kauma, burning heat, Kai, 'to burn'. The Portuguese 'calma' has this meaning as well as that of quiet. The connection would be heat of the day, rest during the period, so quiet, rest, peacefulness. The insertion of the 'l' which in English pronunciation disappears, is probably due to the Latin calor, heat with which the word was associated". *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th Ed. Vol. V Cal.—CHA), p. 59.
3. *Jemanaṃ leha āhāro nighaso'nyāda ityapi/ Amara*.2-9.55-56.
4. *etat suhṛdbhiś caritaṃ murārer aghārdanaṃ śādvala-jemanaṃ ca / Bhāg.*, X.14.60.

It is used both as a substantive and a verb.

(i) As a substantive—*Sone Ke thāla me jĕvanā parosala bā* (सोने के थाल मे जेवना परोसल बा) (The food has been served in the golden plate.

(ii) As a verb—*Paṇḍitajī, jĕvala jāya* (पंडितजी, जेवल जाय)—Panditajī, please be kind enough to eat it. *Jĕvanāra'* an evolute from *'jĕvana'* is used in the sense of a 'Feast'.

Example :—*āja hamarā kan jĕvanāra ba, rauā jarūre āïla jāi*
(आज हमरा कन जेंवनार बा, रउआ जरूर आइल जाइ)
(To-day we have arranged a feast, please do come).

7. *Jonhi* (जोन्ही)—The Bhojapurī word *'Jonhi'*, meaning 'Star' is an evolute from Sanskrit word *'Jyautsnī'*[1] (ज्यौत्स्नी), 'meaning moonlit night'. It is presumed that besides this sense, it might have been in vogue in the sense of an object endowed with light (*jyotsnā asti asya iti*). Stars are also endowed with light. Hence on the analogy of *Jyotiṣī*—Star (*Jyotiḥ asti asya iti*) it came to denote stars also.

In Prākṛta, Sanskrit *'tsn'* is changed into *'ṇh'*. Thus *'jyotsnā'* becomes *'joṇhā'*[2] and *'Jyautsnī'* changes into *'joṇhi'*. Later on in Bhajapurī it becomes *'joṇhī'*.

Example :—*Ākāsa meṃ joṇhī dekhāi naïkhe deta.* (आकास में जोन्ही देखाइ नइखे देत।)
(Stars are not visible in the sky).

8. *Tātala* (तातल)—The word *'tātala'*, meaning 'hot' might be traced to the word *'tāpala'* which is derived from *'tāptala'* like the words *'māṃsala'*, *'peśala'* etc. Due to assimilation *'p'* is replaced by *'t'* and the resultant is *'tātala'*.

Example :—*bhāta barā tātala bā* (भात बरा तातल बा)
(The boiled rice is very hot.).

We also come across this word in Maithilī. Vidyāpati, the famous poet of Mithilā has used this word—*tātala saikata bāri bindu sama.* (तातल सैकत बारि बिन्दु सम।)

9. *Batāsa* (बतास)—The word *'batāsa'*, meaning 'wind' is a very popular word of Bhojapurī speaking area. In the Vedic language the nominative plural of masculine *'a'* stems is optionally formed with *'asas'*.

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1. *Jyautsnī candrikayānvitā* / *Amara.*, 1.4.5.
2. *paraṃ joṇha uṇhā garalasariso caṃndaṇaraso* / *Karpūramañjarī*, II.II.

Example :—*brāhmaṇāsaḥ, janāsaḥ*[1]. etc.

It is presumed that word *vāta* (wind) which is always used in plural, might have been declined in its nominative plural as '*vātāsaḥ*' and was more popular in the mass than the regular form '*vātāḥ*'. Hence we do not come across the word in Sanskrit literature, but it is in vogue in the Māgadhan languages.

Besides this sense, it is also used in a bad sense.

Example :—*bāhara mata jāiṃ, havā batāsa lāga jāi* (बाहर मत जाइं, हवा बतासं लाग जाइ।)

(Do not go outside, otherwise you will fall a victim to evil spirit). Here '*batāsa*' denotes evil spirit, for such things move with the help of wind.

Due to phonetic change '*v*' changes into '*b*' and the long vowel is shortened. Thus '*vātāsa*' becomes '*batāsa*' in Bhojapurī.

Example :—*Batāsa bahatā* (बतास बहता) (Now the wind is blowing).

In Maithilī, in the place of '*batāsa*' we come across '*basāta*'. This is nothing but an example of metathesis.

Example :—*Basāta bahai chaï.* (बसात बहइ छइ।)

The word is also found in Bengali and Oriya.

Bengali—*Bātāsa baïte che.* (বাতাস বইতে ছে।)

Oriya —*Bātāsa haü chi.* (ବାତାସ ହଉ ଛି।)

10. *Bhitabaliā* (भितबलिआ)—This is an example of contamination in Bhojapurī. Here two words get fused into one, each, contaminating the other. Thus first of all it might have changed into '*bhitabala*' and then '*bhitabaliā*' in the colloquial dialect.

Example :—*bhitabaliā ke lage paisā gira gaïla bā* (भितबलिआ के लगे पइसा गिर गइल बा) (The paisā has dropped near the wall.)

The word is used in some parts of the district of Ballia (U. P.).

11. *Sīdhā* (सीधा)—The word *Sīdhā* is a very popular word of Bhoja-

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1. *Yo jāta eva prathamo manasvān devo devān kratunā paryabhūṣat |*
yasya śuṣmād rodosī abhyasetām nṛmṇasya mahnā sa janāsa indraḥ || *ṚV.*, II.12.2.

purī region. It is an evolute from the Sanskrit word '*siddha*', meaning 'accomplished, proved, valid, sound, celebrated, well-known'[1]. The word has two-fold development in Bhojapurī, one in the form of '*Sidhā*', meaning uncooked articles of food and the other in the form of '*sijhala*', meaning cooked. Thus we see that the same word conveys two sets of meanings, one being just the reverse of the other.

In India cooked food like rice, pulse etc. cannot be given to Brāhmins as '*pratigraha*' (gifts), for they are considered to be '*aśuddha*' (defiled), being touched by other castes. Hence, uncooked rice, pulse etc. are supplied to them, for these items of food are taken to be '*siddha*', i.e. proved to be unpolluted with the contact of other castes. In short, they are taken to be 'touch-proof' or valid (*siddha*). Hence they are called '*sīdhā*'.

Siddha > *sīdha* > *sīdhā.*

Later on, the meaning of the word underwent expansion and it denotes 'ration' also.

Example :—*rāuāṃ kahāṃ jātānī ? Sīdhā—bārī kharīde jātānī* (रऊआ कहाँ जातानी ? सीधा-बारी खरीदे जातानी।) (Where are you going ? I am going to purchase the ration).

Besides this, it is also used in the sense of articles of food for daily use.

Example :—*Dekha āja ke sīdhā bā ki nā* (देख आज के सीधा बा कि ना) (Go, and see in the store whether articles of food meant for to-day are there or not).

In the Western part of Bhojapurī speaking region, it denotes 'wheat-flour' also, for, wheat grows abundantly in this part and it constitutes the staple food of the people of the region.

Example :—*gohūṃ orā gaila bā, sera bhara sīdhā hamarā ke dīṃ* (गोहूँ ओरा गइल बा, सेर भर सीधा हमरा के दीं) (We have run short of wheat, please give me a seer of wheat flour).

The word *Sīdha* (सीधा) is also used in Bengali and Oriya.

Bengali :—*thākura ke side die dāo* (ঠাকুর কে সিদে দিয়ে দাও)

Oriya—*Bābā ku sīdhā dei de.* (ବାବା କୁ ସିଧା ଦେଇ ଦେ।)

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1. *Siddhe nirvṛtta-niṣpannau* | *Amara.*, 3.1.100.

DEFINITION OF POETRY IN SĀHITYASUDHĀSINDHU

Ram Pratap

A critical survey of the history of Sanskrit poetics shows that at different times different and contradictory thoughts were prevailing regarding the nature and soul of poetry. There is a long series of numerous definitions, in which attempts were made to clarify the inner sense and outer form of poetry. Some of them give prominence to form, while others lay more stress on substance or suggested sense.

Bharata, in his famous book, *Nāṭyaśāstra*, has described the plot as the body of poetry[1]. Elsewhere he asserts that the soul of poetry is *rasa* or sentiment[2]. Next to Bharata is Bhāmaha who says that both word and meaning together constitute poetry, and that there are two varieties of poetry[3]. This definition of poetry is akin to the one given by Prof. A. C. Bradley, in which he says, "If substance and form mean anything in the poem, then each is involved in the other, and the question in which of them the value lies has no sense"[4]. Poetry essentially consists of form and substance, and just as there is no substance apart from form, so there is no form apart from substance. It follows, therefore, that in poetry form and substance must have a mutual and innate relation[5]. Western scholars have also pondered over the issue of the soul of poetry. S. T. Coleridge, one of the greatest English

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1. इतिवृत्तं तु काव्यस्य शरीरं परिकीर्तितम् । *Nāṭyaśāstra* (G.O.S.), XXI.1.
2. एक एव तावत्परमार्थतो रसः सूत्रस्थानीयत्वेन रूपके प्रतिभाति । न हि रसादृते कश्चिदर्थः प्रवर्तते । *Ibid.*, pp. 273-4.
3. शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यं गद्यं पद्यं च तद् द्विधा ।। *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, I.16.
4. *Oxford Lectures on Poetry*, p. 16.
5. K. Krishnamoorthy : *Essays in Sanskrit Literary Criticism*, Dharwar, 1964, p. 212.

critics, says, "Good sense is the body of poetic genius, fancy its drapery, motion its life and imagination the soul"[1].

Viśvanāthadeva, a South Indian scholar, in his *Sāhityasudhāsindhu*, a notable work on Sanskrit poetics written in 1952 A.D.[2], has placed the view of former *ācārya*-s regarding definition of poetry in two categories[3]. Under the first category come those theorists who regard the existence of poetry both in word and sense. He has not mentioned the names of the propounders of this view but indirectly refers to Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa, Rudraṭa, Ānandavardhana and Mammaṭa. Under the second category are placed Caṇḍīdāsa and others who consider the existence of poetry in word[4]. He has refuted the first view by arguing thus: If both *śabda* and *artha* are to be regarded as *kāvya* then one would have to believe in the existence of two *kāvya*-s viz. *śabdakāvya* and *arthakāvya* at one place which is not possible[5].

Those who consider poetry in word only have been refuted thus: Delight is obtained not only through words but also through the objects denoted by those words[6].

Viśvanāthadeva has critically examined in detail these theories, i.e. (i) either a union of word and sense is called poetry or (ii) the word only can be regarded as poetry. He himself considers that sentence as poetry which is easily understandable and which produces supreme bliss[7]. He uses neither *śabda* (word) nor *śabdārthau* (word and sense) but *vākya* (sentence) for giving

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1. *Biographia Literaria*, p. 180.
2. Ed. Ram Pratap, Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, Delhi, 1978. As this work was not published before and was available only in manuscript form, it could not attract the attention of scholars, though all aspects of Indian poetry are dealt with in it just as in Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa* and Viśvanātha's *Sāhityadarpaṇa*. The work presents before us a complete scheme of poetics incorporating the ideas of almost all important thinkers in the field up to end of 16th century.
3. केचित्तु आस्वादव्यंजकत्वमेव काव्यत्वप्रयोजकं तत्तु शब्दे चार्थे चाविशिष्टमिति शब्दवदर्थेऽपि काव्यत्वमिति प्राहुः। केचित्तु "अदोषौ तद्धि शब्दार्थौ सालंकारौ गुणान्वितौ। काव्यमेतदिति प्राहुरलंकारविशारदाः।" *Sāhityasudhāsindhu*, I.4, (*vṛtti*)
4. काव्यं करोतीत्यादिव्यवहारस्तु शब्दपरतया नेयः। तेनास्वादजीवातुः पदसन्दर्भः काव्यमिति चण्डीदासप्रभृतयः। *Ibid.*
5. नाद्यः केवले शब्दे केवले चार्थे तद्व्यवहारात्। *Ibid.*
6. तन्न, आस्वादवदर्थोपस्थापकपदत्वं पदोपस्थाप्यास्वादवदर्थत्वं वा काव्यमिति विनिगमनाविरहेणोभयस्य काव्यत्वात्। *Ibid.*
7. जायते परमानन्दो ब्रह्मानन्दसहोदरः। यस्य श्रवणमात्रेण तद्वाक्यं काव्यमुच्यते। *Ibid.*, I.4.

his definition of poetry. Here the word *vākya* is significant and reminds us of the definition given by the other important poetician, Viśvanātha, who has propounded that poetry consists in sentence (*vākya*). He defines poetry as a kind of sentence, the soul whereof is *rasa*[1]. According to him, a sentence is a collection of words possessing compatibility, expectancy and juxtaposition (or proximity)[2]. A sentence without having these three qualities cannot express its complete sense. It is a known fact that a sentence is a group of words which have complete sense. Hence, this use of the *vākya* for defining the nature of poetry made by Viśvanāthadeva steers clear of all that criticism is levelled against the theory of *śabdakāvya* and it establishes that both word and sense in their harmonious combination should be regarded as poetry. This theorist seems to be a staunch supporter of the view of Bhojadeva who includes the word *rasa* in his definition of poetry and puts more stress on the highest delight which is the main purpose of poetry[3]. Viśvanāthadeva uses word *akhaṇḍa* in his statement which may have three fold meaning: (1) union of word and sense, (2) synthesis of *vibhāva*-s (excitants), *anubhāva*-s (ensuants) and *vyabhicāribhāva*-s (variants) with *sthāyibhāva*-s (permanent emotions), and (3) union of knowledge and supreme delight. Thus he advocates that real poetry is a combination of these aforesaid elements and that it aims at giving the highest bliss. His own definition of *kāvya* is as follows, "The sentence, mere listening of which (due to being easily understandable) gives birth to the highest delight akin to the taste of ultimate reality, is called poetry[4]. The use of the term *brahmānandasahodara* (delight like *summum bonum*) in this definition clearly means that poetry does not give pleasure of an ordinary type but renders an extraordinary type of pleasure comparable to the highest bliss. Here he is right in putting a great stress on the highest delight which is the main purpose of poetry.

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1. वाक्यं रसात्मकं काव्यम् । *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, I.3.
2. वाक्यं स्याद् योग्यताकांक्षासत्तियुक्तः पदोच्चयः । *Ibid.*, II-1.
3. वस्तुतस्त्वदोषगुणवत्काव्यमित्यादिवाक्यप्रतिपादितस्वर्गविशेषजनकतावच्छेदकं काव्यत्वमखण्डं कल्पनीयं तदेव लक्षणमस्तु, किमनेनानुगतेन लक्षणेन । *Sāhityasudhāsindhu*, I.4 (*vṛtti*),
4. *Ibid.*, I.4, cited above, f.n. 7 on p. 312

THE SĀṂKHYA AS DEPICTED IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA*

V. G. Rahurkar

Perhaps the most valuable passages concerning the development of the *Sāṃkhya* speculation, after the period of ancient speculations from the Vedas and the oldest Upaniṣads are those, (which belong to the period of the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas. This period extends roughly from about the fourth century B.C., down through the first century A. D.) It is intended to consider in this paper, the *Mokṣadharma*[1] and the *Bhagavadgitā*[2] to study the *Sāṃkhya* philosophy as depicted in the *Mahābhārata*. Some portions of the *Anugitā*[3] contain some interesting passages but they are repetitions from the *Mokṣadharma* and the *Bhagavadgitā*.

The distinction between *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa* has been extensively expounded in the *Śāntiparvan*. Here the word *Sattva* stands for *Prakṛti* and not *Brahman*. But Keith, seeing that *Sattva* was used as the subject of comparison of a spider, erroneously maintains that *Sattva* is referring to the *Brahman*. It will be clear from the two verses quoted below that his explanation is erroneous because it goes against the context :

सृजते हि गुणात् सत्त्वं क्षेत्रज्ञः परिपश्यति ।
संप्रयोगस्तयोरेष सत्वक्षेत्रज्ञयोर्ध्रुवः ॥
स्वभावसिद्धमेवैतत् यदिमान् सृजते गुणान् ।
ऊर्णनाभिर्यथा स्रष्टा विज्ञेयास्तन्तुवद् गुणाः ॥[4]

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* All references to the *Mbh.* in this paper are to the Critical Edition of the *Mbh.*, B. O. R. I., Pune, 4.

1. Chapters 168 to 353 in the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*, from the 12th *parvan*, namely the *Śāntiparvan*.
2. Chapters 23 to 40 of the sixth *parvan*, namely *Bhīṣmaparvan*.
3. 14th *Āśvamedhika parvan*.
4. *Mbh.*, XII.187.42-48.

We find a reference in the *Mbh.* of the *Sāṃkhya*—knowledge being called *Vaiśeṣika* which was imparted to Janaka by Pañcaśikha of Parāśara *gotra*[1]. Leaving aside the paths of mere knowledge or action, *Sāṃkhya* lays down a third path, a combination of knowledge and action.

In the dialogue between Janaka and Sulabhā, the latter uses the word *Sāṃkhya* in the sense of *a particular kind of constituent of sentence* :

सौक्ष्म्यं सङ्ख्याक्रमौ चोभौ निर्णयः सप्रयोजनः ।
पञ्चैतान्यर्थजातानि **वाक्यमित्युच्यते** नृप ॥
दोषाणां च गुणानां च प्रमाणं प्रविभागतः ।
कंचिदर्थमभिप्रेत्य सा संख्येत्युपधार्यताम् ॥[2]

At one place[3] in the *Mbh.* thirty qualities of the body have been mentioned. This is not met with in the later *Sāṃkhya* philosophy of the *Kārikā*-s.

In the same *parvan* the eightfold varieties of *Prakṛti*, sixteen varieties of modifications and the nine kinds of creation[4] are mentioned but they are not found in the later *Sāṃkhya* Texts.

There are divergent views of Pañcaśikha about the *Sāṃkhya* categories found in the *Śāntiparvan.* The same is the case of the doctrines expounded by Devala in the same *parvan.* However, in the midst of divergent expositions, all agree with regard to the exposition of *Brahman* or *Īśvara.* Even though the plurality of *Puruṣa*-s has been accepted, *Brahman* has been described as the basis of all[5]. Āsuri got merged in *Brahman*[6].

The term *Sāṃkhya* is derived from the noun *Saṃkhyā* (meaning 'number') and also calculation and reasoning[7]. In the *Mbh.* it is said, "The *Sāṃkhya*-s

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1. यस्माच्चैतन्मया प्राप्तं ज्ञानं वैशेषिकं पुरा । *Ibid.* XII. 308.23
2. *Ibid.*, XII.308.79-82.
3. विंशतिर्दश चैवं हि गुणाः संख्यानतः स्मृताः ।
   समग्रा यत्र वर्तन्ते तच्छरीरमिति स्मृतम् ॥ *Ibid.* XII. 308.112
4. अव्यक्तमाहुः प्रकृतिं पुरा प्रकृतिवादिनः ··· *Ibid.* XII. 294.27
   एताः प्रकृतयश्चाष्टौ विकाराश्चापि षोडश ॥ *Ibid.* XII. 294.29. Also
   एतानि नवसर्गाणि तत्वानि च नराधिप ।
   चतुर्विंशतिरुक्तानि यथाश्रुतिनिदर्शनात् ॥ *Ibid.* XII. 298.25
5. बहूनां पुरुषाणां स यथैका योनिरुच्यते । *Ibid.* XII. 338.25
6. यत्तदेकाक्षरं ब्रह्म नानारूपं प्रदृश्यते ।
   आसुरिर्मण्डले तस्मिन् प्रतिपेदे तदव्ययम् ॥ *Ibid.* XII. 211.13
7. Cf. *carcā sāṃkhya vicāraṇā—Amarakośa.*

exercise reason (*saṃkhyā*), and discuss Nature (*Prakṛti*) and the twentyfour principles, and are, therefore, called *Sāṃkhya*"[1].

The *Sāṃkhya* knowledge is said to be unparallelled—"There is no knowledge like that of the *Sāṃkhya,* no power like that of Yoga. *Sāṃkhya* is the highest knowledge"[2].

On the basis of the fact that the word '*tanmātra*' is not mentioned in the *Mbh.*, a number of scholars come to the conclusion that the *Sāṃkhya* depicted in the *Mbh.* is, as it were, the seed of the later *Sāṃkhya*[3]. Emphasis on merely the presence of a word in dealing with philosophical problems is undesirable. The *Mahābhārata* accepts the classification of categories which proves that it has no grudge in accepting the *tanmātra*[4].

The *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa* are said to be mutually interdependent and of a mutually mixed nature in the *Mbh*[5].

At a number of places in the *Mbh.*, *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa* are said to be similar in nature[6]. Yājñavalkya, however, introduces the topic of their dissimilarity[7].

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1. संख्यां प्रकुर्वते चैव प्रकृतिं च प्रचक्षते ।
   तत्त्वानि च चतुर्विंशत् तेन सांख्यं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ *Ibib.* XII. 294. 41
2. नास्ति सांख्यसमं ज्ञानं नास्ति योगसमं बलम् । *Ibid.* XII. 304. 2,
3. *Sāṃkhya System*, Keith, p. 73.
4. गुणाः पूर्वस्य पूर्वस्य प्राप्नुवन्त्युत्तरोत्तरम् ।
   तेषां तावद्यथा यच्च तत्तत्तावद्गुणं स्मृतम् ॥
5. द्वाविमौ पक्षिणौ नित्यौ संक्षेपौ चाप्यचेतनौ ।
   एताभ्यां तु परो यस्य चेतनावान् स उच्यते ॥ *Mbh.* XIV. 49.15
6. अनाद्यन्तावुभावेतौ अलिंगौ चाप्युभावपि ।
   उभौ नित्यावविचलौ महद्भ्यश्च महत्तरौ ॥ *Ibid* XII. 210. 7
   उष्णीशवान् यथा वस्त्रैस्त्रिभिर्भवति संवृतः ।
   संवृतोऽयं तथा देही सत्त्वराजसतामसैः ॥ *Ibid.* XII. 210. 12
   विकारं प्रकृतिं चैव पुरुषं च सनातनम् ।
   यो यथावद्विजानाति स वितृष्णो विमुच्यते ॥ *Ibid,* XII. 210. 35
7. चलां तु प्रकृतिं प्राहुः कारणं क्षयसर्गयोः ।
   आक्षेपसर्गयोः कर्ता निश्चलः पुरुषः स्मृतः ॥ *Ibid.* XII 306. 42

The *adhyātmam*, *adhibhūtam* and *adhidaivatam* mentioned in the 7th *sūtra* of the *Tattvasamāsa* has been defined in the *Mahābhārata* as has been done in all the commentaries of the former[1].

The *'satkāryavāda'* of the *Sāṃkhya*-s and *'Puruṣa'* as the twentyfifth principle are mentioned in—

अनुलोमेन जायन्ते लीयन्ते प्रतिलोमत: ।
गुणा गुणेषु सततं सागरस्योर्मयो यथा ।।[2]

There are again references in the *Mbh.* to 23, 24, 25, 26 and 30 principles of the *Sāṃkhya*-s. The *Bhagvadgītā* throws a flood of light on the natures of *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa*[3]. One must admit that there is discordance here between different passages dealing with the *Sāṃkhya*. But that does not prove that these descriptions are not to be reckoned as serious philosophy. *Edgerton*[4] is right when he asserts that the *Mokṣadharma*, cannot, however, compare with the *Bhagavadgītā* in either philosophical depth or poetic merit.

An early form of the *Sāṃkhya* in the *Mbh.*[5] contains the older formulation of *Sāṃkhya*. Frauwallner[6], in fact, makes a bold claim that the group of verses contains the original form of the *Sāṃkhya* which knows nothing of the *Guṇa*-theory while Johnston[7] sees in it evidence for his notion that the *Guṇa*-theory or *Bhāva*-theory was a little more than "psychical qualities". Van Buitenen[8] does not see eye to eye with these scholars and points out to two uses of the term *bhāva*[9].

The *Prakṛti* of the *Sāṃkhya*-s does not create any modification which is not superintended over by the *Puruṣa*.

The pertinent verses from the *Mbh.* can well be taken, at this juncture, for discussion—

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1. मनोऽध्यात्ममिति प्राहुर्यथा श्रुतिनिदर्शनम् । *Ibid.* XII. 301. 11
   or बुद्धिरध्यात्ममित्याहु: यथावेदनिदर्शनम् । *Ibid.* XII. 301. 13
   or अहंकारिकमध्यात्ममित्याहुस्तत्त्वदर्शिन: । *Ibid.* XII. 301. 12
2. *Ibid.*, XII.294.32.
3. *Bhagavadgītā*, 13.19, 20, 21, 23, 29.
4. *Beginnings of Sāṃkhya Philosophy*, p. 255.
5. XII.189.
6. *Untersuchung zum Mokṣadharma*. pp. 179 ff.
7. *Early Sāṃkhya*, pp. 29-32.
8. *Studies in Sāṃkhya*, p. 153.
9. (i) Sensations, qualities and condition.
   (ii) Successive evolutes of *buddhi*.

पुरुषाधिष्ठितं भावं प्रकृतिः सूयते सदा ।
हेतुयुक्तमतः सर्वं जगत्संपरिवर्तते ॥[1]
दीपादन्ये यथा दीपा प्रवर्तन्ते सहस्रशः ।
प्रकृतिः सूयते तद्वदानन्त्यान्नापचीयते ॥[2]
अव्यक्तकर्मजा बुद्धिरहंकारं प्रसूयते ।
आकाशं चाप्यहङ्काराद्वायुराकाशसम्भवः ॥[3]
वायोस्तेजस्ततश्चाप अद्भ्योऽथ वसुधोद्गता ।
मूलप्रकृतयो ह्यष्टौ जगदेतेष्ववस्थितम् ॥[4]
नवद्वारं पुरं पुण्यमेतैर्भावैः समन्वितम् ।
व्याप्य शेते महानात्मा तस्मात्पुरुष उच्यते ॥[5]
हेतुयुक्ताः प्रकृतयो विकाराश्च परस्परम् ।
अन्योन्यमभिवर्तन्ते पुरुषाधिष्ठिताः सदा ॥[6]

The *Prakṛti* is called हेतुयुक्त or प्रयोजनवती i.e. 'endowed with a purpose' in this passage. The *Prakṛti* gives birth to the world, being superintended over by the *Puruṣa*. This does not mean at all that *Prakṛti* is dependent on *Puruṣa*. *Prakṛti* is called here as that, from which the world evolves and that, in which the world merges. That is *Prakṛti* is independent. Dr. Radhakrishnan, however, says that *Prakṛti* is '*puruṣādhiṣṭhita*', i.e. dependent.

That the *Prakṛti* is *adhiṣṭhāna* and the *Puruṣa* is *adhiṣṭhātā* is referred to in the *Mbh.*:

अचेतनः सत्वसंघातयुक्तः सत्वात्परं चेतयतेऽन्तरात्मा ।
स क्षेत्रवित् सर्वसंख्यातबुद्धिः गुणातिगो मुच्यते मृत्युपाशात् ॥[7]

One can legitimately compare the following *śloka* from the *Mbh.*:

अनुमानाद्विजानीमः पुरुषं सत्वसंश्रयम् ।
न शक्यमन्यथागन्तुं पुरुषं द्विजसत्तम ॥[8]

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1. *Mbh.*, XII.203.23
2. *Ibid.*, XII.203.24
3. *Ibid.*, XII.203.25
4. *Ibid.*, XII.203.26
5. *Ibid.*, XII.203.35
6. *Ibid.*, XII.204.12
7. *Mbh.*, XIV.47.16
8. *Ibid.*, XIV.48.6.
   Also compare
   संघातपरार्थत्वात् त्रिगुणादिविपर्ययादधिष्ठानात् ।
   पुरुषोऽस्ति भोक्तृभावात्कैवल्यार्थं प्रवृत्तेश्च ॥
   सांख्यकारिका–17

With the following verses from the *Bhagavadgītā*—

कार्यकारणकर्तृत्वे हेतुः प्रकृतिरुच्यते ।
पुरुषः सुखदुःखानां भोक्तृत्वे हेतुरुच्यते ॥[1]

Thus the distinctness of *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa* is quite clearly brought in the *Mahābhārata*.

Ahaṃkāra as a *Sāṃkhya* principle occurs generally in the *Mokṣadharma*. It is rightly pointed out by Larson[2] that besides the proto-*Sāṃkhya* traditions, one finds other complexes, many of which are quite unitelligible and probably represent aberrant speculations[3]. One also finds various listings of the *Sāṃkhya Tattva*-s. Seventeen are mentioned in XII.239.15, XII.267.28, XII.231.15. Twenty are listed in XII.267.30. Twentyfour are discussed in XII.296. Twentysix are set forth in XII.306 while the standard list of twentyfive is in XII.298.10.

Prakṛti is referred to in the *Mokṣadharma* as *sattva*, *pradhāna avyakta*. When the term *Prakṛti* itself is used in the *Mokṣadharma* it is usually used in the sense of eightfold *prakṛti*. The various terms used for the Self are *jīva*, *bhūtātman*, *puruṣa*, *ātman*, *kṣetrajña*, and *adhyātmam*. There is an emphasis on knowledge in all descriptions of *Sāṃkhya* in the *Mokṣadharma*[4].

The *Sāṃkhyayoga* referred to in the *Mbh.* is the discipline of knowledge whereas that which is characterised as *yoga* is usually *karmayoga* or *dhyānayoga* i.e. the discipline of action or meditation[5].

As regards the distinction between *Sāṃkhya* and *Yoga* one finds the following verses:

सांख्याः सांख्यं प्रशंसन्ति योगा योगं द्विजातयः ।
वदन्ति कारणैः श्रैष्ठ्यं स्वपक्षोद्भावनाय वै ॥
अनीश्वराः कथं मुच्येदित्येवं शत्रुकर्षण ।
वदन्ति कारणैः श्रैष्ठ्यं योगाः सम्यङ्मनीषिणः ॥
वदन्ति कारणं चेदं सांख्याः सम्यग् द्विजातयः ।
विज्ञायेह गतीः सर्वा विरक्तो विषयेषु यः ॥
ऊर्ध्वं स देहात् सुव्यक्तं विमुच्येदिति नान्यथा ।
एतदाहुः महाप्राज्ञाः सांख्यं वै मोक्षदर्शनम् ॥[6]

1. *Mbh.*, VI.35.20.
2. *Classical Sāṃkhya*, p. 120.
3. *Mbh.*, XII.290.14-22.
4. *Mbh.*, XII.294.27 ff.
5. Cf. also the *Bhagavadgītā*, XIII.24.
6. *Mbh.*, XII.289.2-5.

The distinction in this passage between the *Sāṃkhya* emphasis on knowledge as the only means of salvation and the *yoga* emphasis on power also reminds one of the *Mbh.* which says that, 'there is no knowledge like that of the *Sāṃkhya* and no power like that of the *Yoga*'[1]. Hopkins, Keith and Hauer suggest that the word '*anīśvaraḥ*' is a clear indication of an atheistic *Sāṃkhya*[2] Edgerton has suggested, however, that the term means "having none higher" or "supreme self"[3]. Van Buitenen[4] also agrees with Edgerton that *Sāṃkhya* is originally theistic and this seems to agree well with the *Bhagavadgītā*[5] where a clearly theistic account is given. (Thus we see that in the *Mbh.* monistic tendencies frequently subsume dualistic tendencies and many passages are given a theistic emphasis.) The varieties of speculation about *jiva*, *bhūtātman*, *ātman* and lastly the *puruṣa* of the *Sāṃkhya* so much intermix that it is impossible to describe the stages of development with precision.

In the *Mbh.* one can notice the appearance of *ahaṃkāra* and its close association with the eightfold *Prakṛti*. In the *Bhagadgītā*[6] one can find that the *guṇa*-s appear as aspects or qualities of *Prakṛti*.

Prof. V. M. Bedekar has rightly pointed out in his study of the seven discourses in the *Mokṣadharma* of the *Mbh*. that the *Sāṃkhya* was regarded as the oldest philosophical doctrine and it was in the process of evolution[7]. The discourses appear to envisage a supreme deity which overrides the dualism and that eight *Prahṛti*-s and sixtecn *vikāra*-s constitute the twentyfour *tattva*-s.

The late Prof. V. M. Bedekar has pointed out in another paper[8] that the teachings of Pañcaśikha are presented in three passages in the *Mbh.*[9] In these passages Pañcaśikha is accorded the proud place of Yājñavalkya. The introduction of Janaka's strong personality into the *Mbh. Sāṃkhya*, however, appears to have given a slightly new dimension to the *Sāṃkhya* in these passages.

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1. नास्ति साङ्ख्यसमं ज्ञानं नास्ति योगसमं बलम् । *Ibid*, XII. 304. 2
2. E. W. Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, pp. 104-106.
3. *Beginnings of Sāṃkhya*, p. 291.
4. *Studies in Sāṃkhya* (II), p. 19.
5. Ch. VII.
6. *Bhagavadgītā*, Chap. XIII.
7. "The *Sāṃkhya* theory of evolution in the *Mokṣadharma* and the *Sāṃkhyakārikā* : A comparative study". *Indian Antiquary* (3rd series: ed. by Dr. G. V. Devasthali Vol. II, No. (ii), pp. 30-34, April, 1967.
8. Studies in *Sāṃkhya* : The teachings of Pancaśikha in the *Mahābhārata*, *ABORI*, Vol. XXXVIII, Parts III-IV, Poona, 1958.
9. XII.211-212; XII.307 and XII.308.

There is at one place unequivocal praise showered in the *Sāṃkhya* speculation on the *Sāṃkhya* philosophy.

ज्ञानं महद् यद्धि महत्सु राजन्
वेदेषु सांख्येषु तथैव योगे ।
यच्चापि दृष्टं विविधं पुराणे
सांख्यागतं तन्निखिलं नरेन्द्र ॥
यच्चेतिहसेषु महत्सु दृष्टं
यच्चार्थशास्त्रे नृप शिष्टजुष्टे ।
ज्ञानं च लोके यदिहास्ति किञ्चित्
सांख्यागतं तच्च महन्महात्मन् ॥
शमश्च दृष्टः परमं बलं च
ज्ञानं च सूक्ष्मं च यथावदुक्तम् ।
तपांसि सूक्ष्माणि सुखानि चैव
सांख्ये यथावद्विहितानि राजन् ॥[1]

Thus, from a close scrutiny and critical study of important passages on the *Sāṃkhya* speculation in the *Mahābhārata*, it can be said that one finds in them the emergence of a specific doctrine of twentyfive principles, comprehended from an evolutionary perspective, basically dualistic, theistic and emphasizing salvation through knowledge.

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1. *Mbh.* XII.290.103-105.

वररुचिकृत प्राकृत-प्रकाश के अध्ययन तथा संरक्षण में प्राकृत-मञ्जरी-टीकाकार का योगदान

मोती लाल रस्तोगी

प्राकृत भाषा के प्राचीनतम वैयाकरण वररुचि के 'प्राकृतप्रकाश' की प्राकृतमञ्जरी टीका ऐतिहासिक क्रम में द्वितीय स्थान पर संस्थापित की जा सकती है। यह छन्दोबद्ध टीका है। इसकी जिस हस्तलिखित प्रति[1] का उपयोग पिशल ने किया था वह भ्रष्ट और अपूर्ण थी। स्थान-स्थान पर पाठ स्पष्ट न होने के कारण वह सम्यक् रूप से इसका अध्ययन न कर सके। उनकी दृष्टि में यह टीका विशेष महत्त्व की नहीं है।[2] पिशल की दृष्टि में इसका प्रणेता कोई दक्षिण भारतीय है, जिसका नाम और काल दोनों अज्ञात हैं। प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार सर्व प्रथम[3] भगवान् सूर्य को नमस्कार करके, महामुनि[4] कात्यायन का स्मरण करते हैं, जिनका प्राकृत काव्य सुधा-निष्यन्द-निर्भरा सूक्तियों से सुशोभित है। तत्पश्चात् वह वररुचि[5] की वन्दना करते हैं। वह कात्यायन-प्रणीत प्राकृत-काव्य-सागर के उस पार पहुंचने की इच्छा से ही, प्राकृत सूत्रों की व्याख्या[6] करने के लिए उद्यत हो रहे हैं। उनकी दृष्टि में कात्यायन कवि हैं, और वररुचि वैयाकरण। फलतः टीकाकार स्वयं कात्यायन नहीं है।

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१. रायल एशियाटिक सोसाइटी, लंदन की प्रति थी। इसमें वररुचि की ६.१८ तक ही टीका प्राप्त थी।

२. देखिए पिशेल 'प्राकृत भाषाओं का व्याकरण, '§ ३३' पृष्ठ ७१, तब तक प्राकृतमञ्जरी प्रकाशित न हो सकी थी। किन्तु अब तक इसके तीन प्रकाशन हो चुके हैं। अन्तिम प्रकाशन वाराणसेय संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय, वाराणसी, १९७२, पं० बलदेव उपाध्याय ने प्राकृत-प्रकाश के साथ सम्पादित किया है।

३. देखिए प्राकृतमञ्जरी टीका श्लोक सं १, २,

४. वही, ३, ४ और ७.

५. वही, ६.

६. वही, ८.

प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार प्राकृतप्रकाश की उपलब्ध प्राचीनतम टीका भामह की 'मनोरमावृत्ति' से सुपरिचित हैं। महाराष्ट्री पर भामह ने वररुचि के ४२५-४२६ सूत्र दिए हैं। इनमें से प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार ने ३०१ सूत्रों को भामह के तद्रूप में; २३ सूत्रों को लगभग तद्रूप में; और ५२ सूत्रों को किञ्चित् अन्तर[1] के साथ (= ३७६ सूत्र)[2] सुरक्षित रखा है। भामह के २९ सूत्रों का प्राकृतमञ्जरी में अभाव है। (इनमें से १२ सूत्रों का सभी टीकाओं में अभाव है।) केवल १८-१९ सूत्रों का पाठ विवाद-ग्रस्त है। प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार अपनी व्याख्या में भी भामह का सामान्यतः अनुमोदन कर रहे हैं और उनके ८० प्रतिशत उदाहरणों को भी सुरक्षित रख रहे हैं, किन्तु कुछ स्थलों पर वह भामह की व्याख्या का खण्डन भी करते हैं और भामह की अपेक्षा कुछ विशेष बातें भी बतलाते हैं।

प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार अपनी प्राकृत-मञ्जरी में (i) वररुचि के सूत्रों का अर्थ स्पष्ट करेंगे, (ii) रूप-सिद्धि का ज्ञान करायेंगे और (iii) यथाविधि 'गण' पढ़ेंगे—ये तीन[3] प्रतिज्ञायें करके सूत्र-व्याख्या आरम्भ करते हैं। और इन तीनों ही प्रतिज्ञाओं का आदि से अन्त तक अक्षरशः पालन करने के लिए प्रयत्न शील रहते हैं—

(क) प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार वररुचि के सूत्र के प्रत्येक महत्त्वपूर्ण शब्द की स्पष्ट व्याख्या करते हुए उसके महत्त्व का भी विवेचन करते हैं। यथा—

१.१ में 'आदेः' की व्याख्या। 'आदेः' से क्या अभिप्राय है? भामह के 'पदादि' से[4] नहीं है। प्रथम 'अ' से है। यह शब्दादि भी हो सकता है, अथवा द्वितीय/तृतीय अक्षर में भी हो सकता है।

१.१४ में '० पदादेः' का अभिप्राय है 'वाक्यादेरिति शब्दस्य'। 'वाक्यादि में'। यह अर्थ केवल प्राकृतमञ्जरी स्पष्ट कर रही है, और रामपाणिवाद इसी की पुष्टि करते हैं।

१.२३ की प्राकृतमञ्जरी ने ५ श्लोकों में बहुत विस्तृत व्याख्या की है। वररुचि के 'अधिकार-नियमों की अवहेलना' पर सङ्केत करते हुए सामान्य नीति की शरण ली है 'एकबारमनुग्राह्यं स्खलितं क्षम्यतामिति'। अन्य प्रकार से भी शङ्का का समाधान

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१. प्राकृतमञ्जरी टीका आदि से अन्त तक श्लोक-बद्ध है, जब कि अन्य सभी टीकाकार गद्य का सहारा ले रहे हैं। फलतः इसके सूत्र-पाठादि में अन्य की अपेक्षा, स्थान-स्थान पर यत्-किञ्चित् अन्तर दृष्टिगत होता है, छन्दोवद्ध होने के कारण नगण्य है।

२. भा० के सूत्र-पाठ को तद्रूप में ही सुरक्षित रखने में सर्वाधिक सफलता प्रा० मं० कार को उपलब्ध हुई है। सं० सु० कार भा० के सान्निध्य को उस सीमा तक न पा सके जिसका प्रा० म० कार ने सेवन करने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त किया था।

३. देखिए प्रा० मं० टीका श्लोक सं १०

४. आदेरिति तदादेः स्यान्न पदादेरिति स्मृतिः। इसे अन्य किसी भी टीकाकार ने इस रूप में स्पष्ट नहीं किया है।

किया है । 'पुरुषः' शब्द पर विचार करके, 'इतेरतः' (१.१४) पर पुनः विचार किया है ।

२.४७ 'स्नुषायां ण्हः' की 'स्नुषा शब्दे त्वयुक्तस्य षकारस्य विकल्पतः ण्हत्वमुक्तं'—अयुक्त ष > ण्ह होता है विकल्प से-यह व्याख्या करके प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार सङ्केत करते हैं कि पूरे परिच्छेद में 'अयुक्त' की ही बात कही गयी हैं। अन्तिम सूत्र में कवि (वररुचि) कैसे स्खलित हो सकते हैं ? 'उत्तीर्य दुस्तरं सिन्धुं को नु पारे निमज्जति', जो दुस्तर सागर को पार कर चुका, पार पहुँच कर कैसे डूब सकता है ? अन्य किसी का ध्यान इस ओर नहीं गया ।

३.२ अधो मनयाम्'—की ८ श्लोकों में 'उपरिस्थ' और 'अधः' की बहुत विस्तृत व्याख्या घुमा फिराकर कई प्रकार से की है। 'युगपत् लोप' प्राप्ति होने पर 'अधः' लोप ही होगा, उदाहरण के माध्यम से अभिव्यक्त किया है ।

३.३१ 'क्षमा-वृक्ष-क्षणेषु वा' की सोदाहरण व्याख्या करने के पश्चात् प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार स्पष्ट करते हैं—'सह रुत्वेन न छत्वं वृक्षे, भूयः क्षणेऽपि च । वाच्ये कालांशके चैव, विभाषा तु व्यवस्थया । 'वृक्ष' शब्द में रुत्वादेश होने पर, और 'क्षण' शब्द के 'कालांश' अर्थ होने पर 'छ' नहीं होता है ।

३.३५-३६ वररुचि ने दो सूत्र दिये हैं । दूसरे सूत्र की व्याख्या के अनन्तर, प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार परामर्श[1] देते हैं, 'ठप स्पोः फ इति वक्तव्ये, तन्त्रेणैवात्र शासने । कृतो योगविभागोऽयं, योगभेदेन युक्तयोः ।' कि सूत्रकार को एक ही सूत्र देना चाहिये था, किन्तु संयुक्त व्यञ्जनों के भेद से (और परिस्थिति भेद से भी) उसने स्वयं योग-विभाग कर दिया है ।

३ ५३ 'मयुक्तः स्याद् बकारस्तु युक्तयोराम्रताम्रयोः ।' प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार की ही व्याख्या मान्य है । भामह से लेकर रामपाणिवाद तक अन्य सभी टीकाकारों की व्याख्या भ्रामक है ।

३.५९ 'विकर्ष इति युक्तस्य पृथक्कारः स उच्यते' प्राकृतमञ्जरी ने ही स्पष्ट किया है ।

४.७ 'अत्रान्त्य हल इत्येषा पञ्चमी तत उत्तरः । स्त्रियां विहित आकारो[2] वाग् वाचा दिग् दिसा भवेत्' ।। रामपाणिवाद इसकी पुष्टि करते हैं ।

४.२० 'पृष्ठाक्षिप्रश्नाः स्त्रियां वा'–इनमें विकल्प से स्त्रीलिङ्ग होता है । प्रथम दो का अन्य लिङ्ग नपुंसक है, और 'प्रश्न' का पुल्लिङ्ग । केवल प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार अन्त में संकेत करते हैं, 'अथवा त्रयः' तीनों लिङ्ग होते हैं ।

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१. मार्कण्डेय अपने 'प्राकृत-सर्वस्वं' में इसी के अनुरूप सूत्र दे रहे हैं ।

२. इससे रेफान्त शब्दों में भी 'आ' का आगम हो जायेगा । फलतः वररुचि का ४.८ सूत्र दोनों की दृष्टि में अनावश्यक हो गया ।

४.२८ प्राकृतमञ्जरी (और इसके अनुकरण पर रामपाणिवाद) ने, इसे दो सूत्रों के रूप में विभक्त किया है। 'स्थिति परिवृत्तिः' को एक सूत्र (और अधिकार सूत्र) के रूप में और अवशिष्ट (आद्यंश) को दूसरे सूत्र के[1] रूप में। अन्य टीकाकार इस विषय में मौन हैं। प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार ने 'स्थिति परिवृत्तिः' की व्याख्या करते हुए यह भी स्पष्ट किया है कि यह परिवर्तन हल्मात्र में होता है, स्वरों में नहीं—'तयोर्हल्मात्रयोरेव।'

४.३३ प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार १२ शब्दों को पढ़कर घोषणा करते हैं कि दाढादि शब्दों की गणना अशक्या है, कैसे ? 'एषामपरिमेयत्वात्' दाढादीनां पदं प्रति। न शक्या गणना वीचीर्गणयेत् को नु सागरे॥' सागर की लहरों को कौन गिन सकता है ?

५.१-२ प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार (और रामपाणिवाद) ५.१ में 'अतः' को षष्ठ्यन्त[2], और ५.२,३ पञ्चम्यन्त मानते हैं, जब कि भामह ने इसके ठीक विपरीत ५.१ में पञ्चम्यन्त और ५.२ में षष्ठ्यन्त माना है।

५.१६ 'जसश्च वा ओत्वम्'—

इदुतोर्जस ओत्वं वा, चकारेण ङसोऽपि वा।[3]
इदुतोरव्यकारः[4] स्यात्, तदा णो न भवेद् यथा॥

भामह 'च' से 'णो' की अनुवृत्ति करते हैं, किन्तु प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार उसका स्पष्टतः निषेध करते हैं।

५.३७ 'आमन्त्रणे'—बिन्दु किसके स्थान पर होगा, भामह ने यह स्पष्ट नहीं किया, किन्तु प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार[5] कर रहे हैं।

६.१० 'तद ओत्वं ङसेर्ब्रूयात् तदः स्वेनाप्यचा सह'—तद् के पश्चात् आने वाले 'ङसि' के स्थान पर तो 'ओ' होता ही है—सबने कहा है। 'तद्' के टि भाग सहित ङसि के स्थान पर ओ 'स्पष्टतः' प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार ने कहा है। रामपाणिबाद और मार्कण्डेय भी इसकी पुष्टि कर रहे हैं।

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१. प्राकृतमञ्जरी के सूत्रपाठ की पुष्टि मार्क० कर रहे हैं।
२. और 'सौ' सप्तम्यन्त माना है। 'अ' के स्थान पर ओत्व विधान माना है 'सु' के परे रहते। पुरुषोत्तम और मार्कण्डेय इसकी पुष्टि कर रहे हैं।
३. रामपाणिवाद भी यही कह रहे हैं।
४. पुरुषोत्तम, मार्कण्डेय, राम शर्मा तर्कवागीश के साथ सुबोधिनीकार (सु०) भी इसकी पुष्टि कर रहे हैं, किन्तु भामह मौन है।
५. यद्यपि सञ्जीवनी और सुबोधिनीकार का मत भिन्न है।

(ख) कुछ स्थलों पर (यथा—२.१४, ४४; ३.२०; ५.२, ३४) प्राकृतमञ्जरी की व्याख्या अवश्य संक्षिप्त रह गई है, फिर भी सूत्र की स्पष्टता पर प्रभाव नहीं पड़ा है। किन्तु कुछ स्थानों पर व्याख्या अपूर्ण है; अस्पष्ट[1] है अथवा असङ्गत है। यथा—

२.३३ पर प्राकृतमञ्जरी का 'अर्थ निर्देश' न करना, उसकी शैली के विपरीत है। फलतः खटक रहा है।

२.४४ 'अष्टादशपर्यन्ताः दशादयाः स्युर्दहादयः' कह कर भी, उदाहरण केवल १ 'दह' ही देता है।

४.१ व्याख्या तो बहुत बिस्तृत की है, और सभी प्रकार के उदाहरण दिए हैं, किन्तु उनका क्रमबद्ध विश्लेषण नहीं किया है।

५.३४ प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार यह नहीं बतलाते हैं कि प्रस्तुत सूत्र में 'अर' आदेश 'आर' (५.३१) का अपवाद है, और न यही संकेत करते हैं कि विकल्प से 'उत्' होता है, जब कि भामह, संजीवनी, सुबोधिनी, रामपाणिवाद सभी स्पष्टतः निर्देश करते हैं, और विकल्प से 'उत्' बतलाते हैं।

७.२३ भामह और प्राकृतमञ्जरी—दोनों में ही धातु के गुणों और लिङ् प्रत्ययादि पर प्रकाश का अभाव है ?

७.२५ 'अस्तेर्धातोर्भवेद् भूते काले···आसी इत्ययमादेशः–प्राकृतमञ्जरी पुरुष और वचन के विषय में मौन है, रामपाणिवाद भी।

१.२८ प्राकृतमञ्जरी व्याख्या[2] में ४ शब्दों का पाठ भ्रष्ट है। इन शब्दों में जहाँ जहाँ 'क्व' मुद्रित है, वहाँ 'कृ' होना चाहिए।

१.३४ प्राकृतमञ्जरी व्याख्या में 'चेत्' शब्द का प्रयोग अनुपयुक्त प्रतीत होता है।

२.३४ प्राकृतमञ्जरी का 'कुब्जे खः' सूत्र-पाठ, और व्याख्या में 'कुब्जं, खुब्जं' पाठ अशुद्ध और असंगत है। अन्य सभी आचार्य 'खुज्जो' दे रहे हैं ?

२.३८ 'भिसिणी' के स्थान पर प्राकृतमञ्जरी का 'भिसिनी' पाठ अशुद्ध है।
४.१०, ४.११, ५.१२, ५.१५, ६.६, ७.७, ८.२२, ८.३५ इत्यादि पर प्राकृतमञ्जरी व्याख्या पाठ असङ्गत है। यथा—

४.१० प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार को ४.७ के समान ही यहाँ भी व्याख्या करनी चाहिये थी। वररुचि के सूत्र में 'दः' के स्थान पर 'अत्' पाठ होता, तो प्राकृतमञ्जरी में दोष न आता।

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१. यथा २.२५ में प्राकृतमञ्जरी का यह कहना 'ठस्यां कोठे तढं कोठं' इत्यादि। इसके फलस्वरूप नित्ति दोल्ची को भ्रम हुआ है।

२. वाराणसेय सं० वि० विद्यालय प्रकाशन।

४.११ यहां 'दिक्' का प्राकृतमञ्जरी (और रामपाणिवाद) में अभाव अनुचित है, जब कि भामह से हेमचन्द्र तक सभी ने 'प्रावृष' के पूर्व 'दिक्' शब्द में भी 'स' स्वीकार किया है।

४.२१ स्त्रियां वेत्यमुतः सूत्राद् वाधिकारोऽपि दृश्यते कहकर 'वा' का अधिकार मानना असंगत है। उसे 'अनुवृत्ति' कहना चाहिये,[1] भामह और रामपाणिवाद की भाँति।

५.१२ प्राकृतमञ्जरी (और रामपाणिवाद) के सूत्रपाठ में 'ए च सुपि' के आगे 'अङिङसोः' का अभाव अनुपयुक्त है। फलतः व्याख्या भी 'करेम्मि' उदाहरण युक्त, नियमविरुद्ध है। वररुचि के अनुसार ङि और ङस् के पूर्व अदन्ताङ्ग को न 'एत्' होता है और न दीर्घ। और यह बहुत ही महत्त्वपूर्ण तथ्य है।

५.१५ षष्ठी एक वचन में 'अग्गिणो' के साथ 'अग्गओ'[2] और 'वाउणों' के साथ 'वाअओ' रूप असंगत हैं। भामह अग्गिस्स, वाउस्स' देता है।

६.६ ० किमादिभ्यो ङसो वा भवति स्त्रियाम्' कहने के पश्चात् 'अथवा तद्वत् पञ्च स्युरिदमादयः' = इदमादि पाँचों से प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार का कहना असङ्गत है।' क्योंकि वह स्वयं ६.७-९ तक 'किमादि' तीन का ही ग्रहण कर रहे हैं।

७.७ प्राकृतमञ्जरी व्याख्या तो ठीक है, किन्तु 'अधो' और हः' के मध्य में व्यवधान आ जाने से इन दोनों का शब्द-क्रम भ्रामक हो गया है।

८.२२ प्राकृतमञ्जरी का सूत्रपाठ और उदाहरण पाठ सब[3] अशुद्ध हैं।

८.३५ प्राकृतमञ्जरी का 'ओवा सअइ' उदाहरण पाठ असङ्गत है।

(ग) भामह जहाँ अधिकार–क्षेत्र बतलाने में स्खलन करता है, प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार वहां भी सचेत है। यथा—

२.३१ पर 'अनादाविति मुक्तं, तदादेरिति पदे पदे। अधिकारोऽयमा 'नो णः सर्वत्र' इत्यमुतः पुरा।'

(घ) वररुचि सम्प्रदाय में प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार प्रथम टीकाकार हैं जो 'गणपाठ' देते हैं, जब कि स्वयं भामह ने गणपाठका बिना उल्लेख किये हुए, कतिपय प्रमुख शब्दों को उदाहरण रूप में देकर ही सन्तोष लाभ किया है। इस प्रकार के सूत्रों की व्याख्या करके, गणके दो-तीन उदाहरण देकर, फिर पूरा 'गणपाठ' प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार देते है, और यदि कहीं कोई मतान्तर अभिव्यक्त करना हुआ तो अपनी व्याख्या के अन्तिम अंश में ही उसे भी दे देते हैं–यह है प्राकृत-

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१. रामपाणिवाद के अनुसार ४.२२ में 'वा' की निवृत्ति हो जाती है।

२. रामपाणिवाद इसी से प्रभावित/भ्रमित होकर कहते हैं, 'पक्षे वक्ष्यमाणमोत्त्वम्। अग्गओ इदं। वाअओ इदं।' इसकी पुष्टि अन्यत्र नहीं होती है।

३. यद्यपि निित्ति दोल्ची (नी० डो०) ने इसका कोई संकेत नहीं किया है।

मञ्जरीकार की शैली। दूसरी ओर जहाँ-जहाँ उनकी दृष्टि में 'आकृति गण' हैं, वहाँ वह उनका स्पष्ट शब्दतः निर्देश करते हैं। उदाहरण के लिए १.२, ५.१०, १८, २९. ३६, ४२; २.७; ३.२४, ३०; ४.५, १५; ८.५८ इत्यादि को देखा जा सकता है।

(ङ) प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार वररुचि के सामान्य नियमों का 'उत्सर्गेण पदे पदे; सामान्येन पदे पदे, प्रायेणात्र पदे पदे, अथवा शब्दे शब्दे विधानतः' कह कर निर्देश करते हैं। यथा—

१.२७ 'ऋकारस्य त्वकारः (ऋ > अ) स्यादुत्सर्गेण पदे पदे। फिर इसके अनेक उदाहरण देते हैं। अन्य स्थलों के लिए १.३५, ४१; २.२, १५, २०, २४, ३१; ३.१०, १२, २८, ३५; ४.१२ इत्यादि का अवलोकन किया जा सकता है।

(च) प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार वररुचि के अपवाद सूत्रों का भी सङ्केत करते रहते हैं। यथा—

२.१६ 'आपीडे वर्तमानस्य पूर्व सूत्रापवादतः'—'आपीड' शब्द में प>म होता है, जोकि पूर्व-सूत्र (पो वः) का अपवाद है।

२.३२ ० यष्टिस्तेन भवेल्लट्ठी पूर्वसूत्रापवादतः'—'यष्टि' शब्द में य > ल होता है, जोकि पूर्व सूत्र (आदेर्योजः) का अपवाद है।

३.१३ 'स्तम्ब शब्दे स्त इत्यस्य थादेशः प्रति षिध्यते'[1]। स्तम्बं > तम्बं, उपरि लोपेन।

३.१४ 'स्तम्भ शब्दे स्त इत्यस्य खकारादेश इष्यते थकारस्यापवादेन' इत्यादि।

(छ) वररुचि के सूत्रों की व्याख्या करते हुए अनेक स्थलों पर प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार ने कुछ महत्त्वपूर्ण सिद्धान्तों का भी निर्देश किया है। प्राकृत-नियमों के व्यवहार और उनके क्षेत्र-विस्तार के समीक्षण में इनका बड़ा महत्त्व है। यथा—

२.२ 'प्रायः' शब्द के अर्थ[2] और प्रयोग का उल्लेख करते हुए, प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार ने यहाँ वर्ण के 'लोपालोपनियामक', 'श्रुति स्वारस्य' और श्रुतिवैरस्य' का संकेत किया है, और दोनों के अनेक उदाहरण दिए हैं, जो सभी नये हैं।

२.४७ 'युक्तादेशो हि युक्तस्येत्याहुः केचिदसाधु तत्'। कुछ लोगों का यह सिद्धान्त कि 'युक्त व्यञ्जनादेश' युक्त के स्थान पर ही होता है असाधु है। प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार ने इसकी घोषणा की है।

३.२ वररुचि ने ३.१ से उपरिस्थ वर्णों का, और ३/२ में अधः स्थित वर्णों के लोप का विधान किया है। पृथक्-पृथक् स्थिति में कोई समस्या नहीं होती है, किन्तु जहाँ एक ही

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१. रामपाणिवाद भी यही कहते हैं।

२. 'बहुलं प्राय इत्युक्तं, प्रायः कात्यायनेन वै।' ··· प्राय इत्यस्य शब्दस्य बहुलार्थत्व-विभ्रमात्।'

स्थल पर दोनों की 'युगपत्' प्राप्ति होती है, वहाँ क्या होगा ? प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार सिद्धान्त निर्देश करते हैं–'अधो लोपविधिर्वलीयसी'।

३.३ इन तीन वर्णों में से किन्हीं दो की एक साथ उपस्थिति होने पर क्या होगा ? इसके लिए भी सिद्धान्त दिया है–'अन्योन्योपगमे तेषां लुप्येतोत्तर उत्तरः'। उत्तरध्वनि का लोप करना चाहिए। इसे उन्होंने उदाहरणों द्वारा भी पुष्ट किया है।

४.१ 'दीर्घस्य ह्रस्वता नित्या संयुक्तोत्तरता यदि'–संयोग-परक संस्कृत दीर्घस्वर, प्राकृत में नित्य ह्रस्व हो जाते हैं। इस सिद्धान्त का कहीं अपवाद नहीं मिलता है।

४.३३ जिन 'सर्वलोकसामान्य' शब्दों की सिद्धि सामान्य लक्षणों से नहीं हो पाती, उन्हें 'दाढादिगण' में रख लेना चाहिए।

(ज) इस लेख के प्रारम्भ से किए गए निर्देश से भामह और प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार के परस्पर घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध और भामह के व्यापक प्रभाव का सहज ही अनुमान किया जा सकता है। प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार भामह के सूत्र-पाठ और उदाहरणों का यथाशक्ति संरक्षण, और भामह की व्याख्या[१] का प्रायः अनुमोदन करते हैं, किन्तु कुछ सूत्रों में अन्तर भी दृष्ठिगत होता है, यथा—

(i) प्राकृतमञ्जरी में भामह के २९ सूत्रों का अभाव है, इनमें १२ सूत्रों का सर्वत्र अभाव है[२], ११ सूत्रों का प्राकृतमञ्जरी और रामपाणिवाद दोनों में अभाव[३] है और ६ सूत्रों का केवल प्राकृतमञ्जरी में अभाव[४] है।

(ii) वररुचि के केवल २०-२५ सूत्रों में प्राकृतमञ्जरी के पाठ में (भामह की अपेक्षा) विशेष अन्तर है। ये सूत्र संजीवनी और सुबोधिनी के तद्रूप हैं।

(iii) प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार ने केवल ४ ही अतिरिक्त सूत्र—१.१७ क, २.२६ क, ३.६१ क और ४.२७ क लिए हैं। ४.२५ क को प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार ने वररुचि के रूप में ही सुरक्षित रखा है।

(iv) प्राकृतमञ्जरी में (भामह की अपेक्षा) कुछ नये आदेश/अतिरिक्त रूप, तो कभी-कभी रूपान्तर के भी प्राप्त होते हैं। यथा—

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१. इसके लिए विशेषकर १.६, ७; ३.१७, ६४, ६५; ४.६; ६.१, ३६ और ३७ सूत्रों की दोनों की व्याख्या का अवलोकन कीजिए।

२. १.७, २.५, ३७; ३.३७, ५६ (इसका पुरुषोत्तम और मार्कण्डेय में भी अभाव है); ५.२५, ८.५, १०, २० एवं ६१; ९.१३ और ९.१७.

३. २.११, १८, ४०; ४.८; ५.१९, ३९; ६.४४, ७.२१; ८.३६, ५३ एवं ९.१४।

४. ६.२७, ८.५२, ५३, ५९, ६५ और ६९।

१.३ भामह् ईषत् > इसि केवल एक रूप देते हैं। किन्तु प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार ईसि और ईसदो अतिरिक्त रूप देते हैं।

२.४ 'स्फटिक–निकर्ष°–भामह् ने 'शीकरेभः' (२.५)–सीभरो के लिए स्वतन्त्र सूत्र दिया है, जबकि प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार ने इसी सूत्र में '० शीकरेषु कस्य हः' पढ़कर 'सीहरं' दिया है। अन्य सभी टीकाकार; रामशर्मा और हेमचन्द्र भी प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार का अनुमोदन कर रहे हैं।

४.२० पृष्ठाक्षि प्रश्नाः° –भामह् ने इन शब्दों का प्रयोग दो लिंगों में स्वीकार किया था, किन्तु प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार ने 'अथवा त्रयः' कहकर–तीनों लिंगों में प्रयोग स्वीकार किया है।

४.२५ प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार सूत्रस्थ सभी आदेशों को मानते हुए एक आदेश 'आल' के स्थान पर 'इअल्ल' पढ़ते हैं। इसे रामपाणिवाद ने ज्यों का त्यों सुरक्षित रक्खा है।

४.२६ भामह् ने 'पीत' शब्द से विकल्प से स्वार्थे 'नः' प्रत्यय स्वीकार किया है, किन्तु प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार 'पतिशब्दात्तु केषाञ्चित् पक्षे वत्वं किलेष्यते' कहकर 'पीअवं' भी स्वीकार करते हैं।

४.२२ 'टा ङसि ङस्°'–भामह् स्त्रीलिंग में तीन विभक्तियों में, चार-चार आदेश विधान करते हैं, किन्तु प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार एक 'ङसि' और बढ़ाकर (चतुर्णामविशेषतः) और आदेश में एक 'उत्' आदेश बढ़ाकर, प्रत्येक से ५-५ आदेश स्वीकार करते हैं। 'ङसि' विभक्ति में कोई कठिनाई नही हैं। मार्कण्डेय और रामशर्मा भी इसमें नित्य, और हेमचन्द्र विकल्प से वही आदेश स्वीकार कर रहे, किन्तु अतिरिक्त आदेश 'उत्' की अन्यत्र से पुष्टि नहीं हो रही है।

५.३३ जसादि विभक्तियों में ऋकारान्त भर्तृ शब्द में भामह् के २-२ रूपों के स्थान पर प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार ३-३ रूप देते हैं–भत्तुणो, भत्तारा और भत्तु।

५.३८ 'जश् शस् ङसां णो'–भामह् 'णो' नित्य मानते हैं, किन्तु प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार मे 'णोत्वं विकल्पेन विधीयते' विकल्प से मानकर राआ-राआणो। राआणे-राआणो। राइणो-रण्णो उदाहरण दिए हैं।

६.३० युष्मद् शब्द से टा और ङि विभक्ति में भामह् और प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार दोनों ही ४-४ पदादेश विधान कर रहे हैं। ३ पदादेश समान हैं। एक में अन्तर है। भामह् तुंमे प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार 'तुए'।

६.३१ युष्मद् शब्द से षष्ठी-एकवचन-दोनों ६-६ पदादेश दे रहे हैं। ५ पदादेश बिल्कुल एक हैं। एक में अन्तर है। भामह् तुम्म। प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार तुब्भ। प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार के पदादेश की पुष्टि मार्कण्डेय और रामपाणिवाद कर रहे हैं। संजीवनी और सुबोधिनी मौन है।

६.३४ प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार (रामपाणिवाद और मार्कण्डेय) ने भिस् परक दो ही आदेश 'तुज्झेहि, तुम्हेहिं'—स्वीकार किए हैं। भामह एक अतिरिक्त 'तुम्मेहिं' भी दे रहे हैं। संजीवनी और सुबोधिनीकार इसके स्थान पर 'तुब्भेहिं' दे रहे हैं।

(v) वररुचि के माहाराष्ट्री प्राकृत पर ९ परिच्छेदों को केवल भामह और प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार स्वीकार कर रहे हैं, शेष सभी टीकाकार ८ परिच्छेद मानते हैं। दोनों सर्वादिर्जस एत्वम्' से छठे परिच्छेद का आरम्भ करते हैं। किन्तु अन्य टीकाकार, पुरुषोत्तम, मार्कण्डेय, रामशर्मा और हेमचन्द्र—वैयाकरण सर्वनाम सूत्रों को भी संज्ञा सूत्रों वाले पञ्चम परिच्छेद का ही अंग मान रहे हैं।

(vi) प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार भामह की केवल व्याख्या का ही अनुमोदन नहीं करते, वरन् भामह के ८०% उदाहरण शब्दों को भी सुरक्षित रख रहे हैं। हाँ, कुछ स्थलों पर भामह के कुछ (विशेषकर अप्रचलित) शब्दों का प्राकृतमञ्जरी में अभाव अवश्य खटक जाता है, यथा—

१.११ में तइ, तआ, जइ, जआ।
१.२० में पुस्तक, मुक्ता।
२.८ में पडिसरो।
२.३० में मुखर, अङ्गुरी और किरात।
३.५८ में दैव, अशिवं, अश्व, मित्र, दुःखित।
४.१५ में पारावत।
४.३३ में चातुलिअं, मण्डुरो, घरे, माअंदो।

(vii) दूसरी ओर प्राकृतमञ्जरी में कभी तो भामह का शब्द किंचित् अन्तर से प्राप्त हो रहा है, तो कभी बिल्कुल नये शब्दों से भी साक्षात्कार हो जाता है, जिनकी पुष्टि अन्य टीकाकार/वैयाकरण कर रहे हैं। यथा—

		भामह		प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार
१.२२	में	मुकुर	॥	मुकुल
		गुरु	॥	अगुरु[1]
२.४	में	सीभरो	॥	सीहरं
२.२७		अधणो	॥	धण
		पलंघणो	॥	पलअघणो
३.६३		क्ष्मा>खमा	॥	छमा[2]

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१. रामशर्मा और हेमचन्द्र दोनों ही सुरक्षित रक्खे हुए हैं।
२. मार्कण्डेय, हेमचन्द्र और रामपाणिवाद इसकी पुष्टि कर रहे हैं।

३.४७ वेब्भलो[1], विहलो ।। बीहलं

४.२७ व्रन्दं, वंदं ।। [2]बन्दरं, बंदं

प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार ने बहुत से नये अतिरिक्त शब्द भी दिए हैं, यथा—

१.२ में प्रकृतिः, १.२० में तुण्डं; १.२८ में मृदङ्ग, विसृष्ट, भृत्य; १.२९ में वृन्तं, ताल–वृन्तं, धृतं, वृत्तिः; १.३१ में कीदृशं, माहृशादि (८ शब्द)[3]; १.३६ में कइढवो; १.४२ में पौरव, रौद्र;

२.७ में सु०, दुस्, उत्, सं०, वि०, आदि उपसर्गपूर्वक कृतं; २.८ में पडिच्छन्दो; ३.२४, ५८ में-धूर्तादि और सेवादि में ७-७ शब्द; ४.५, ३३ में यावदादि और दाढादि गण में ५-५, ६-६ शब्द; ४.१६ मांसादि में ४ शब्द; ३.३०, ४.१५ में अक्ष्यादि और वक्रादि में ३–३ शब्द—नमूने के लिए देखे जा सकते हैं ।

इस प्रकार अपने पूर्ववर्ती टीकाकार भामह की मनोरमा वृत्ति में दृष्ट कमी को दूर करने में, वररुचि के सूत्रों तथा तन्निहित पदों के महत्त्व को स्पष्ट करने में, वररुचि के गणसूत्रों के रूपों का प्रत्यक्षीकरण कराने में प्राकृतमञ्जरीकार ने बड़ी ही महत्त्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई है । उत्तरवर्ती टीकाकार सदानन्द, वसन्तराज, रामपाणिवाद और वैयाकरणों में मार्कण्डेय, राम शर्मन् से लेकर हेमचन्द्र तक प्राकृतमञ्जरी के प्रभाव से अपने को मुक्त न रख सके । उन सभी ने प्राकृतमञ्जरी से अपनी अपनी आवश्यकतानुसार सहायता प्राप्त की है ।

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१. मार्कण्डेय, रामशर्मा, भेब्भलो ।। सं० सु० भिब्भलो । हेमचन्द्र भिब्भलो और विब्भलो दोनों दे रहे हैं ।

२. रामपाणिवाद ने वुंदरं–वुंदं और सुबोधिनीकार ने बन्द्र और सञ्जीवनीकार ने बन्द्रं पाठ दिया है ।

३. 'मारिसो' का सर्वत्र अभाव है । शेष सभी उदाहरण हेमचन्द्र में प्राप्त हैं ।



माम्मटं काव्यलक्षणम्-साङ्गोपाङ्गविश्लेषणम्

गोपराजु रामा

तददोषौ शब्दार्थौ सगुणावनलंकृती पुनः क्वापि[1] इति हि माम्मटं काव्यलक्षणम्। एतदीय-विचारात् पूर्वं प्राचीनकाव्यलक्षणानि विचार्यन्ते। तथाहि,

काव्यलक्षणविषये बहोः कालात् मतवैमत्यं वर्तते। तत्र केचन शब्द एव काव्यमिति, केचनार्थ एव काव्यमिति केचन शब्दार्थौ काव्यमिति च विवदन्ते। काव्यं द्विविधं भवति—दृश्यं, श्रव्यञ्च। तत्र दृश्यकाव्यस्य षड्विंशल्लक्षणानि भरतेनाभिहितानि। तानि प्रकृतानुपयोगान्नात्र प्रस्तूयन्ते।

भरतमुनेरनन्तरं समुद्भूतेन भामहाचार्येण शब्दार्थयोः साहित्यमेव काव्यतया स्वीकृतम्। अत एव तैरुक्तम्—"शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यमि"ति।[2] एतैश्च शब्दार्थयोर्मिलित्वा काव्यत्वं वर्तत इति व्यवस्थापितम्। परन्तु तत्र कतरस्य प्राधान्यं स्वीकृतम् इति तु निश्चेतुं न शक्यते। यतो हि—

रूपकादिमलङ्कारं वाह्यमाचक्षते परे।
सुपां तिङां च व्युत्पत्तिं वाचां वाञ्छन्त्यलंकृतिम्॥
तदेतदाहुः सौशब्द्यं नार्थव्युत्पत्तिरीदृशी।
शब्दाभिधेयालङ्कारभेदादिष्टं द्वयं तु नः॥[3] इति

श्लोकाभ्यां शब्दार्थोभयप्राधान्यवादिनो भामहाचार्या वर्तन्त इति प्रतीयते। अत एव काव्य-लक्षणघटकं "सहितौ" इति पदं सङ्गच्छते। एषामेव मतं स्वीकुर्वन्ति महाकवयो माघाः—

नालम्बते नैष्ठिकतां न निषीदति पौरुषे।
शब्दार्थौ सत्कविरिव द्वयं विद्वानपेक्षते।[4]

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१. काव्यप्रकाशः, का ४ सू०।
२. भामहविरचितकाव्यालंकारः, १.१६
३. तत्रैव १४, १५
४, शिशुपालवधम्, २.८६

केचनान्येऽप्याचार्याः प्रामाणिका इदमेव मतं स्वीकुर्वन्ति । तत्तु स्फुटं भविष्यत्यनुपदमेव ।

भामहानन्तरं समुद्भूतेन दण्डिना भामहकृतकाव्यलक्षणात् विपरीतं काव्यलक्षणं निरमायि –

"शरीरं तावदिष्टार्थव्यवच्छिन्ना पदावली" ।[1] इति ।

अस्मिन् काव्यलक्षणे शब्दस्यैव प्राधान्यमर्थस्यैव उपसर्जनत्वं स्वीकृतमिति सुष्ठु प्रतिभाति । एवञ्च शब्द एव काव्यमित्येषां सिद्धान्तः । शब्दस्यैव काव्यत्वं स्वीकुर्वत्स्वाचार्येषु दण्डी एव प्रथमः । भामहः औदीच्यकः । दण्डी तु दाक्षिणात्यः । अत एव तयोर्वैपरीत्यं सञ्जातमित्यत्र नास्त्याश्चर्यम् । अत एव शब्दस्यैव काव्यत्वं स्वीकुर्वन्तौ प्रसिद्धाचार्यवर्यौ दाक्षिणात्यावेव । प्रथमो दण्डी । द्वितीयो जगन्नाथः । भामहकृतकाव्यलक्षणात् दण्डिकृतकाव्यलक्षणे किञ्चित् वैलक्षण्यं वरीवर्ति इति तु वक्तुं शक्यते । यतो हि भामहकृते काव्यलक्षणे यद्यपि शब्दार्थयोः साहित्यं काव्यं भवतीत्युक्तम् तावता काव्यस्य शोभा न सम्पद्यते । अर्थात् काव्यस्य शोभातिशयसम्पादकहेतुत्वं केवलशब्दार्थसाहित्ये नास्तीति कृत्वा दण्डिकृतकाव्यलक्षणाश्रयणे नास्ति किंचिद् वाधकमिति तन्मतम् । भामहकृतकाव्यलक्षणात् दण्डिकृतकाव्यलक्षणमेव परमिति यावत् ।

यद्यपि दण्ड्याचार्यादुत्तरकालिकैराचार्यैः शब्दस्य काव्यत्वं नैवाभ्युपगतम् तथापि इष्टार्थव्यवच्छिन्नत्वं प्रकारान्तरेण स्वीकृतम् । इष्टार्थव्यवच्छिन्नत्वं दण्ड्याचार्यमते पदावल्यामेव वर्तते । अन्येषां मते तु शब्दार्थयोरिति भेदं व्यवस्थापयामः । अर्थशब्दस्य प्रयोजनत्वरूपार्थस्वीकारे एतत् सर्वं सम्पद्यते ।

दण्ड्याचार्यादनन्तरं प्रादुर्भूतेन तत्रभवता वामनाचार्येण गुणालङ्कारयुक्तौ शब्दार्थौ काव्यमिति स्वीकृतम् । अत एवोक्तम्—

"काव्यशब्दोऽयं गुणालङ्कारसंस्कृतशब्दार्थयोर्वर्तत"[2] इति । भक्त्या तु शब्दार्थमात्रवचनोऽत्र गृह्यते ।" इति च ।

भामहवत् वामनाचार्येणापि शब्दार्थयोः काव्यत्वं स्वीकृतम् । तदनु गुणालङ्कारविशिष्टत्वं शब्दार्थयोरावश्यकमिति व्यवस्थापितम् ।

उद्भटाचार्यैः काव्यस्य लक्षणं नैव कृतम् । रुद्रटाचार्यैस्तु शब्दार्थयोरेव काव्यत्वं व्यवस्थापितम् । उक्तं चैतैस्तथा "ननु शब्दार्थौ काव्यम्"[3] इति ।

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१. काव्यादर्शः, १.१०
२. काव्यालंकारसूत्रवृत्तिः, १. १. १ (वृत्तिः)
३. रुद्रटकृतकाव्यालङ्कारः, २.१.

एभिर्भामहाचार्यवत् शब्दार्थयोर्मिलित्वा काव्यत्वं वर्तत इति स्वीकृतम् । एषां काव्यलक्षणे किमपि वैशिष्ट्यं नावलोक्यते भामहाचार्यदण्ड्याचार्यकृतकाव्यलक्षणयोः परस्परं वैमत्यं तिष्ठदपि वैलक्षण्यं किञ्चित्प्रतिभाति । रुद्रटाचार्यकृतकाव्यलक्षणे तु न तादृगल्पमपीति न विचारसहम् ।

आनन्दवर्धनाचार्यैः काव्यस्य लक्षणं न कृतम् । परन्तु "शब्दार्थशरीरं तावत् काव्यम्"[1] इति पूर्वपक्षोपक्रमावसरे यदुक्तं तस्मादिदमेवावगम्यते यदेते शब्दार्थयोरेव काव्यत्वमभ्युपगच्छन्तीति । तन्मतेन काव्यलक्षणन्तु समस्तग्रन्थपर्यालोचनया ध्वन्यात्मकशब्दार्थत्वं काव्यत्वमित्येव पर्यवस्यति ।

भोजराजेन निर्दोषं गुणालङ्काररसवद्वाक्यं काव्यमिति काव्यस्य लक्षणमभिहितम् । एभिः काव्यलक्षणे समीचीनत्वेनाभिमतानि लक्षणानि निक्षिप्तानि ।

कुन्तकाचार्येण पुनः शब्दार्थयोरेव काव्यत्वं व्यवस्थापितम् । उक्तं च तैस्तथा— "शब्दार्थौ सहितौ वक्रकविव्यापारशालिनि"[2] इत्यादिना ।

एवं स्थिते सति मम्मटाचार्यैः काव्यस्य लक्षणं यत्—"तददोषौ शब्दार्थौ सगुणावनलङ्कृती पुनः क्वापी"ति निर्मितं तद्विपुलाचार्यसरणिमनुरुणद्धि इति प्रतिभाति ।

अत्रोपरिनिर्दिष्टेभ्यस्तत्तत्काव्यलक्षणेभ्यः कश्चित् कश्चित् अंशः स्वीकृतः । तथाहि—

भामहाभिमतात् शब्दार्थसाहित्यतत्त्वं स्वीकृतम् । अत एव "तत् शब्दार्थौ" इति सङ्गच्छते ।

वामनाभिमतात् काव्यलक्षणात् "काव्यं च गुणसंस्कृतयोः शब्दार्थयोर्वर्तत" इत्येतावानंशः स्वीकृतः । अलङ्कारसंस्कृतयोः शब्दार्थयोर्वर्तत इति तु नैवाङ्गीकृतम् । अतो हेतोः "सगुणौ" इति शब्दार्थविशेषणं सङ्गच्छते । "अनलङ्कृती पुनः क्वापी"ति च विशेषणं युक्तियुक्तं स्वोपज्ञं च वर्तते ।

भोजराजेन काव्यलक्षणे यानि विशेषणानि लक्षणघटकानि उक्तानि तानि सर्वांशतया स्वीकृतानि परन्तु "निर्दोषम्" इति काव्यविशेषणं प्रकारान्तरेण मम्मटाचार्यैरुक्तम् तद्धि "अदोषौ" इति । अदोषावित्यत्र दोषात्यन्ताभाववत्वं शब्दार्थयोर्न कल्पते । यतो हि "तथा भूतां दृष्ट्वे"ति स्थले काव्यस्याकाव्यतापत्तिः । अतो दोषत्वं नाम रसोद्बोधविघातकत्वम् तच्च विलम्बनादिभिः । एवञ्चादोषत्वमित्यत्र नञोऽस्फुटत्वमर्थः स्वीक्रियते । तथा च स्फुटरसोद्बोधविघातकत्वरूपदोषाभाववत्वादिविशिष्टशब्दार्थयुगलत्वं काव्यत्वमित्यायातम् । अत एव सुधासागर्यां भीमसेनदीक्षितैरुक्तम्—

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१. ध्वन्यालोकः पृ० ५,

२. वक्रोक्तिजीवितम्, १. ७,

"तथा चास्फुटानां रसोद्बोधविरोधित्वात् तद्व्यञ्जनाधीनं काव्यत्वमव्याहतम् अतस्तदभावो न लक्षणघटकः किन्तु स्फुटानामेव रसोद्बोधविघातकानाम् तद्विघातकत्वञ्च च्युतसंस्कृतिक्लिष्टाविमृष्टविधेयांशादीनां शब्दबुद्धिविघटकतया साक्षाद्रसप्रतिबन्धकतया वा दोषत्वं स्वीकृतमित्यवेहि नान्यथा । अत एव वीररसादौ व्यङ्ग्ये श्रुतिकटुत्वं न दोषः । तद्बोधाविरोधात्"[1] इति । एवञ्च दोषाविति शब्दार्थयोर्विशेषणं कुतः स्वीकृतमिति चेत् उच्यते । अग्निपुराणे यद्वेदव्यासैरुक्तम्—

अदोषं गुणवत् काव्यमलङ्कारैरलङ्कृतम् ।
रसान्वितं कविः कुर्वन् कीर्तिं प्रीतिञ्च विन्दति ।।[2]

इति तस्मादेव स्वीकृतमिति ज्ञायते ।

एवञ्च "अदोषावि"ति विशेषणमग्निपुराणात्, सगुणाविति विशेषणं वामनाचार्यकृतकाव्यलक्षणात् शब्दार्थाविति विशेषणं भामहाचार्यकृतकाव्यलक्षणात् स्वीकृतानि ।

अतो हेतोः मम्मटकृतकाव्यलक्षणे स्वपूर्ववर्त्याचार्यकृतकाव्यलक्षणानां परिष्कृतं स्वरूपमिति निःसङ्कोचं वक्तुं प्रभवामः । पूर्वकाव्यलक्षणेभ्यो वैलक्षण्यं तावदित्थम् अस्ति । तथाहि—

"शब्दार्थौ काव्यम्" इति कथनेन शब्दस्यैव काव्यत्वं प्रतिपादयतो दण्ड्याचार्यकृतकाव्यलक्षणात् विलक्षणता सिद्ध्यति अदोषाविति कथनेन भोजराजकृतकाव्यलक्षणात् सा सिद्ध्यति ।

अपि च "तदल्पमपि नोपेक्ष्यं····· श्वित्रेणैकेन दुर्भगम्" इति दोषाणामत्यन्ताभावत्वमंगीकुर्वतो दण्डिनो मतान्माम्मटं मतं भिन्नमेव ।

"अनलङ्कृती पुनः क्वापि" इति कथनेन "काव्यं ग्राह्यमलङ्कारात्" इति ब्रुवतां वामनाचार्याणां मतेन माम्मटं मतम् ऐक्यं नानुभवति । यद्यपि भोजराजादिकृतेषु लक्षणेष्वप्यलङ्काराणां शब्दार्थविशेषणत्वेन निवेशः कृतः । परन्तु तत्र शब्दार्थयुगलं काव्यम् उताहो प्रत्येकमिति किमपि कण्ठरवेण न स्पष्टीकृतम् ।

तथा चेत्थं मतवैमत्यम्—

दण्डी—शब्दः काव्यम्	मम्मटः—शब्दार्थौ काव्यम् ।
भोजः—निर्दोषं काव्यम्	अदोषौ काव्यम् ।
(अत्यन्ताभावार्थबोधको निरुपसर्गः)	(अस्फुटार्थे नञ्)
वामनः—(अलङ्कारग्राह्यं काव्यम्)	अलङ्कारग्राह्यमपि काव्यं भवति ।

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१. काव्यप्रकाशः (सुधासागरीसहितः), पृ० २३
२. अग्निपुराणम्, ३३७.७

मतसाम्यं चेत्थम् ।

शब्दार्थौ काव्यम्	भामहः	
	वामनः	**मम्मटः**
	रुद्रटः	शब्दार्थौ काव्यम्
	ध्वनिकारः	
	वाग्भटाः	
	कुन्तकः	
गुणवत् काव्यम्	अग्निपुराणम्	सगुणौ शब्दार्थौ काव्यम्
	भोजः, वामनश्च	

अत्रापि वैमत्यं सूक्ष्मेक्षिकया प्रतिभाति । तथाहि—

चतुर्विंशतिगुणेष्वन्यतमगुणोपेतशब्दार्थौ काव्यमिति भोजः दशशब्ददशार्थगुणेष्वन्यतमेन गुणेन संस्कृतौ शब्दार्थौ काव्यम् इति वामनः	माधुर्यौजःप्रसादाख्यत्रिषु गुणेषु अन्यतमेन गुणेन संस्कृतौ शब्दार्थौ काव्यम् इति मम्मटः

माम्मटकाव्यलक्षणे सर्वाधिकवैलक्षण्यम् "अनलङ्कृती पुनः क्वापि" इत्यत्रैव । तथाहि–केनापि स्वपूर्ववर्त्याचार्येणालङ्काररहितशब्दार्थयोः काव्यत्वं न स्वीकृतम् । तेषां मते अलङ्कारा एव मूर्धन्यभूताः । अतस्तैरलङ्कारस्य ईषदपि च्युतिः न स्वीकृता । यद्यपि भामहादिप्रमुखप्राचीनाचार्यैः काव्यलक्षणप्रसङ्गे अलङ्कारचर्चा न कृता तथापि तदीयग्रन्थानां पूर्वापरसङ्गतिपूर्वकाध्ययनेनेदमेव निर्धारितं भवति यत् ते अलङ्कारसाहित्येऽपि काव्यत्वकल्पनामपि नाकार्षुस्तद्विपरीतञ्च मम्मटाचार्येणालङ्काराभावेऽपि काव्यता अङ्गीकृता ।

आनन्दवर्धनाचार्येण यद्यपि काव्यस्य स्वरूपं न विचारितम्, परन्तु शब्दार्थशरीरं हि तावत् काव्यम् इत्यादिना पूर्वपक्षोपन्यासावसरे यदुक्तम्, यच्च काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिरिति प्रथमकारिकया प्रतिपादितं तदेतत्सर्वाध्ययनेनेदं हस्तगतं भवति यदानन्दमतेनापि निरलङ्कृती शब्दार्थौ काव्यं भवति । व्यवस्थापितञ्च ध्वनेः काव्यात्मत्वम् । एवञ्च तन्मतेन ध्वन्यात्मकशब्दार्थयुगलं काव्यमिति हि काव्यलक्षणं सिद्ध्यति । मम्मटाचार्यैस्तु स्पष्टभाषयाऽलङ्काराः तत्स्थानाच्च्याविताः यत्र प्राचीनतराचार्यैः प्रतिष्ठापिताः । सोऽयं परिष्कृतः सिद्धान्तः आनन्द–प्रभावितोऽपि स्पष्टोक्तिदृशा स्वोपज्ञः । अन्यच्च माम्मटं काव्यलक्षणं तात्कालिकसर्वालङ्कारिकसिद्धान्तप्रतिनिधिभूतमार्जनेन च नव्यसिद्धान्तस्थापकमिवाभाति । तथाहि,

रीतियुगस्यैकतः प्रातिनिध्यं सगुणाविति पदेन करोति चेत् "अनलङ्कृती पुनः क्वापि" इति पदेनालङ्कारयुगस्य प्रातिनिध्यं कुर्वदपि काव्येऽलङ्काराणामस्तित्वविषये शैथिल्यं प्रकटीकरोति, तेन चालङ्काररहितावपि शब्दार्थौ काव्यं भवतीति नव्यसिद्धान्तस्थापनायावसरो दत्तः यद्बलाच्च परवर्त्याचार्यविश्वनाथजगन्नाथादिभिः काव्यलक्षणप्रसङ्गेऽलङ्काराणां चर्चैव न कृता ।

कः खलु काव्यस्यात्मेति जिज्ञासाशान्तये यद्यपि मम्मटैरानन्द इव स्पष्टं न किमप्यालपितं तथाप्यात्मत्वनिर्धारणोचितया कविप्रियया भाषया "सगुणौ" इत्यादि उपलक्षणात्मकैर्विशेषणैः रस एव काव्यस्यात्मेत्याकलितमेव । तद्बलादेवानलङ्कृती पुनः क्वापि इति सारगर्भः विशेषणोपन्यासः कृतः ।

अथात्र मम्मटकृतकाव्यलक्षणघटकविशेष्यदलानां विचारधारा तट्टीकाकाराणां मतानुसारेण प्रस्तूयते । तथाहि,

शब्दार्थौ काव्यम्

मम्मटस्य सिद्धान्तोऽयमासीत् यत् शब्दार्थौ मिलित्वा काव्यपदवाच्यं भवत इति । तयोः जातिव्यक्तिवत् समवायसम्बन्धावच्छिन्नत्वम् । जातिव्यक्त्योर्यथाऽविनाभावस्तथा शब्दार्थयोरपीति । अत एवोक्तं "सिद्धे शब्दार्थसम्बन्ध" इति पातञ्जलमहाभाष्ये । सत्यपि शब्दार्थयोरविशेषेण काव्यत्वे प्राधान्याप्राधान्यं तु परिस्थितिवशादन्यतरगतं भवति इति तत्तत्स्थलान्यनुसंन्धेयानि । एतदभिप्रायेणैव व्याख्यातं माणिक्यचन्द्रैः स्वटीकायाम्—"शब्दार्थौ मिलितौ जातिव्यक्तिवदन्योन्याव्यभिचारितेन । एतेन शब्दार्थयोर्भेदवादिनः प्रत्युक्ताः ।"[1] इति । एवञ्च कविनिर्मितकमनीयतातिशायिनोः शब्दार्थयोः प्रत्येकं काव्यत्वमिति पक्षद्वयमपि निराकृतमिति च ।

यदि शब्दार्थौ जातिव्यक्तिवदन्योन्याश्रयिणौ स्याताम् तर्हि काव्यत्वं तयोः साहित्य एव वर्तते । न तु शब्देऽर्थे वा । यतो हि द्वयोरप्याह्लादकारित्वम्, न तु प्रत्येकम् ।

तत्र शब्दार्थावित्यनेन शब्दस्य प्राङ् निर्देशात् शब्दस्यैव काव्यत्वव्यवस्थापने मम्मटस्य तात्पर्यमिति कथनं न समीचीनम् । यतो हि द्वावपि चमत्कारकारकौ । अत एवोक्तं भीमसेनदीक्षितैः—"तथा चास्वादजीवातुः पदसन्दर्भः काव्यम्, तत्त्वञ्च लक्षणमिति, तन्न । काव्यत्वप्रयोजकस्यास्वादव्यञ्जकत्वस्य शब्दार्थयोरविशेषात् । अर्थेष्वपि व्यञ्जनावृत्त्यङ्गीकारात् । शब्दार्थयोरुत्कर्षापकर्षाभ्यां तदुत्कर्षापकर्षव्यवहारात् । विभावाद्यर्थविशिष्टेषु शब्देषु काव्यत्वं, शब्दविशिष्टेषु तेषु वेति विनिगमनाविरहात्"[2] इति च ।

केवलचण्डीदासभट्टाचार्यैरेव मम्मटकृतकाव्यलक्षणस्य विपरीता व्याख्या कृता । तैः शब्दस्यैव काव्यत्वमिति बुद्ध्या व्याख्यातम् । अत एवोक्तम्—"आस्वादजीवातुः पदसन्दर्भः काव्यम्"[3] इति ।

परन्तु "तदधीते तद्वेद" इति पाणिनिबलेनापि द्वयोः काव्यताऽङ्गीकर्तव्या भवति ।

सम्प्रति लक्षणघटकविशेषणानां विचारः टीकाकाराणां मतानुरोधेन प्रस्तूयते । तत्र काव्यलक्षणे त्रीणि विशेषणानि "अदोषौ", "सगुणौ", "अनलङ्कृती पुनः क्वापि" इति । प्रथमं तावत् विशेषणं यस्य त्यागः आवश्यकः तदर्थं मम्मटेन उपात्तम्—"अदोषौ" इति ।

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१. काव्यप्रकाशः (माणिक्यचन्द्रकृतसंकेतसहितः), पृ० ६

२. काव्यप्रकाशः (सुधासागरीसहितः), पृ० २०

३. काव्यप्रकाशः (दीपिकासहितः), पृ० १३

अदोषौ

शब्दार्थयोर्विशेषणतया प्रथमं विशेषणम् । शब्दार्थौ दोषरहितौ यदि स्याताम् तदैव काव्यपदवाच्यौ भवतः । दोषराहित्यञ्च सर्वथा नापेक्षितम् । अपि तु स्फुटदोषराहित्यम् । सर्वथा दोषराहित्यस्य स्वीकारे "न्यक्कारो ह्ययमेव" इत्यादिकाव्येष्वतिव्याप्तिः प्रसज्येत । अव्याप्त्यादिदोषत्रितयशून्यमेव लक्षणं लक्षणं भवति । अतः स्फुटदोषाभाववत्त्वं स्वीकर्तव्यम् । अमुमेवार्थं मनसि निधाय व्याख्यातं भीमसेनदीक्षितैः—

"स्फुटत्वं रसोद्बोधाविरोधित्वम् । अस्फुटत्वं रसोद्बोधविलम्बकत्वम् रसप्रकर्षविघातकत्वञ्च तथा चास्फुटानां रसोद्बोधाविरोधत्वात् तद्व्यञ्जनाधीनं काव्यत्वमव्याहृतम्"[1] इति । अत एव वीररसादौ व्यंग्ये श्रुतिकटुत्वं न दोषः, तदुद्बोधाविरोधित्वात् । इत्थञ्च "तथाभूताम् इत्यादौ", "न्यक्कारो ह्ययमेव" इत्यादौ च प्रतिपदजीवातुव्यंग्यव्यंग्यप्रतीत्यादेर्दोषज्ञानतिरोधानात् तादृशव्यंग्यवैचित्त्यप्रतीतिविरहविशिष्टदोषज्ञानस्यैव विरोधित्वेन सतोऽपि वा दोषज्ञानस्याविरोधित्वात् ध्वनित्वात् ध्वनित्वमव्याहृतम् इति ।

काव्यप्रकाशविवेककाराणाम् अयमाशयः—दोषाः शब्दबोधविघटकाः रसबोधविघातकाश्च भवन्ति । दोषसामान्याभाववन्तावेव शब्दार्थौ काव्यपदवाच्यौ भवतः । अत एवोक्तं तैः—

"अतस्तथाभूतां दृष्ट्वा नृपसदसि पाञ्चालतनयाम्[2] इत्यादौ न्यूनपददोषोदाहरणतया वक्ष्यमाणेऽपि काकुसहकृतवाक्यार्थव्यंग्यध्वन्युदाहरणत्वं "कृतमनुमतं दृष्ट्वा यैरिदं गुरुपातकम्" इत्यादौ पुनरुक्तदोषोदाहरणतया वक्ष्यमाणेऽपि रौद्ररसध्वन्युदाहरणत्वञ्च वक्ष्यमाणं नानुपपन्नमिति । एवञ्च दोषाभाववत्वं काव्यत्वस्वीकारेऽपेक्षितमिति सिद्धम् ।

सगुणौ

द्वितीयं विशेषणं "सगुणौ" इति । गुणैः सहितौ सगुणौ । मम्मटमतानुसारेण माधुर्यौजःप्रसादाख्यगुणैः सहितौ शब्दार्थौ काव्यत्वेन व्यपदिश्येते । गुणानां रसैः सह समवायः सम्बन्धः । अतोऽत्र गुणपदोपादानमात्रादेव रसवत्त्वमपि शब्दार्थयोः सिध्यति । गुणाः रसधर्माः । अत एवात्र व्याकुर्वद्भिर्भीमसेनदीक्षितैरुक्तम्—

काव्यस्य गुणवत्वं स्वव्यंग्यास्वादसमवायसम्बन्धेन, न तु साक्षात् । तेषां रसैकधर्मत्वात् ।[3] इति ।

प्रदीपकाराणाम् आशयस्त्वेवं वर्तते यदत्र गुणपदं रसव्यंजकपरम् इति । उक्तञ्च तथा तैः—

"गुणस्य रसनिष्ठत्वेऽपि तद्व्यञ्जकपरं पद"मिति ।[4] किं बहुना मम्मटाचार्येणैवाष्टमोल्लासे उक्तम्—

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१. काव्यप्रकाशः (सुधासागरी सहितः), पृ० २३
२. काव्यप्रकाशः (आदर्शटीकोपेतः), पृ० १८
३. तत्रैव (सुधासागरीसहिते), पृ० २४
४. काव्यप्रकाशः (प्रदीपोपेतः), पृ० १९

"गुणवृत्त्या पुनस्तेषां वृत्तिः शब्दार्थयोर्मता"[1] इति । एवञ्च रसवत्त्वमपि शब्दार्थयोरपेक्षितमिति सिध्यति । पार्यन्तिकपर्यालोचने कृते तु सर्वविशेषणानां सरसौ शब्दार्थौ काव्यम् इत्यत्रैवाशयस्तिष्ठति ।

अनलङ्कृती पुनः क्वापि इति

मम्मटाचार्याणां मते क्वचित् स्फुटालङ्काररहितावपि शब्दार्थौ काव्यपदवाच्यौ भवतः । 'अनलङ्कृती' इत्यत्र नञो ईषदर्थकत्वम् । ईषत्वञ्चास्फुटत्वमेव । नाऽत्र नञो भाववाचकत्वम् । यः कौमारहर इत्यादौ दोषापत्तेः । अत एव टीकाकारैरनलङ्कृती इत्यत्र नञो ईषदर्थकत्वमेव व्यवस्थापितम् । 'क्वापि' इत्यनेन इदं प्रतीयते यत् निरलङ्कारताऽपि क्वचिदेव काव्यत्वसाधिका यत्र रसादिः स्फुटः, न तु सर्वत्र । अत एव ध्वनिकारेण उक्तम्—"अत एव रसानुगुणार्थनिबन्धनमलङ्कारविरहेऽपि छायातिशयं पुष्णाति । यथा—

"मुनिर्जयति योगीन्द्रो महात्मा कुम्भसम्भवः ।
येनैकचुलुके दृष्टौ दिव्यौ मकरकच्छपौ ।। इत्यादौ । इति ।

मम्मटाचार्याणामपि मते रसस्यैव प्राधान्यात् रसालंकारयोर्मध्ये रसस्य स्थितिमनुसृत्यैव काव्यस्य निर्धारणं क्रियते । यदि रसाभाववति काव्ये स्फुटालङ्कारत्वं स्यात् तर्हि टीकाकृत्दीक्षितमतेन काव्यत्वं न व्याहन्यते । स्फुटालङ्कारस्य चमत्काराधायकस्य सत्त्वात् । नीरसे काव्ये यदि स्फुटो न स्यादलङ्कारस्तर्हि किंकृतचमत्कारः स्यात् ? उक्तञ्च तथा भीमसेनदीक्षितैः—

"तस्मात् सालङ्कारत्वमात्रं न विशेषणम् । किन्तु स्फुटालङ्काररसान्यतरत्वम् । एवञ्च रसाविष्टास्फुटालङ्कारभिन्नालङ्कारवत्वं विशेषणमिति तत्त्वम्"[2] इति ।

आदर्शाख्यटीकाकाराणां मतमत्र प्रकारान्तरेण वर्तते । तद्धि प्रसिद्धालङ्काराणामभावेऽपि उक्तिवैचित्र्यसद्भावेऽलंकारत्वमेवेति । अत एव तैरुक्तम्—

"नामतो निर्दिष्टानामलङ्काराणामभावेऽप्युक्तिभंगीसत्त्वे सालङ्कारत्वमेव वैचित्र्यमात्रस्यैवालङ्कारत्वात्[3] इत्यतो वक्ष्यमाणेषु निःशेषच्युतचन्दनमित्यादिषु नाव्याप्तिः" । इति ।

माणिक्यचन्द्रमतेऽनलंकृतीत्यत्रेषदलङ्कारवत्वमेव । न तु सर्वथा निरलङ्कृतीति । उक्तञ्च तेन तथा—

"अत एव स्फुटालङ्कारविरहेऽपीति ब्रूयात् । विरहशब्दोऽपि सर्वथा नाभावं सूचयति । तस्य हि संयोगांशेऽपि सद्भावात् ।"[4] इति ।

एवं स्थिते सति माम्मटं काव्यलक्षणं सर्वैरप्यादृतम् इत्येव स्पष्टं प्रतिभाति । अतस्तदेव लक्षणं ग्राह्यमिति शम् ।

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१. काव्यप्रकाशः, अष्टम उ० का० ७१, सू० ९५
२. काव्यप्रकाशः (सुधासागरीसहितः) पृ० २५
३. काव्यप्रकाशः (आदर्शाख्यटीकोपेतः), पृ० १९
४. तत्रैव (माणिक्यचन्द्रकृतसंकेतसहिते) पृ० २

लड़के ने कुर्सी तोड़ी

चतुर्भुज सहाय

'लड़के ने कुर्सी तोड़ी' इस वाक्य के बारे में वाच्य की दृष्टि से दो मत हैं। कुछ विद्वान् इसे कर्तृवाच्य का वाक्य मानते हैं और कुछ विद्वान् इसे कर्मवाच्य का वाक्य मानते हैं। प्रस्तुत लेख में दोनों मतों की परीक्षा की गयी है। तदनन्तर द्वयात्मक वाच्य-व्यवस्था के स्थान पर क्रमिक वाच्य-व्यवस्था का प्रतिपादन करते हुए दोनों मतों के समायोजन का प्रयत्न किया गया है।

लक्ष्य वाक्य को कर्तृवाच्य मानने वाले अपने पक्ष में दो तर्क देते हैं। पहला तर्क, इस वाक्य में कर्ता की प्रधानता है, इसलिए कर्तृवाच्य है। कर्मवाच्य के वाक्य में कर्म की प्रधानता होती है, कर्ता गौण होता है। कर्मवाच्य में कर्ता की यह गौणता इस बात से सिद्ध होती है कि वह यहाँ वाक्य का वैकल्पिक घटक होता है और अन्य वैकल्पिक क्रियाविशेषण घटकों की भाँति परसर्गीय रचना द्वारा वाक्य में प्रविष्ट होता है।[1] वैकल्पिक घटक होने से यह वाक्य में अनिर्दिष्ट रह सकता है। कर्मवाच्य के वाक्य में कर्ता अनिर्दिष्ट होता है, इसे प्रमाणित करने के लिए उन भाषाओं की तरफ भी देखा जा सकता है जिनमें निजवाचक रचना और कर्मवाच्य की रचना दोनों के लिए एक ही प्रत्यय का प्रयोग किया जाता है। निजवाचक रचना में कर्ता और कर्म में अभेद होता है। कर्मवाच्य की रचना में कर्ता अनिर्दिष्ट होता है, इस रूप में कर्ता और कर्म में अभेद होता है। दोनों प्रकार की रचनाओं के लिए एक ही प्रत्यय के प्रयोग के मूल में इस साम्य को देखना चाहिए।[2] हिन्दी में भी कर्मवाच्य में कर्ता सामान्य रूप से अनिर्दिष्ट और अनुपात्त होता है। जब आता है तब **'द्वारा'** अथवा **'से'** के साथ आता है। इस प्रकार विचार करने पर लक्ष्य वाक्य सचमुच कर्तृवाच्य का ही प्रतीत होता है। क्योंकि **'लड़के ने'** वैकल्पिक घटक नहीं है। वाक्य की पूर्णता के लिए इसका प्रयोग आवश्यक है। दूसरा तर्क, यदि लक्ष्य-वाक्य कर्मवाच्य का है तो भूतकाल में कर्तृवाच्य का क्या रूप होगा ?

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१. देखिए–जेम्स ई० होर्ड, १९७९

२. देखिए–Ronald W. Langackar & Munro, 1975

कर्तृवाच्य (वर्तमान काल) : लड़का कुर्सी तोड़ता है ।
कर्तृवाच्य (भविष्य काल) : लड़का कुर्सी तोड़ेगा ।
कर्तृवाच्य (भूतकाल) : ?

'**लड़के ने कुर्सी तोड़ी**' इसको कर्तृवाच्य का वाक्य स्वीकार करने पर व्यवस्था में जो छिद्र दिखायी दे रहा है, वह नहीं रहेगा ।

लक्ष्य वाक्य को कर्तृवाच्य मानने वाले कर्म और क्रिया की अन्विति के विषय में यह व्यवस्था देते हैं कि कर्ता के साथ परसर्ग का प्रयोग हुआ है इसलिए क्रिया उसके साथ अन्वित न होकर कर्म के साथ अन्वित हुई है । यह इस सामान्य नियम के अनुकूल भी है कि जिस पद के साथ परसर्ग का प्रयोग होता है, क्रिया उससे कदापि अन्वित नहीं होती । किन्तु आगे हम देखेंगे कि कर्म और क्रिया की अन्विति की यह व्यवस्था ग्राह्य नहीं हैं । कर्ता के साथ परसर्ग हैं, इसलिए क्रिया कर्म से अन्वित हुई है अथवा क्रिया कर्म का वाचक बन गयी है, इसलिए कर्ता के साथ '**ने**' का प्रयोग हुआ है, यह विचारणीय है ।

अब हम उन लोगों का पक्ष रखेंगे जो लक्ष्य वाक्य को कर्मवाच्य का वाक्य मानते हैं । कर्मवाच्य के पक्ष में सबसे पहला तर्क यह है कि क्रिया कर्म से अन्वित है । किन्हीं दो घटकों में अन्विति यों ही नहीं हुआ करती है । यह अप्रकट और गूढ़ आर्थी सम्बन्धों को प्रकट करती है । अन्विति के न होने पर भी दो घटकों में आर्थी सम्बन्ध होता है । किन्तु जहाँ अन्विति है, वहाँ तो आर्थी सम्बन्ध होना ही चाहिए । '**लड़के ने कुर्सी तोड़ी**'. इस वाक्य में क्रिया विशेष रूप से कर्म का वाचक है, इसलिए कर्म से अन्वित है । इसके फलस्वरूप कर्ता में कर्तृवाचक '**ने**' का प्रयोग हुआ है । क्रिया विशेष रूप से कर्म का वाचक है, यह इससे भी सिद्ध होता है कि वाक्य का रूपान्तरण करने पर, जहाँ '**ने**' हट जाता है, क्रिया कृदन्त रूप में कर्म का विशेषण बनती है, कर्ता का नहीं : **(लड़के (के) द्वारा) तोड़ी हुई कुर्सी** । किन्तु यह रूपान्तरण नहीं होगा, * **कुर्सी तोड़ा हुआ लड़का** । अन्यत्र भूतकाल में जहाँ क्रिया कर्ता से अन्वित है, वहां वह कर्ता का ही विशेषण बनती है—

लड़का घर गया → घर गया हुआ लड़का ।
* गया हुआ घर ।
लड़का कुर्सी पर बैठा → कुर्सी पर बैठा हुआ लड़का ।
* बैठी हुई कुर्सी ।

इन वाक्यों में क्रिया कर्ता का वाचक है इसलिए कर्ता के साथ '**ने**' का प्रयोग नहीं हुआ है ।

केवल कुछ सकर्मक क्रियाएँ जो फल की दृष्टि से कर्तृपरक भी होती हैं, कृदन्त विशेषण बन-कर कर्ता की विशेषता बतलाती हैं । यहाँ क्रिया और कर्ता में विशेषण–विशेष्य सम्बन्ध निहित होता है जो '**ने**' के प्रयोग से भी खण्डित नहीं होता है । यदि लक्ष्य वाक्य में सचमुच क्रिया और कर्ता में ऐसा सम्बन्ध होता तो वह '**ने**' से खण्डित नहीं होता ।

आदमी ने खूब दूध-घी खाया है → दूध घी खाया हुआ आदमी ।
नौकर ने काम सीखा है → काम सीखा हुआ नौकर ।
लड़के ने टोपी पहनी है → टोपी पहना हुआ लड़का ।

यह ध्यान देने योग्य है कि इन वाक्यों में '**खाया है**', '**सीखा है**' और '**पहनी है**' ये क्रियाएं पूर्ण वर्तमानकाल में हैं ।

निष्कर्ष यह है कि '**लड़के ने कुर्सी तोड़ी**' इस वाक्य में कर्म और क्रिया की अन्विति आकस्मिक नहीं है, न ही इसलिए कि कर्ता के साथ '**ने**' का प्रयोग हुआ है । बल्कि यह अन्विति इसलिए है कि कर्म और क्रिया में विशेष आर्थी सन्निकटता है, क्रिया कर्मवाचक है । अन्विति पहले है, '**ने**' का प्रादुर्भाव बाद में है । यदि कर्ता और क्रिया की अन्विति के टूटने का कारण सचमुच '**ने**' है तो कर्ता और क्रिया की विशेष सन्निकटता तो कम से कम बनी रहनी चाहिए और कृदन्त रूपान्तरण करने पर जैसे ही '**ने**' हटे वह सन्निकटता दिखायी पड़ जानी चाहिए, खण्डित अन्विति पुनःस्थापित हो जानी चाहिए । किन्तु ऐसा कुछ नहीं होता है । क्रिया कृदन्त विशेषण बनने पर कर्ता का वाचक नहीं बनती । '**कुर्सी तोड़ा हुआ लड़का**' असम्भव है । जहाँ अन्विति के टूटने का कारण परसर्ग होता है, वहाँ परसर्ग के हटते ही अन्विति बन जानी चाहिए । इन वाक्यों को देखें—

१. (क) लड़के ने आलमारी उठायी ।
(ख) लड़के ने आलमारी को उठाया ।

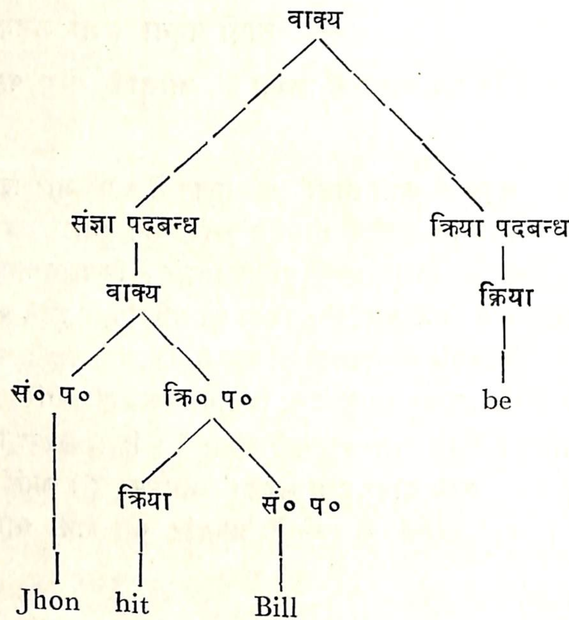
दूसरे वाक्य में '**को**' का प्रयोग होने से कर्म और क्रिया की अन्विति नहीं है, किन्तु अन्विति के खण्डित होने के बावजूद कर्म और क्रिया की सन्निकटता खण्डित नहीं हुई है । क्रिया अब भी कर्मवाचक है । कृदन्त रूपान्तरण करने पर अन्विति पुनःस्थापित हो जाती है : **(लड़के द्वारा) उठायी हुई आलमारी** । वस्तुस्थिति यह है कि सकर्मक क्रिया से बने भूतकालिक कृदन्त विशेषण सामान्यतः कर्तृवाचक नहीं होते । लक्ष्य वाक्य को कर्मवाच्य का वाक्य मानने पर जो वाच्य व्यवस्था में भूतकाल में छिद्र की बात उठाते हैं वे कृदन्त विशेषणों की व्यवस्था में इसे छिद्र मानेंगे अथवा नहीं ?

लक्ष्य वाक्य को कर्मवाच्य मानने वालों का दूसरा तर्क यह है कि 'य' भूतकालिक होने के साथ साथ फलवाचक भी है । फलवाचक होने से यह कर्मवाचक है ।[1] इसीलिए '**तोड़ी**' '**कुर्सी**' से अन्वित है । अकर्मक वाक्य में फल का आश्रय स्वयं कर्ता होता है, इसलिए भूतकालिक अकर्मक क्रिया कर्ता से अन्वित होती है । फल और दशा में गहरा सम्बन्ध है । दोनों का प्रादुर्भाव व्यापार से होता है । जब व्यापार पूर्ण हो जाय तब फल अथवा दशा का प्रधान होना स्वाभाविक है । कर्मवाच्य में फल या दशा की प्रधानता को अन्य विद्वानों ने भी स्वीकार किया है । अंग्रेजी के कर्मवाच्य के वाक्यों की व्याख्या करते हुए कई भाषाविदों ने Be को प्रधान क्रिया माना है ।

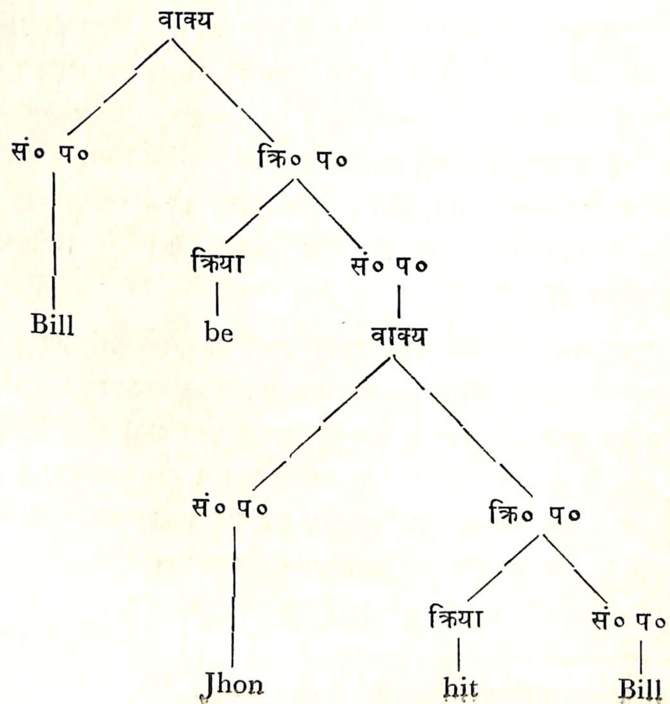
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१. देखिए—कामताप्रसाद गुरु, सं० २०३५, पृष्ठ ४०२ ।

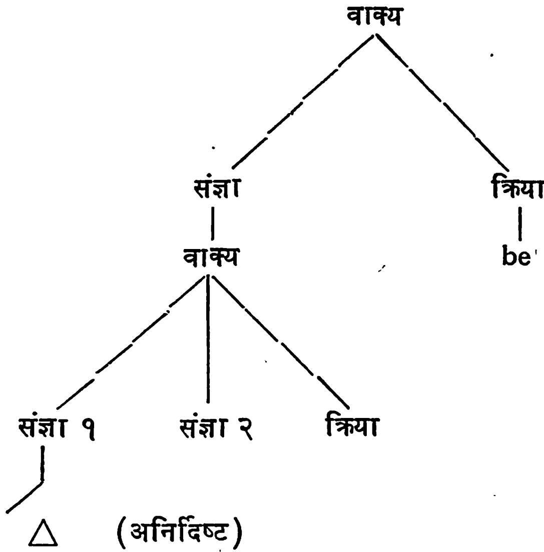
यह ध्यान रखिए, यह क्रिया दशावाचक है। Bill was hit by John इस वाक्य को Lakoff, Robin (१९७१) ने इस रूप में देखा है—



Hasegawa, Kinsuke (1968) के अनुसार यह रूप होगा—



Ronald W. Langackar और Munro (१९७५) ने कर्मवाच्य के वाक्य की आन्तरिक संरचना को इस रूप में प्रस्तुत किया है:—



Ronald W. Langackar और Munro ने अपने लेख के अनुभाग ३.३ में कर्मवाच्य के वाक्य में be को प्रधान या उच्च क्रिया मानने के औचित्य पर विचार किया है। इनके अनुसार निश्चयार्थक (Declarative) वाक्य दो प्रकार के होते हैं, व्यापारवाचक और दशावाचक। व्यापारवाचक निश्चयार्थक वाक्य में प्रधान क्रिया Do है। दशावाचक निश्चयार्थक वाक्य में प्रधान क्रिया Be है। Marvin Jumped, इस वाक्य की आन्तरिक संरचना को इन्होंने इस रूप में रखा है—

Past [Do Marvin [Jump Marvin]]

[Jump Morvin] यह, Do क्रिया का कर्म है। Do वाक्य के निषेधात्मक और प्रश्नवाचक रूपों में दिखायी देता है। Marvin was under the table, इस वाक्य की आन्तरिक संरचना को इस रूप में रखा गया है :—

Past [Be [under Marvin table]]

[Under Marvin table] यह Be का कर्ता है। लेखक कर्मवाच्य के वाक्यों में भी be को प्रधान या उच्च क्रिया मानते हैं, क्योंकि कर्मवाच्य में कर्म प्रधान होता है और कर्म फल या दशा का आश्रय होता है। लेखक अनुभाग ३.५ में कर्मवाच्य और क्रिया के पूर्णकालिक अथवा भूतकालिक रूपों में गहरे सम्बन्ध का प्रतिपादन करते हैं। अंग्रेज़ी में भूतकालिक कृदन्त का प्रयोग कर्मवाच्य में भी होता है और क्रिया के पूर्णकालिक (Perfective) रूपों में भी। इसी तरह हिन्दी में यू

प्रत्यय भूतकालिक और फलवाचक दोनों है। भूतकाल में व्यापार की पूर्णता सहज रूप में दिखलायी पड़ती है और यह व्यापार की पूर्णता फल को जन्म देती है। वर्तमान और भविष्य में यह स्थिति नहीं है। वही सकर्मक क्रिया वर्तमानकाल और भविष्यकाल की अपेक्षा भूतकाल में अधिक सकर्मक होती है। अर्थात् भूतकाल में क्रिया की सकर्मकता बढ़ जाती है। सकर्मकता के बढ़ने के साथ कर्म की प्रधानता बढ़ जाती है, और कर्म की प्रधानता के बढ़ने के साथ फल अथवा दशा की प्रधानता बढ़ जाती है। सकर्मकता पर Paul J. Hopper और Sandra A. Thompson (१९८०) ने बड़े बिस्तार से विचार किया है। इन्होंने दिखाया है कि क्रिया की सकर्मकता अनेक कारणों से घटती और बढ़ती रहती है।

यहाँ संक्षेप में '**ने**' का सम्बन्ध विभिन्न सहायक क्रियाओं से स्पष्ट करना अप्रासङ्गिक नहीं होगा। '**ने**' को ध्यान में रखकर सहायक क्रियाओं को दो कोटियों में विभाजित किया जा सकता है ; व्यापारोन्मुख सहायक क्रियाएँ और फलोन्मुख सहायक क्रियाएँ। पहले प्रकार की सहायक क्रियाएँ प्रायः अकर्मक क्रियाएँ हैं। ये व्यापार की विभिन्न स्थितियों को व्यक्त करती हैं। दूसरे प्रकार की सहायक क्रियाएँ सकर्मक क्रियाएं हैं। ये फल की दिशा, स्थिरता आदि का बोध कराती हैं। स्वाभाविक है, '**ने**' का प्रयोग केवल फलोन्मुख सहायक क्रियाओं के साथ होता है। दोनों प्रकार की सहायक क्रियाएँ अपने विशिष्ट अर्थों के साथ नीचे दी हुई हैं—

व्यापारोन्मुख सहायक क्रियाएं

सहायक क्रियाएं	अर्थ (व्यापार की विशेषताएं)	उदाहरण
लगना	आरम्भ	**तोड़ने लगा**
चलना	आरम्भ	**कह चला, कहने चला।**
चुकना	समाप्ति	**खा चुका।**
पाना (सकर्मक)	अशक्यता	**खा पाया, खाने पाया।**
जाना	निरन्तरता, सुकरता	**खाता गया, खा गया।**
रहना	निरन्तरता	**खाता रहा, ढके रहा।**
आना	निरन्तरता	**कहता आया।**
करना (सकर्मक)	निरन्तरता	**भाड़ झोंका किये।**
बैठना	अचानकता	**कह बैठा।**

'**पाना**' के साथ कहीं-कहीं '**ने**' का प्रयोग दिखायी पड़ता है। '**जाना**' का उपयोग सकर्मक को अकर्मक बनाने में भी खूब होता है, जैसे—**कुचल जाना, धो जाना, छू जाना, सी जाना, भूल जाना, भर जाना, खो जाना, पकड़ जाना,** आदि।

फलोन्मुख सहायक क्रियाएं		
सहायक क्रियाएं	अर्थ (फल की विशेषताएं)	उदाहरण
लेना	फल कर्ता की ओर	**खा लिया, पढ़ लिया, लिख लिया।**
देना	फल किसी अन्य की ओर	**पढ़ दिया, लिख दिया**
डालना	विकार्य कर्म	**तोड़ डाला? कह डाला**
रखना	स्थिति, दशा	**समझ रखा है। जलाये रखा।**
मारना	फल की विद्रूपता	**लिख मारा।**

सहायक क्रियाओं के अर्थों को समझने के लिए महावाक्य को देखना चाहिए। उदाहरण के लिए, '**खा गया**' और '**खा लिया**' में जो अर्थभेद है वह महावाक्य के स्तर पर अधिक स्पष्ट दिखायी देता हैं। दो अलग संदर्भों में इनका प्रयोग देखें—

'**तुम कह रहे थे, वह दस लड्डू नहीं खा सकता। लेकिन जब वह खाने बैठा तो कुल अठारह लड्डू खा गया।**' (यहाँ '**खा लिया**' का प्रयोग उचित नहीं हैं।)

पहाड़ सी जिन्दगी वह कब तक ढोता? वह विश्राम चाहता था। आखिर एक दिन उसने चुपचाप जहर खा लिया। (यहाँ '**खा गया**' का प्रयोग उचित नहीं है।)
पहले संदर्भ में व्यापार पर दृष्टि है, दूसरे सन्दर्भ में फल पर।

लक्ष्य वाक्य पर आगे कुछ कहने से पूर्व हम निम्न रचना पर विचार करना चाहते हैं :—

२. लड़के को रोटी खानी है।
३. लड़के को दवा पीनी चाहिए।
४. लड़के को दवा पीनी पड़ेगी।

इन वाक्यों में भी कर्म और क्रिया में अन्विति है। तो क्या ये वाक्य भी कर्मवाच्य के वाक्य हैं? शायद, हाँ। हम पहले यह स्वीकार कर चुके हैं कि घटकों में अन्विति यों ही नहीं हुआ करती। अन्विति निहित आर्थी सम्बन्धों को प्रकट करती है। फिर यहाँ भी क्रिया और कर्म में विशेष आर्थी सम्बन्ध होना चाहिए। '**खानी है**' और '**पीनी चाहिए**' ये क्रियाएं भविष्योन्मुख हैं। इन्हें भूतकाल में ले जाते ही सामान्य रूप से क्रिया की अनुपपत्ति का अर्थ निकलता है। '**लड़के को रोटी खानी थी**' इस वाक्य से सामान्यतः यह अर्थ निकलता है कि लड़के ने रोटी नहीं खायी। भविष्योन्मुख होने से ये क्रियाएं फलापेक्षी हैं। फल, भविष्य, प्रयोजन, को, क्रिया का ना-प्रत्ययान्त रूप, चाहिए—ये सब एक दूसरे से किस तरह संश्लिष्ट हैं, इसके लिए लेखक का अन्य लेख द्रष्टव्य है।[1] ये क्रियाएं फलापेक्षी हैं, इससे इन वाक्यों को कर्मवाच्य में मानने की

१ हिन्दी की परसर्गीय व्यवस्था, **गवेषणा** अंक ३८ में प्रकाशनाधीन।

भूमि और ठोस हो जाती है। '**पीनी पड़ेगी**' यह भविष्योन्मुख नहीं है क्योंकि भूतकाल में क्रिया की अनुपपत्ति का अर्थ नहीं निकलता है। किन्तु इस वाक्य में मात्र कर्ता की परतंत्रता को ही कर्म की प्रधानता के रूप में देखा जा सकता है।

कुछ ऐसे विशेषण और कृदन्त विशेषण प्रयोग में मौजूद हैं जिनके विशेष्य कर्म होते हैं। विशेषण-विशेष्य की यह संरचना उसी तरह भविष्योन्मुख होती है जिस तरह वाक्य (२) और (३) की क्रियाएं भविष्योन्मुख होती हैं :—

विशेषण	विशेष्य (कर्म)
पीने (के) लायक)	
पीने (के) योग्य)	
पीने का)	**पानी**
पीने वाला)	
पीने को)	

अन्तिम प्रयोग कम मिलता, किन्तु मिलता है ; जैसे, **यह पीने को पानी** है, **यह पानी पीने को है**।

आगे हम कर्मवाच्य के विषय में जो व्यवस्था देने वाले हैं, उसमें वाक्य (२), (३) और (४) को भी स्थान दिया जायगा।

लक्ष्य वाक्य के दोनों पक्षों को प्रस्तुत किया जा चुका है। इसे कर्तृवाच्य मानने वालों का सबसे प्रबल तर्क यह है कि इस वाक्य में कर्ता का प्रयोग अनिवार्य है। कर्मवाच्य में कर्ता सामान्यतः अनिर्दिष्ट होता है। जब कभी वाक्य में उसका ग्रहण होता है तब उसका दर्जा वही होता है जो वाक्य में आने वाले अन्य वैकल्पिक घटकों का होता है। लक्ष्य वाक्य को कर्मवाच्य मानने वालों का सबसे प्रबल तर्क यह है कि इस वाक्य में क्रिया कर्म और तदाश्रित फल का वाचक है। अन्विति इस सम्बन्ध को प्रकट कर रही है। इस तरह हम देखते हैं कि दोनों पक्षों में बल है। इस एक वाक्य में दोनों पक्षों का समावेश तब तक सम्भव नहीं हैं जब तक हम वाच्य-व्यवस्था को द्वयात्मक मानेंगे। द्वयात्मक व्यवस्था में कोई वाक्य या तो कर्तृवाच्य है, या फिर कर्मवाच्य। एक ही वाक्य थोड़ा कर्तृवाच्य है, थोड़ा कर्मवाच्य है, इसके लिए इस व्यवस्था में कोई व्यवस्था नहीं ढूँढ़ी जा सकती। हमें लगता है कि हिन्दी में कर्तृवाच्य और कर्मवाच्य के बीच में खाई नहीं है कि हमको एक तरफ से दूसरी तरफ जाने के लिए उछलना पड़े। हम क्रमशः एक तरफ से दूसरी तरफ जा सकते हैं। वाच्य व्यवस्था को क्रमिक व्यवस्था मान लेने पर लक्ष्य वाक्य में दोनों पक्षों का समावेश सम्भव है। लक्ष्य वाक्य को ही नहीं, बल्कि इस क्रम में हम उन अकर्मक वाक्यों को भी रख सकते हैं जिन्हें कई वैयाकरण कर्मवाच्य में मानते हैं। कर्म और कर्ता को दृष्टि में रखते हुए क्रमिक वाच्य व्यवस्था को इस रूप में प्रस्तुत किया जा सकता है :—

कर्मवाच्य

- अकर्मक वाच्य, तीनों कालों में प्रयुक्त। उदाहरण-टूटना
  (**कुर्सी टूट गयी**)
  कर्ता नहीं है। कर्म प्रधान है।

- जा-वाच्य, तीनों कालों में प्रयुक्त। उदाहरण-**तोड़ा जाना**
  (**कुर्सी तोड़ी गयी**)
  कर्ता है, किन्तु अनिर्दिष्ट है। कर्म प्रधान है।

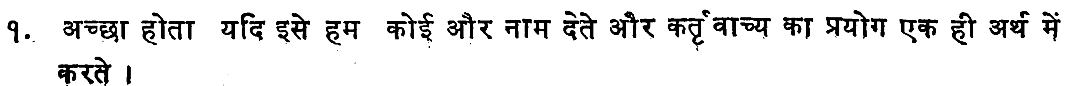
- ने-वाच्य, केवल भूतकाल में प्रयुक्त।)
  को-वाच्य, केवल भविष्य काल में प्रयुक्त।) } उदाहरण-**तोड़ना**
  (**लड़के ने कुर्सी तोड़ी**।)
  लड़के को कुर्सी तोड़नी है।)
  कर्ता है और निर्दिष्ट है। कर्म प्रधान है।

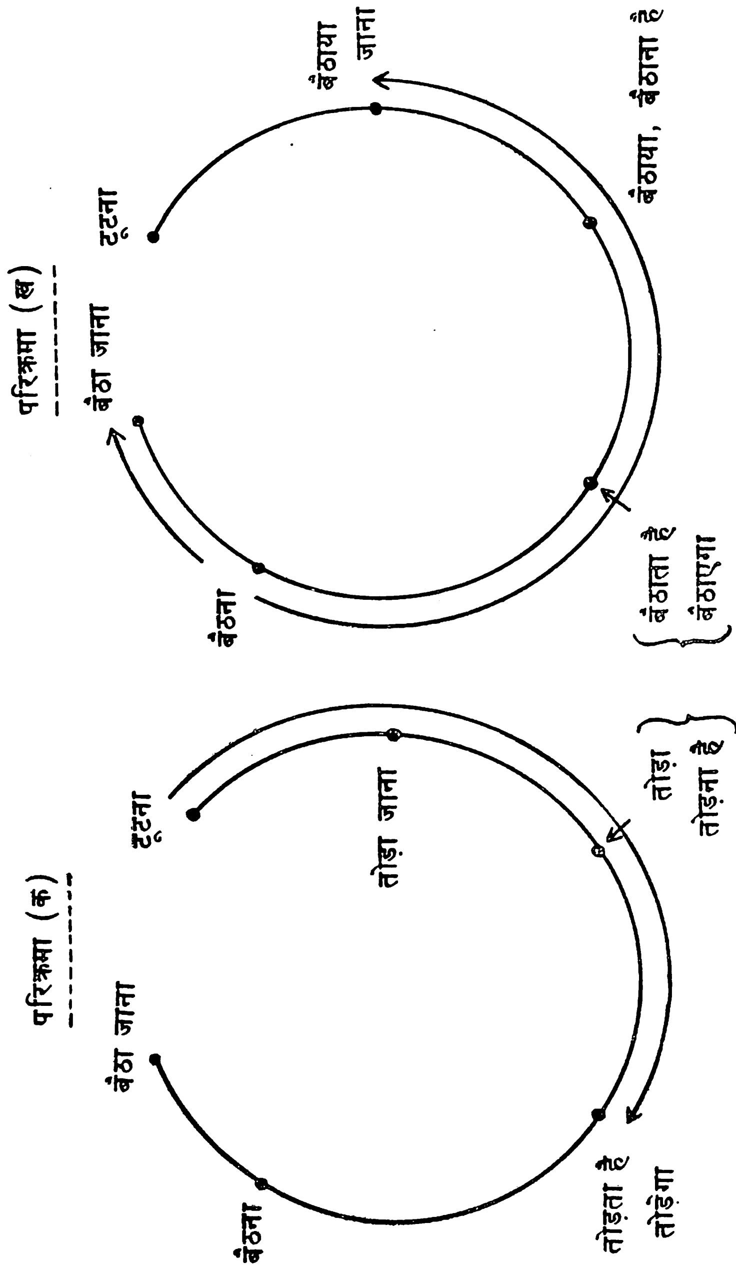
कर्तृवाच्य

- कर्तृवाच्य[1], केवल वर्तमान और भविष्य में प्रयुक्त। उदाहरण-**तोड़ना**
  (लड़का **कुर्सी तोड़ता है**। **तोड़ेगा**।)
  कर्ता है और निर्दिष्ट है। कर्म गौण है।

ध्यान दीजिए, चारों वाच्यों में क्रमशः एक-एक लक्षण का अन्तर है। अकर्मक वाच्य में कर्ता नहीं है, जा—वाच्य में कर्ता है किन्तु अनिर्दिष्ट है, **ने**—वाच्य और **को**—वाच्य में कर्ता है और निर्दिष्ट है, तथा कर्म प्रधान है, कर्तृवाच्य में कर्म गौण है।

यदि हम कर्तृवाच्य में अकर्मक और सकर्मक का भेद लेकर चलें और भाववाच्य को भी साथ ले लें तो क्रमिक वाच्य व्यवस्था लगभग परिक्रमा का रूप धारण कर लेगी। इस परिक्रमा में दो विपरीत दिशाएं होंगी। एक बार अकर्मक कर्मवाच्य से शुरू करेंगे [देखिए परिक्रमा (क)] एक बार अकर्मक कर्तृवाच्य से शुरू करेंगे [देखिए परिक्रमा (ख)]।


१. अच्छा होता यदि इसे हम कोई और नाम देते और कर्तृवाच्य का प्रयोग एक ही अर्थ में करते।



परिक्रमा (क) में हम उत्तरोत्तर कर्मवाच्य से कर्तृवाच्य की ओर बढ़ते हैं और परिक्रमा (ख) में हम उत्तरोत्तर कर्तृवाच्य से कर्मवाच्य की ओर बढ़ते हैं। परिक्रमा (क) में धीरे-धीरे कर्ता का अभ्युदय होता है और परिक्रमा (ख) में धीरे-धीरे कर्म का अभ्युदय होता है। **'बैठना'** अकर्मक कर्तृवाच्य की क्रिया है। '**बैठा जाना**' भाववाच्य की क्रिया है, जैसे—**यहां बैठा जाता है**। भाववाच्य में कर्ता और कर्म दोनों में से कोई नहीं होता है। किन्तु भाववाच्य जिस प्रकार

कर्तृवाच्य से जुड़ा है उस प्रकार अकर्मक कर्मवाच्य से नहीं जुड़ा है। यही कारण है कि परिक्रमा पूरी नहीं है, खण्डित है। परिक्रमा की कल्पना करने से कर्तृवाच्य और कर्मवाच्य दोनों प्रकार के अकर्मक वाक्यों में निकटता दिखलायी पड़ने लगती है। दोनों के मध्य में भाववाच्य है जो कर्ता और कर्म दोनों से निरपेक्ष है।

इस तरह हम इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचते हैं कि हिन्दी में वाच्य व्यवस्था क्रमिक है, द्वयात्मक नहीं है। **'लड़के ने कुर्सी तोड़ी'** यह वाक्य इस वाच्य व्यवस्था में कर्मवाच्य भी है और कर्तृवाच्य भी।

सन्दर्भ सूची

कामताप्रसाद गुरु—**हिन्दी व्याकरण**, ना० प्र० सभा०, काशी, सं० २०३५।

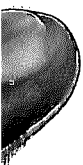
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OBSERVATIONS ON THE COMPOSING OF THE TEXT OF THE ARTHAŚĀSTRA

A. M. Samozvantsev

The research part of our paper "About the Comparative Chronology of the *Manusmṛti* and the *Arthaśāstra*" is preceded by the brief account of the results of statistical analysis carried out by T. Trautmann by help of computer in order to solve the problem of the authorship, date etc. of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya[1]. We confine ourselves here by stating of those results of T. Trautmann without offering our own discourses towards problems observed by us in the essay.

The book of the T. Trautmann received the highly skilled appraisal in particular : ".... Trautmann comes to the very important conclusion that books 3 and 7 were written by different authors on the basis of the frequency of the use in these books of the words *eva, ca* and *vā* and of book 2 on the basis of the frequency of the use in this book of the words ***eva, ca*** and ***vā*** and of the use of compound-length distribution". The result based on these promises seem to this reviewer extremely doubtful.

It is also true that R. Morton Smith used the frequency test of particles, such as *atha, api* and *eva,* but at the same time used the frequency tests of the *vipulā* pattern and *vipulā* : *pathyā* ratio; the ratio of vocatives which refers to characters within the story to those which refer to the listener; the frequency of the different forms in the past tense; the frequency of suppressed ***asti***, gerunds, absolutes and particles; as well as the kinds of nominal compounds. As far as is known to this reviewer no one yet came to any conclusions as to the authorship of a book or part of a book only on the basis of the frequency test of three words such as "so" or "just" (*eva*), "and" (*ca*) and "or" (*vā*)

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1. A. M. Samozvantsev, About the Comparative Chronology of the *Manusmṛti* and the *Arthaśāstra* in *Indian Historical Review* (in print).

and in one case only (with respect to book 2) also on the basis of compound-length distribution (not even sentence-length distribution)"[1].

Further, touching on that peculiarity of the text of the *Arthaśāstra* which means the offering of alternative, L. Sternbach notices: "... the use of three particles mentioned above depends on the context and on peculiar expressions used in the text, such as *yadi vā paśyet ... vā ... vā*, so popular in the *Arthaśāstra* which contains at least three *vā*-s augmenting immediately the ratio of frequency of one of three particles"[2]. L. Sternbach expresses the opinion, that the statistical analysis can be of real use only after simultaneous and preliminary investigation of linguistic peculiarities of a literary monument that in their turn determine the grounded choice of words, elements of syntax, characteristic expressions and so on that should be observed as well. L. Sternbach arrives at the conclusion that such investigation let it be carried out by sombody could yield results probably quite different from those of T. Trautmann who relies on the analysis of using of only some words[3].

The task which we set ourselves in this essay is unassuming. Though we do not dwell on the statistical analysis of the type done by T. Trautmann, the appearance of our work is explained by the fact that the book of T. Trautmann has been written and our essay to distinct degree can have influence upon conclusions contained by T. Trautmann's work.

Though our observations accept mostly suppositional character, they should be to some degree taken into consideration by approach to problems of the origin and character of sources of the *Arthaśāstra*.

One should think that the available *Arthaśāstra* is composed not on the basis of two or three but on the basis of a larger number of treatises on the given themes of the *Arthaśāstra* (book VII and the next ones in the *Arthaśāstra* impress that several treatises of the same type are their basis) and it seems evident that those literary monuments which are traditional in nature include the traditional stuff of still earlier sources of the genre. The sources of the *Arthaśāstra*, i.e. the texts underlying its immediate basis have different authorship and are composed at different times appears clear to one and does not need special argumentation. However, in my opinion it may be proved that the composing of the *Arthaśāstra* was preceded by a long development of the tradition of the *Arthaśāstra*. Moreover, the significance of the

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1. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1972, v. 92, N. 4, p. 498.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, p. 499.

standpoint mentioned above relating to the authorship and date of the compendium may be depreciated to considerable extent if we assume that direct sources of the *Arthaśāstra* were being composed almost simultaneously and not long before the composing of the compendium itself.

Indeed relating to the text of this kind the artificial bringing together of texts some of which display the textual and subject similarity could be hardly possible. If one assumes, for example, that book III of the Compendium in its present form suffered considerable changes introduced by its redactor (what by itself leaves any room for doubt) by force of the necessity of the remaking of that sort, we suppose that the internal logical unity in the construction of legal system of the *Arthaśāstra* and elements as well as principles of its organizing allows to come to the conclusion that the compiler had to have before his own eyes something more alive and obvious that only one literary tradition of the school of the *Arthaśāstra.*

We may assume that the extant *Arthaśāstra* is the only one Compendium of its kind of the *Arthaśāstra* school and most probably it is the last. By constructing an inwardly non-contradictory legal system (in the case where one applies to the law) there are in our opinion two possible ways: on the one hand, that one may be borrowed in the complete form from another source of the *Arthaśāstra.* Then it is to be suffered distinct remaking according to the logic of the composition of the literary monument, especially towards its books II and IV. One should think that this remaking must be more sound and more number of monuments—standard legal systems—undrely the composing of the legal system of the *Arthaśāstra*.

The second way may be expressed in borrowing from the sources of the *Arthaśāstra* of only some ground, it would be true to say "grounds", "principles" of Indian law with the following including consequently into this scheme the considerable more number of correlations. In the latter case the compiler deals with the more difficult task; we should assume here as a matter of fact the birth of the original literary monument on themes given by the *Arthaśāstra.* But the text of the *Arthaśāstra* can hardly allow this latter interpretation of it: we prefer rather to confirm the former supposition, namely that a legal structure of a sort which one can meet in the *Arthaśāstra* was already stated in complete form in its sources, so more similar texts form the base of book III of the compendium. These observations might accept the more common character and bear a relation not only to law stuff of the *Arthaśāstra*.

However, reverting to the subject referred to above we consider it necessary to emphasize once more that editorial remarking of the monument

corresponding with the unification of the text, but also probably with introducing into that one of correlations both from the literary sources and from the practice of the real life has to be strong enough. Hence taking into consideration our observations of small period of time between the composing of text-sources of the *Arthaśāstra* and the compendium itself we consider that these conclusions depreciate to a distinct degree the point of view that one should differentiate between the date of the composition of the whole compendium and that of the composition of separate underlying the *Arthaśāstra* texts if one would infer so.

On the other hand, no editorial remaking could influence the character of the compendium that retains a traditional one that accounts the traditional theory of Indian state composed and stated in diverse texts of various schools of the *Arthaśāstra* which preceded the origin of this late (Ist. century A. D.) compendium.

Probably it does not give rise to a doubt that every book of the *Arthaśāstra* borrows its own stuff from earlier suitable texts which covered three large themes: there are *adhyakṣapracāra* (duties of overseers and the royal administration on the whole), *dharmasthīya—kaṇṭakaśodhaha* (that involves mainly themes towards the law containing two topics—civil law and suppression of criminals)and the comprehensive theme that though it covers several important topics from the standpoint of the Indian theory of state (so, it may be divided into *aṅga*-s such as an army and allies) we may name applying to the terminology of ancient Indian theorists *vijigīṣusampat*—"the ideal of one who intends to conquer"; these three main themes combine the secondary ones.

One may presuppose the fact of the simultaneous bringing together of books I to XIV of the *Arthaśāstra*. Several cases which will be adduced below show references from one book to another what evidently should be explained by the activity of the editor unificator and speaks in favour of considerable remaking of treatises underlying the text of the *Arthaśāstra*. The references of this kind in some cases are connected with structural changes what should be seen taking as an example of chapters III.I, IV.I or book VI (see VI.1). So, the text of III.I.I type may perhaps be found in the text-source of book III, which gives rise to a doubt, but as regards the framing of books III-IV by *sūtra*-s, the construction of which suggests an idea to us that the compiler introduced the symmetry into the text that without question occured during the composition of the compendium (see accordingly: *dharmasthāstrayastrayo'mātyā janapadasandhisaṃgrahaṇadroṇamukhasthānīyeṣv vyāvahārikānarthān kuryuḥ; pradeṣṭārastrayastrayo'mātyāḥ kaṇṭakaśodhanam kuryuḥ*).

One may confirm the same thought by the omission in IV.I.I as unnecessary repetition of the numeration of known administrative centers stated as a uniform construction both in book II[1] and in the III[2]. As for texts, examples of which we offer below they apparently cannot function in separate treatises—sources of the *Arthaśāstra* as well since those ones most probably cannot contain references to the text that these treatises themselves do not include. In that way the treatises (but they clearly are not texts of the *Arthaśāstra*-type) could not involve all the topics of the *Arthaśāstra*. The treatises of such kind are to be exhaustive, but in bounds of their own themes.

The references, which the texts I.12.17, II.14.13, III.4.21 and III.19.15 involve can appear only by the simultaneous composition of present books; however one may assume that in respect to books I-IV provided he presupposes that the compiler refers to a reader not to the known theme of the *Arthaśāstra* which some of treatises observe but rather to the distinct division of the monument. The latter presupposion can hardly draw somebody's attention if we refer to the construction of phrases II.14.13 and III.19.15, which in an unambiguous manner refers a reader to the suitable book of the *Arthaśāstra*; we think too, that the text of the compendium involving all the topics of the *Arthaśāstra* cannot be non-exhaustive one.

To prove his own point of view, namely that the text of the extant *Arthaśāstra* does not contain considerable omissions H. Scharfe carried out in his work the analysis of preferences between books and their contents; the first ones are mostly interesting to us. The references between books noticed by H. Scharfe include :

(1). III.10.4 : ***pathipramāṇaṃ durganiveśe vyākhyātam***[3].

(2). IV.3.4 : ***nāgarikpraṇidhāvagnipratiṣedho vyākhyātaḥ, niśāntapraṇidhau rājaparigrahe***[4].

(3). IV.4.1 : ***samāhartṛpraṇidhau janapadarakṣaṇamuktam***[5].

(4). IV.8.16 : ***evamatisaṃdadhyāt, yathā vā nikṣepāpahāre vyākhyātam***[6].

(5). IV.9.7-8 : ***corāṇāmabhipradarśane citro ghātaḥ/ iti rājaparigraheṣu vyākhyātam***[7].

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1. II.1.4.
2. III.1.1.
3. II.4.
4. II.36.15-20, I.20.4-9.
5. II.35.
6. III.12.38-50.
7. II.5.16-20.

(6). V.I.3 : ... *ye mukhyāsteṣu gūḍhapuruṣapraṇidhiḥ kṛtyapakṣopagraho vā siddhiḥ yathoktaṃ purastād, upajāpo ' pasarpo vā yathā pāragrāmike vakṣyāmaḥ*[1].

(7). V.6.17: *āpatpratikāreṇa vā sādhayet*: V.6.22 : *yathoktamāpatpratikāram kuryāt*[2].

(8). VI.1.7 : *amātyasampaduktā purastāt*[3].

(9). VI.1.9 : *durgasampaduktā purastāt*[4].

(10). VII.14.11 : ... *yathā 'patsu vyākhyāsyāmaḥ*[5] .

(11). VIII.3.56 : ... *niśāntapraṇidhau vyākhyātam*[6].

(12). IX.I.41 : *vyasanābhiyanaṃ vigṛhyayāne vyākhyātam*[7].

(13). IX.3.11: *abhyantarakopo bāhyakopātpāpīyānityuktam purastāt* ;
IX.5.31 : *ahibhayādabhyantarakopo bāhyakopātpāpīyānityuktam purastāt*[8].

(14). IX.6.5 : ... *daṇḍakarmikavacceṣṭeta*[9].

(15). XII.2.8 : ... *yathā saṅghavṛtte vyākhyātam yogavāmane ca*[10].

(16). XII.2.10 : *yaduktamātmarakṣitake rakṣyam*[11] . , .

(17). *uparodhahetavo daṇḍopanatavṛtte vyākhyātaḥ*[12].

(18). XIII.3.50 : *eta evāṭavīnāmapasarpāḥ kaṇṭakaśodhanoktāśca*[13].

From our own side we should add here some others of the same type to references adduced by H. Scharfe (we mean refernces between books).

So, in I.12.17 the compiler mentions spies occuring in book IV devoted to the *kaṇṭakaśodhana* : *kaṇṭakaśodhanoktāścāpasarpāḥ*.... In accordance with the text II.14.13-14 : *anapasāraḥ kaṇṭakaśodhanāya nīyeta / kartuśca dviśato daṇḍaḥ paṇacchedanam vā*, which means : "(If the client does) not (have) the justification, (the case) should be given to the "*kaṇṭakaśodhana*" (i.e. to officials—*pradeṣṭāras* ; inverted commas mean here and further the differenciation made by us of one of the topics of the *Arthaśāstra*), as regards the producer, the fine 200 (*paṇa*-s) is imposed on him or (he is punished) by means of cutting

1. I.12, I.13, I.14 1; XIII.1, XIII.3.
2. IX.3-7.
3. I.9.1.
4. II.3.
5. IX.5.9, 12, 20.
6. I.20.15-17.
7. VII.4.15.
8. VIII.2.3.
9. V.1.
10. XI,XIII.2.
11. I.21.
12. VII.15.9-12.
13. IV., Specially IV.5.14. H. Scharfe, *Untersuchungen zur Staatsrechtslehre des Kauṭalya*, Wiesbaden 1968, SS. 9-11.

of fingers. The text implies the division of functions between the overseer of a department (in the present case—the royal gold-smith) and the *pradeṣṭṛ*, the first of them by a malfeasanse punishes a person subordinate to him, but the second one—a person involved in malfeasanse (the *pradeṣṭṛ* must hold the investigation including the interrogatory)[1].

The text says : *pathi vyantare gūḍhadeśābhigamane maithunārthena śaṅkitapratiṣiddābhyām vā pathyanusaraṇe saṃgrahaṇam vidyāt*[2], i.e. the compiler implies here some situations which are intended to observe to be the adultery while the definition of that one is given in IV.12.35, where he addresses a reader in the most unambiguous manner showing that this case is under the jurisdiction of the *pradeṣṭṛ* and not of the *dharmastha*. He adduces in the chapter IV.12 examples of penalties prescribed in the case of the incidents of adultery which is considered to be a grave crime.

We should apply the text *vipattau kaṇṭakaśodhanāya niyeta*[3] (see the similarity of constructions here and in II.14.13), i.e. "in the case of the violent death (connected with assault and battery, a case) should be given to the "*kaṇṭakaśodhana*"[4].

The passage occurring in IV.I.57, on the contrary, refers to a reader to the chapter III.9 : *marmavadhavaiguṇyakaraṇe daṇḍapāruṣyam vidyāt*, i.e. "(If somebody)injures vital organs, (that) should be considered to be "assault and battery".

The text further tells us : *durbalam veśma śakaṭamanuttabdhamūrdhastambhaṃ śastramanapaśrayamapraticchannaṃ śvabram kūpam kūṭavapāṭam vā kṛtvā hiṃsāyāṁ daṇḍapāruṣyaṃ vidyāt*[5] (see constrtuctions with using of verb "vid"), i.e. "in the case of damage, (injured) in consequence of building (by somebody) of the unstable dwelling, vehicle without main supports, putting of a weapon without preservation, digging of the pit, well or wolf-hole without covering (them, all of them) should be considered to be "assault and battery". It is evident that a passage of this kind might appear only at the stage of the composing of the compendium.

The following statement is also interesting : *durgarāṣṭrayoḥ kaṇṭakaśodhanamuktam*[6], i. e. " "the kaṇṭakaśodhana" of the town-fortress and country-side is accounted".

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1. C.f. IV.8, especially IV.8.4.
2. III.4.21.
3. III.19.15.
4. IV.II.
5. IV.13.13.
6. V.1.1

One should observe all the places cited above as in their way joints showing the joining of separate fragments of the *Arthaśāstra*. Perhaps, similar connections in the texts of different books of the compendium may lead us to think to be an evidence of the independent functioning of these texts as separate treatises in earlier times. All of them do not appear to be interpolations which are artificially introduced into already composed text. We have seen that in several cases these texts influence the text, its structure and organize it to distinct extent[1].

From the foregoing discussion we can come to the conclusion that the *Arathaśāstra* is not only a unique literary monument of the school of the *Arthaśāstra*—it cannot be. One should explain that fact not only by the plenty of stuff contained in the only extant source of the *Arthaśāstra*. We are disposed to think that the *Arthaśāstra* contains various themes borrowed from different sources and from this standpoint it is a single exhaustive text.

On the other hand, the compendium has to be the last text of the tradition of the *Arthaśāstra*, because it completes the long evolution of the genre which dies with it. They often connect this phenomenon with the including of *Arthaśāstra* and its own themes into the *dharmaśāstra* that has influenced the loss by the *Arthaśāstra* of the authority of a legal text: the themes of the *Arthaśāstra* function onwards not in sources of their own body of literature. However, we consider it necessary to underline that the *Arthaśāstra* is becoming an authoritative legal text apparently just at the moment of the including into the *dharmaśāstra* when—one should think—the notion of an authoritative legal text appears; some times it is quoted as that one side with the latter one as if existing in the *dharmaśāstra* and being different from it. In our opinion, the process of the so-called "satiation" of a genre has almost particular importance for the "death" of the *Arthaśāstra* when themes of various trends of the activity of the *Arthaśāstra* having functioned irrespective of each other onwards find themselves to be brought together in limits of the titanic compendium—the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*. We suppose that possibilities of the genre's development find themselves thereby to be exhausted, the more as the important external motives of its functioning feeding and supporting the *Arthaśāstra* as a body of literature were lost (we mean here, that the *Arthaśāstra* has been actively functioning as heterogeneous "blocks of information" of the oral and written traditions—leading off with precepts to kings including registers fixing local customs, decrets and instructions to officials—originally studying utilitarian purposes then turning

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1. H. Scharfe, Untersuchungen....S.11.

into a science and simultaneously with the constitution of the Indian theory of state).

It did not occur with the *Arthaśāstra* what did with the *dharmaśāstra*, which, as is known in the Early Middle Ages, became an authoritative legal text. The *dharmaśāstra*-s were by themselves "training appliances", admonitions of *dharma* meaning to brahmnical pupil and only gradually, thanks to including of *vyavahāra* from the sources of the *Arthaśāstra* they began to play the role of legal treatises not destined to them (treatises on *dharma* obviously should not be accepted as juridical oncs). As regards the *Arthaśāstra*, this text probably from the very outset and during the whole period of time of its functioning did not become a practical guide. The development of the genre of the *Arthaśāstra* by itself had to be accompanied by the more and more high level of abstraction; equally purposes of the genre changed. And as time went on treatises of the *Arthaśāstra* retired from their own kernel—original components of the genre at least some of which were practical guides the treattises became more abstract.

The case was somewhat different if we address to *dharmaśāstra*-s, where the "satiation" of a genre, i.e. the exhaustive absolute elucidation of the collection of given themes occurred apparently at the stage of the composing ef early "great" *dharmaśāstra*-s. Later smṛtis speculated in themes given by the *dharmaśāstra* and often became scholastic classifications (reasoning hypothetic we should admit that under another circumstances it might happen to the *Arthaśāstra*). However external motives, quells feeding the genre were kept here (we should find them in the sphere of *ācāra*—the conduct of a devout Indian who continued to live by norms of brahmanical society in Mediaeval India). So, just motives of this kind prevented the "death" of the *dharmaśāstra*.

Thus, we are of the opinion how the 'satiation" of a genere is understood by us was not being accompanied by its "death" when surroundings feeding it continued to be vialable. In the latter case the appearance of numerous small, in most cases speculative by their nature, texts was inevitable.

THE STRUCTURE OF TIME IN BHAVABHŪTI'S UTTARARĀMACARITA

Ranjit Sarkar

Bhavabhūti has left three plays which have established him, in the history of classical Sanskrit literature, as a poet and dramatist of great merit. He has a unique original personality. While accepting most of the conventions laid down by past practice and by writers on the art of poetry, Bhavabhūti deviates considerably, in order to be able to express his own personal vision and interpretation of life. Sanskrit poets, for the most part, conceal their personality and hardly ever give expression to their own feelings of strength or weakness, success or failure. Their view is abstract and non-personal: their vision does not seem to well up from their personal experiences of joy and suffering.

Moreover, dramatic poetry has very little scope for the poet's persona. Yet we find in the second play of Bhavabhūti an extraordinary verse. The poet has found a way to speak in the first person and to give vent to his emotions directly:

Ye nāma kecid iha naḥ prathayanthy avajñāṃ
jānanti te kim api tān prati naiṣa yatnaḥ |
utpatsyate mama tu ko 'pi samāna-dharmā
Kālo hyayaṃ niravadhir vipulā ca pṛthvi ||

Those that fling disparagement at me know but little: I do not toil for them. But (some day) someone will appear with a vision like mine; for boundless is time, and earth wide.

These lines, let us note, are quoted in the prologue by the *sūtradhāra*, the stage-director as the poet's own remarks. The *sūtradhāra* gives us also

1. *Mālatī-Mādhava*, I.6.

various biographical data about the poet. These objective data are given in a most matter-of-fact style; whereas the direct and subjective utterance of the above verse is imbued with intense emotion. The latter is a rare enunciation of the poet's personality which will help us to get a more direct insight into his dramatic vision.

The critics are generally astounded by the vehemence of the tone, rather uncommon, to say the least, in the polished world of Sanskrit poetry. This impassioned spontaneity shows that what he says here is a sincere outburst of his feelings and thought.

Besides the feelings of frustration and disillusion we find here the expression of his preoccupation with time, *Kāla*. In fact, what he means to say is that the time in which he lives is antagonistic and unsympathetic to his creative genius. This verse thus becomes the exposition of his struggle with time—time past and present—and of his faith in time future: whatever be the pangs and sufferings, the injustices inflicted by men of little understanding they will one day disappear; the poet will be vindicated; true value will again be established.

It is, therefore, perhaps not altogether fortuitous that in Bhavabhūti's next play, the *Uttararāmacarita*, which is also his last play, and dramatically and poetically the most successful, should have for its central theme the struggle to conquer time, struggle to regain from time's clutches all the experience of the past. And this struggle becomes all the more pathetic when man has no hope, when present time and future time have nothing to offer him.

However, Bhavabhūti is not a pessimist. In spite of his critical outlook on life and his personal frustrations, in spite of the seemingly intractable complexities of time, he does not lose faith in the idea that finally time will bring happiness. Although we cannot recapture lost time, although our joys and happiness are concealed for a certain period, leaving only the sorrowful present and a blind future, creating thus a breach between the time past and the time present, yet in the end the breach is mended, past and present meet and the cotinuity of our joyous experiences, which is the real truth of existence, is reassured.

The struggle with time, in this play, unfolds itself in relation to the two central figures, Rāma and Sitā, the hero and the heroine, although many other characters are quite closely involved. If we take a look at the earthly men and women among the dramatic personae we note the presence of three generations. The most important representatives of the first are Janaka and

Kausalyā, of the second Rāma and Sītā, of the third Kuśa, Lava and Chandraketu. It is the second generation which is at the centre of the play; and the struggle with time is principally located there. Kausalyā, the mother of Rāma and Janaka, the father of Sītā, are both old. Future has very little to offer them; their struggle with time is allayed; time for them is essentially past time. In Act IV in which Kausalyā and Janaka meet, we see how they live in their past; they evoke sweet memories without any hope of the future. They have no future, when they look ahead of them, it is not for themselves but for the younger generations. The frequent use of the verb *smar*, "to remember", and its derivatives, in the speeches not only of Kausalyā and Janaka but also of Arundhatī and the old chamberlain, prove this beyond any shade of doubt. Let us take a few examples: Janaka, thinking of the childhood-days of his daughter, says:

> *.....vadana-kamalakaṃ śiśoḥ' .....S m a r ā m i*[1]
>
> I remember the little lotus-face of my child....

And Kausalyā says to Janaka:

> *eso so mahā-raassa hiaāṇando vaccāe vahue pidā rāesi. Haddhī haddhī s u m a r i d a h m i aṇivveda-ramaṇīe divahe| Hā devva savvaṃ evva taṁ ṇatthi*[2]*|*
>
> Here is he, the royal sage, who delighted the heart of the king (Daśaratha), the father of our dear daughter-in-law. Alas! Alas! I remember those lovely days when there was no sorrow. O God, all that is no more!

Again, Kausalyā, thinking of Sītā, says:

> *Hā vacche Jānaī kahiṃ si| s u m a r a m i d e ṇava-vivāha-lacchī-pariggahekka-mvṇḍaṇaṃ paphuranta-suddha-vihasidaṃ muddha-ṃuha-puṇḍariaṃ|*[3]
>
> O Jānakī, dear child, where are you? I remember the lotus of your innocent face which had for its only decoration the loveliness of being newly married, and on which quivered a pure smile.

And Janaka, recalling in his mind Daśaratha, cries out:....*k a t h a m v i s m a r y a s e*, "....how can you be forgotten?"[4]

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1. IV.4.
2. IV.9-10.
3. IV.15-16.
4. IV.16-17.

Kausalyā and Janaka live only with the thought of their children; all their memories are in relation to Rāma and Sītā. They have nothing to expect from time for themselves; so that their confrontation with time is abstract and in the mind only.

The third generation, on the other hand, has hardly any experience of time. The three boys live in the present and grow towards the future without any sense of loss. They are hardly conscious of the all-corroding effect of time. They know the past only from hearsay; Kuśa and Lava have learnt the story of Rāma and Sītā without feeling any kind of involvement.

At the centre of the real conflict stand the hero and the heroine, and indeed it is their story, it is their struggle.

The play is structured on two interpenetrating levels of time. There is at first the time that is actually represented on the stage—the actuating dramatic present. Underlying, and sometimes subduing it, there runs the current of time past. And finally, in the last act, the two currents meet.

On the level of actual time there is a gap of twelve years between the first and the second acts. From the second to the last act there is no break in the time-sequence. However, the gap between first and the second acts is important in respect to time past. There are two periods, before reconciling them with the actual present.

There are three important moments in the time-structure which we shall now proceed to unreveal: i. the picture-gallery (Act I), ii. Daṇḍaka and Pañcavaṭī revisited (Aets II and III) and iii. the dramatic representation (Act VII). With much ingenuity and the dramatic feeling for diversity Bhavabhūti has given us a comprehensive image af the time that is no more on the surface, but which underlies the present and finally determines the future.

i. THE PICTURE GALLERY

The first act begins at a time of happiness when all troubles seem to have ended. Rāma is the newly crowned king; and Sītā is pregnant, which too is an occasion of great joy. Past events, sad or joyous, seem no longer to have any power of affecting life; they have become matter of history, matter of art. In fact, the pictorial representation of these events is here the central dominant theme.

Aṣṭāvakra has just conveyed to the royal couple the benediction of the great sage Vasiṣtha, which brings to them the promise of a bright and

happy future. Rām says that realization follows the words of the great prmieval seers like Vasiṣtha, *ṛṣīnāṁ* (....) *ādyānāṁ vācām̐artho 'nudhāvati*[1]; their wishes cannot be vain.

Then enters Lakṣmaṇa to announce that the artist commissioned by him has painted the deeds of Rāma; and he invites Rām and Sītā to come and inspect the pictures. Rāma inquires up to which event the artist has painted. Lakṣmaṇa replies: *yāvad āryāyā hutāśane viśuddhiḥ,* "Up to the purification of the noble (Sītā) by fire". And Rāma cries out, as if in agony *śāntaṁ pāpam.* "Peace!". This is an expression used to exorcise words of evil omen. Here we have an example of dramatic irony by which Bhavabhūti creates a link between the past events and events which are yet to follow. The past which was thought to have vanished becomes real once more and further developments show that it is the past which will determine the next twelve years. It will be, in fact, this same question of purity, *viśuddhi,* which will induce Sītā's banishment.

The actors themselves, however, are not, as yet, aware of what is going to happen. They inspect the pictures. By this expedient the poet revives time gone by. It would be interesting to analyse fully the structure and significance of this visit; but in the limited scope of this paper we can only try to bring out a few salient features.

The pictures commented upon are mainly those which are related to both the hero and the heroine. We are not shown their childhood. The first real event is their wedding—the event of Mithilā. Both Rāma and Sītā are transported to the past. Sītā exclaims: *ahmo jāṇāmi tassim jevva padese tassiṃ jevva kāle vattāmi,* "Oh, I feel I am at that very place, at that very time!" And Rāma: *samayaḥ sa vartata ivaiṣa....*[2] "That time seems to have come back....."

But those days are gone. When they reach the scene of Ayodhyā, Rāma looks with tearful eyes and says,

> *smarāmi hanta smarāmi.*
> *jīvatsu tāta-pādeṣu nave dāra-parigrahe/*
> *mātṛbhiś cintyamānānāṃ te hi no divasā gatāḥ//*[3]
> I remember, alas, I remember.
> Gone are the days when father was still alive, when we were newly married and our mothers were full of cares for us,

1. I.10.
2. I.18.
3. I.19.

Other scenes follow, bringing sweet and bitter reminiscences. They see the past in retrospection: their exile, the beauty of the forests, the grandeur of the rivers, the mountains, deeds of heroism. Bhavabhūti deploys all his art, all his lyrical sensibility to depict the delight and anguish of the two characters.

After the scenes of joy begin those of sorrow. And here we get again the premonition of the future. In the mind of Sītā the past anxiety and fears appear to be present and real. Lakṣmaṇa shows a picture saying, *eṣa Pañcavatyām Śūrpanakhā-vivādaḥ*, "This is in Pañcavatī, the quarrel with Śurpanakhā". Sītā looks at it and all her past fears actualize, *hā ajjautta ettiaṃ de daṃsanaṃ*, "Oh my husband, I shall see you no more". This again is an instance of dramatic irony indicating, in spite of what Rāma says, " ....this is but a picture", *citram etad-* that events of the past can still be reproduced.

These and other scenes make the past real, so much so that one moment Rāma cries out:

> *vatsaitasmād virama viramātaḥ param na kṣamo 'smi/*
> *pratyāvṛttaḥ sa punar iva me jānaki-viprayogaḥ//*[1]
>
> Stop; O stop, brother, I can endure no more!
> It seems that the time when I was separated from Jānakī has come back.

Thus, the scene in the picture gallery evokes, on the one hand the past which is apparently lost, and on the other, the premonitions of the future which is yet to come.

This future becomes an actuality when Durmukha, the spy, enters and informs Rāma that the subjects entertain doubts about Sītā's purity, *viśudhi.* Rāma, although fully convinced of her purity, decides nonetheless, in the name of royal duty, to abandon her. And he asks Lakṣmaṇa to take her and leave her in the forest. Rāma and Sītā are thus separated; the past meets the present and seems to repeat itself in the present.

Here we would expect the dramatic anguish of the present to be represented on the stage and to unfold itself before the very eyes of the spectators. Bhavabhūti, however, takes a different course altogether. He lets this present time become time past before revealing its secrets. Twelve years pass by. These are added to the already existing past.

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1. I.33.

ii. DAṆḌAKA AND PAÑCAVAṬĪ REVISITED

In the next two acts, again the principal preoccupation of the playwright is with time. Rāma alone in the second act, and both Rāma and Sītā in the third, are brought back to the familiar scenes of Daṇḍaka and Pañcavaṭī. In the first scene, the evocation of past time was triggered off by the pictures, here it is done by the places the characters visited in the past. Poets often use this device to conjure up the past. At the sight of old familiar scenes and objects, reminiscences surge upto the conscious mind. As the pictures in the first act, so the familiar places in these, function as stimulants and make memory repeat to the present experience past observations and emotional movements.

In the second act Rāma enters the forest and when he sees the familiar scenes he exclaims :

pratyakṣān iva vṛttāntān pūrvān anubhavāmi ca/[1]

I experience the former events as if they were now actually present.

He recalls those days of exile which were made gay by the presence of Sītā at his side. But all that is past. The repetition of words like *pūrva* (II.26) *purā* (II.27) etc. enhances the sense of the bygone. Rāma has passed these twelve years trying to forget the past, but this confrontation with the old familiar things revives the lost memories. He has not been able to conquer time. Did he think himself stronger than time that lives in the memory ? He is amazed by the vehemence of the upsurge of past memories. "What is this that has happened to Rāma today"?—*kim idam āpatitam adya Rāmasya.* And he adds :

samprati hi
cirād vegārambhī prasṛta iva tīvro viṣa-rasaḥ
kutaś cit saṃvegāt pracala iva śalyasya śakalaḥ/
vraṇo rūḍha-granthiḥ sphuṭita iva hṛn-marmaṇi punar
ghanībhūtaḥ śoko vikalayati māṃ nūtana iva//[2]

Like a quick-acting strong poison (in the veins),
like a spearhead driven by some violent force,
like a scarred wound which has re-opened in the vulnerable point of the heart,
my heaped-up grief stuns me as it were brand-new.

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1. II.17.
2. II.26.

The image of the sacred wound which re-opens shows that the past is not really dead. And even Rāma cannot forever keep the past hidden in his heart.

He also realizes that the past cannot be recaptured in its old form. The places, though recognizable, have changed. The next verse suggests the passing of time; youth and vigour pass; the life-stream is lost in the sands of age; and fate experiences reversals. But the undercurrent remains the same :

> *purā yatra srotaḥ pulinam adhunā tatra saritāṃ*
> *viparyāsaṃ yāto ghana-virala-bhāvaḥ kṣiti-ruhām/*
> *bahor dṛṣṭam kālād aparam iva manye vanam idaṃ*
> *niveṣaḥ śailānāṃ tad idam iti buddhiṃ draḍhayati//*[1]

> Where formerly a stream flowed, there now remain its sandy banks alone; reversed are the thickness and the thinness of the trees' distribution. Seen after a long time the forest appears to me different, (but) the outline of the hills confirms my thought: it is the same.

Even without a thorough analysis of the verse, with just some poetic insight and the comprehension of the context, we can see that the concrete description suggests the picture of the changes that time effects in the life of man. The flowing stream symbolizes the dynamic life-force of youth, with strong emotions of love, heroism etc.; with the passage of time there remains only the sand—the dead remnants of emotions. There is also a reversal of fate expressed by the change in the forest: where the forest was dense formerly there the trees are now thinly distributed and sparse, and thinly covered spaces have now a dense vegetation.

But there is a difference between the operation of time in Nature and its separation in man. Pañcavaṭī has changed, but there is no absolute loss. On the contrary, in Rāma's life there is, he thinks, an irreparable loss, a total dislocation of the past from the present. He was here in Pañcavaṭī before, with Sītā, now he has come back, alone. The continuity in space—the landscape—and the rupture in time are intensely felt. Rāma says :

> *yasyāṃ te divasās tayā saha mayā nītā yathā sve gṛhe*
> *yat-saṃbandhi-kathābhir eva satataṃ dīrghābhir āsthīyata /*
> *ekaḥ saṃprati nāśita-priyatamas tām adya Rāmaḥ kathaṃ*
> *pāpaḥ Pañcavaṭīṃ vilokayatu vā gacchatu asaṃbhāvya vā//*[2]

1. II.27.
2. II.28.

> Pañcavaṭī, where I passed those days with her (Sītā) as in my own home; Pañcavaṭī, which was the subject of long talks keeping me ever engaged! How can I, wicked Rāma, the cause of the destruction of my dearest wife, now visit her (Pañcavaṭī) alone or else go away without greeting her!

Several structural elements of the verse assert the dislocation we have spoken of. We should note the opposition between, on the one hand, *te divasās*, "those days" and *tayā saha*, "with her", and on the other hand, *samprati*, "now" and *ekaḥ*, "alone". The purpose of this opposition is evidently to bring into focus the opposition of the past and the present.

In the next act Rāma goes to Pañcavaṭī. Divinities who saved Sītā and her twin sons she gave birth to in the forest, arrange to bring her there. But she remains invisible to Rāma's eyes; for, the moment has not come yet for their meeting. The scene of Pañcavaṭī, with the invisible presence of Sītā, becomes, so to say, the dramatic symbolic representation of the past as stored in Rāma's memory. It is the world of the psyche which has been given a palpable form.

In this act again, Bhavabhūti suggests metonymically the passage of time by showing the growth of a young elephant—*kari-kalabhaka*—which Sītā herself fed formerly with tender sprouts of *sallaki*, is now sporting in water with its mate, *vadhvā sārdhaṃ payasi viharan*[1]. Bhavabhūti uses this event also to re-establish the link between the past and the present. When Sītā hears that this elephant is in danger, attacked by the proud and strong chief of the tuskers, she, in a moment of extreme anxiety loses all sense of time; she is transported to the past when she was with Rāma, and cries out, *ajja-utta parittāhi parittāhi maha taṃ puttaam*[2], "My husband, save, save my little child"! But she recalls at once the present situation and faints. When she comes to herself she hears the voice of Rāma who has entered Pañcavaṭī. Thus two moments of time separated by many years and many events are symbolically brought together. And later Rāma too hears that the elephant, dear to Sītā, is attacked.

This reminds him sadly of the past, *ahaha hṛdaya-marma-cchidah khalv amī kathodghātāḥ*, "Oh, oh, the evocation of these tales of old truly pierces the deepest regions of my heart". The word *amī*, "those" signifies remoteness in time. The remote time is made present by the incident of the elephant;

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1. III.6.
2. III.6-7.

the further development shows that time has really flowed. The elephant has grown to be a strong tusker and has defeated the attacker. Sītā is astonished. She exclaims, *ahmahe īdiso me puttao saṃvutta*, "Oh, this is what my little child has become" !

As in the previous act, also here, the past is evoked with the poignancy of actual presence. Rāma says :

> *yatra drumā api mṛgā api bandhavo me*
> *yāni priyā-sahacaraś ciram adhyavātsam... /*[1]

> There where even the trees, even the animals are my friends, where for a long time I have lived with my beloved...

And memories well up in his mind, *tvām smarāmi*[2], "I remember you", he says to the peacock which used to dance when Sītā beat time with her hands. He also thinks that the peacock has not forgotten Sītā, *smarati girimayūra eṣa devyāḥ*[3], "this peacock of the hills remembers the lady..."

But these reminiscences are of the time of the exile of Rāma and Sītā from Ayodhyā. They were then together ; and Rāma knows all about that time. After that comes the transition to the second period of the time past, the twelve years of Sītā's banishment. This transition is marked in one single verse. Rāma remonstrates :

> *he bhavantaḥ paura-jānapadāḥ*
> *na kila bhavatāṃ devyāḥ sthānaṃ gṛhe 'bhimataṃ tatas*
> *tṛṇam iva vane śūnye tyaktā na cāpy anuśocitā/*
> *cira-paricitās te te bhāvāḥ paridravayanti māṃ*
> *idam aśaraṇaír adyāsmābhiḥ prasīdata rudyate//*[4]

> Oh you, people of the cities and the villages !
> You did not like, it was reported to me, that the queen should stay at my home,
> therefore, she, unmourned, was abandoned in the forlorn forest like a piece of grass,
> all things, long familiar, stir up my feelings—
> now, helpless, I weep. Pardon me.

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1. III.8.
2. III.19.
3. III.20.
4. III.32.

And then,

> *devyā śūnyasya jagato dvādasaḥ parivatsaraḥ/*
> *praṇaṣṭam iva nāmāpi na ca Rāmo na jīvati//*[1]
>
> Twelve years have gone by in the world bereft of the queen; even her name seems to be lost, and Rāma still lives.

All seems to be lost forever; there is no hope that time will give back what it has taken away, except may be in dream or hallucination. By the use of the supernatural, Bhavabhūti suggests the reliving of the past in a dream or hallucinatory state. The possibility of evoking a dream-state is also, it seems the justification of the supernatural used to make Sītā invisible. For Rāma, Sītā is nothing but a memory, a shadow. This act, by the way, is called *chāyā*, "shadow".

At one moment, when Rāma faints, as he does on occasions when he can no longer bear his overwhelming sorrow, invisible Sītā touches him: Rāma regains consciousness and feels strongly the presence of her. He says, ***punaḥ prāptā Jānakī***[2], "I have found Jānakī again". And when Vāsantī, who accompanies him, inquires, *kva sā* ? 'Where is she"?, he replies: ***paśya nanv iyaṃ purata eva***, "Look, isn't she in front of me"? This is indeed hallucination, raving, *pralāpa*, and Vāsantī does not hesitate to point this out. But to Rāma the presence is real, *kutaḥ pralāpāḥ*[3], "Why do you speak of ravings"? But to Vāsantī this is nothing but madness, ***kaṣṭam unmāda eva***[4], "Oh grief, this is sheer madness"!

And when the shadow-figure withdraws her hand Rāma realizes his folly, *hā dhik pramādaḥ*[5]. He too thinks then that it is only a dream, ***api khalu svapna eṣa syāt, na cāsmi suptaḥ***[6], "Is this then only a dream ? But I am not sleeping". And he takes the incident as a deception, ***vipralambha***, of his own fancy. The words ***pralāpa***, "raving", ***unmāda***, "madness", ***pramāda***, "mistake, insanity", ***svapna***, "dream" and ***vipralambha***, "deception", emphasize the hallucinatory character of the scene.

There is, in this act, another significant notion as regards the past. In their previous visit to these forests, when adversity separated them from each other, there was the possibility of action. Rāma then acted; he fought and

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1. III.33.
2. III.39-40.
3. III.40.
4. III.41.
5. III.41.
6. III.43.

killed Rāvaṇa and rescued Sītā. Time without Sītā did not appear endless. But the nature of the future time which he now envisages, is completely different :

> *kathaṃ tūṣṇīm sahyo niravadhir ayam tv apratividhaḥ*/[1]
>
> But how to bear silently this (separation) which has no end, no remedy ?

Sītā repeats the word *niravadhi*: *ṇiravadhi tti. hā hadahmi mandabhāiṇi*[2], "Without end...says he. Oh unhappy me, it's all over"! This word reminds us of the *niravadhiḥ kālaḥ*, "boundless time" which we have discussed in the beginning. We have seen there that, in spite of all adversities, Bhavabhūti did not lose his hope that some day everything will be all right. Has he now abandoned that optimistic view ? No. In the last act he justifies his optimism. The past, especially the period of the twelve years, is brought to light. And the representation of time past merges into the reality of time present.

III. THE DRAMATIC REPRESENTATION

In this last act there is a *garbhāṅka*, a play within a play. Like the picture-gallery and the revisiting of Daṇḍaka and Pañcavaṭī, this *garbhāṅka* has the function of representing the past. It is here that the events of the twelve years are revealed to the principal characters of the play. Vālmīki, the poet of the Rāmāyaṇa, who by his supernatural poetic vision knows the past, the present and the future of Rāma's story, has waited for this moment to disclose the past. Kuśa and Lava, the twin sons of Rāma and Sītā, brought up by Vālmīki, were taught the Rāmāyaṇa by the poet-sage. But he kept the latter part secret. In the fourth act there is a scene in which Bhavabhūti prepares the ground for the *garbhāṅka* of the last act. Janaka and Lava meet when Janaka learns that Lava knows the story of Rāma. He is curious to know that which is still hidden. He certainly believes in the visionary power of Vālmīki and questions the boy to find out what has happened since Sītā's banishment.

Janaka—*yadi tvam īdṛśaḥ kathāyām adhijñas tad brūhi tāvat pṛcchāmasteṣām Daśarathātmajānāṃ kiyanti kiṃ-nāmadheyāny apatyāni keṣu dāreṣu prasūtānīti.*

Lava —*nāyaṃ kathā-vibhāgo' smābhir anyena vā śruta-pūrvaḥ.*

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1. III.44.
2. III.45.

Janaka—*kiṃ na praṇīta eva kavinā.*

Lava —*praṇīto na prakāśitaḥ tasyaiva ko 'py eka-deśaḥ saṃdarbhāntareṇa rasavān abhineyārthaḥ kṛtaḥ. taṃ ca sva-hastalikhitaṃ munir bhagavān vyasṛjad bhagavato Bharatasya munes tauryatrika-sūtrakārasya.*

Janaka—*kim artham.*

Lava —*sa kila bhagavān Bharatas tam apsarobhiḥ prayojayiṣyatiti.*

Janaka—*sarvam idam ākūtataram asmākam*[1].

Janaka—If you are so well-versed in the story, then tell me I ask you first of all: how many children have these sons of Daśaratha ? What are their names ? And which wives have given birth to them?

Lava —Neither I nor anyone else has heard this part of the story.

Janaka—Has the poet not composed it yet ?

Lava —Composed yes, but not published. He has even turned one highly emotional episode of that section into a separate work for stage representation. And copying it with his own hand the divine sage has sent it to the venerable sage Bharata, author of the aphorisms on dramaturgy.

Janaka—What for ?

Lava —It is said that venerable Bharata will have it staged by the heavenly nymphs.

Janaka—All this makes me greatly curious.

Such is the preparation for the last act which opens with the entrance of Lakṣmaṇa announcing that he has received words from Rāma saying that Lakṣmaṇa and he have been invited by Vālmīki to see the play he has written. With the coming of Lakṣmaṇa we are almost back to where we began. In the first act the pictures were shown by Lakṣmaṇa and it was also he who had to bring Sītā to the forest. After that we have not seen him again. The justification of his appearance now is to recreate the link with the past.

The drama begins with the announcement by the director that this play enacts what the poet Vālmīki has seen in his seer-vision, *ārseṇa cakṣuṣā.* Thus the spectators know that the facts are not false or invented; they are true. Rāma forgets that it is but a play acted by heavenly nymphs.

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1. IV, 22-23.

He is overcome by his hopes and fears. Through this drama he experiences events of the past which, although intensely related to his life, were unknown to him. This is apparently a second-hand experience. But Bhavabhūti shows us that Rāma is earnestly absorbed in the play and forgets the separation between reality and drama. Thus, as regards Rāma, the experience is not at all second-hand. The past *really* unfolds itself. Lakṣmaṇa must recall him to the actuality of the present, *ārya, nāṭakam idam*[1], "Brother, this is a play".

The evocation of the past here is very different from the other two. The previous evocations in the picture gallery and the forests were a reliving of events experienced earlier. But now it is not a reliving : Rāma experiences these events for the first time. Gradually the events of the past twelve years unfold before his eyes. He is not disembodied spectator but participates in the actions ; he feels, for the first time, the emotions attached to these actions : the joy of knowing that Sītā has given birth to two sons who have been brought up and educated by Vālmīki ; and the sorrow when he hears the Earth, Pṛthivī, ask Sītā to come to the nether world : *ehi vatse pavitrikuru rasātalam*, "Come child, sanctify the nether region (with your presence)". And Rāma cries out, *hā priye lokāntaraṃ gatāsi*[2], "Oh beloved, you have gone to the other world" ! and further when Sītā leaves the stage with the Earth and the Ganges, Rāma believes that everything is over. And he faints.

But all is not really ended. Here, Bhavabhūti deviates from the well-known story. We have already ascertained that Bhavabhūti has an optimistic view of time. The past does not perish in a disaster. And therefore, Vālmīki arranges to lead, in a dramatic set-up, the meeting of the past and the present to a happy conclusion. The illusory representation on the stage is replaced by the appearance of the actual persons on the scene. There is not a real break between the *garbhāṅka* played by the nymphs and continuation of the events in the present.

When Lakśmaṇa sees Sītā coming back with the Earth and the Ganges, he exclaims :

> *āścaryam āryā saha devatābhyāṃ*
> *Gaṅgā-Mahībhyāṃ salilād udeti*/[3]

> ... Amazing ! My sister-in-law is rising from the waters, along with the goddesses Gaṅgā and Pṛthivī.

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1. VII.2-3.
2. VII.15-16.
3. VII,16,

We do not yet know the real signification of this scene. We think that it is the continuation of the play. But soon it dawns upon us that the play has ended and real Sītā has appeared on the scene. (In the case of a stage-representation of this play of Bhavabhūti, the part of Sītā in the *garbhāṅka* was certainly played by the same actress who impersonated Sītā in the whole play. This would confuse all the more the transition from drama to reality).

Rāma, coming to himself again at the touch of Sītā, cries out: *bhoḥ kim etat*[1], "Ho ! What is this"? He says this in joy, *sānandam*, according to the stage-direction. However, this first expression of joy did not come from the awareness of the reality. But very soon he grasps the truth of the scene and understands that this Sītā is not Sītā of the play, the nymph acting her part, but his wife herself. Thus the past merges into the present.

There is still another link. In the first act we have noticed that the pictures described the events up to the fire-ordeal of Sītā. Even after that ordeal the people doubted her purity. And there began all the misfortunes. This too is settled. Arundhatī, the symbol of conjugal faithfulness and purity, addresses "the people of the cities and the villages" and declares that Sītā is pure. All pay homage to her,. . . *paura-jānapadāḥ kṛtsnaś ca bhūtagrāma āryāṃ namas-kurvanti*[2] ". . . townsfolk and villagefolk and all creatures bow down to her".

Kuśa and Lava are also brought in. Thus the two different currents of time past, Sītā's and Rāma's, mingle together in a happy present.

The sense of the present and the further continuation in the future are suggested by the words of the far-seeing Vālmīki to Sītā, *vatse īdṛśy eva ciraṃ bhūyāḥ*, "Child, may you continue to live for a long time in this way". And the same suggestion is there in the appearance of Śatrughna after having exterminated the demon Lavaṇa, the expedition against whom started twelve years ago. Hearing this Lakṣmaṇa remarks, *sānuṣaṅgāṇi kalyāṇāni*[3], "Happy events follow continuously". Here, in fact, the play ends. The few lines that follow, in which Rāma says that he can hardly believe all this, and the final benedictory verse add nothing significant.

In this play Bhavabhūti seems to give dramatic form to his idea by using a two-levelled structure of time : the past encroaching at various moments on

1. VII.18-19.
2. VII.18-19.
3. VII.19-20.

the present. In fact, in several of the acts there is hardly any actual living; the past is a "second life" which Rāma lives. The present is used as an empty frame for picturing the past which is dislocated from the present. But in the last act the emptiness of the present is filled up, the current of time past rejoins that of time present.

Bhavabhūti's conception of time is thus justified. Time which is boundless, *niravadhi*, may bring evil, suffering, injustice, incomprehension, may be the source of pathos, *karuṇa*, but in the end, the past events, happy and unhappy, merge into a happy and continuous, *sānuṣaṅga*, future.

REST AND RECREATION IN ANCIENT INDIA

S. V. Singh

The play-instinct is universal. It is an aspect of universal life. It manifests itself in rest and recreation. The Sanskrit word 'Līlā' conveys the sense of play and the play-instinct also. This word contains in its sense the Indian outlook on play which amounts to India's philosophy of rest and recreation. It is through the use of this word that the metaphysics of the Vedānta explains the concept of the One appearing as the Many. The *Brahma-Sūtra* aphorism-*Loka-vattu līlākaivalyam*'[1] is meant to divine the animal or the human play-spirit in the heart of Reality with a view to accounting for the why and the wherefore of the play of life. Śaṅkara in his *Śārīraka-Bhāṣya* says that man has no other motive except that of play when he abandons himself to the pleasures and delights of the play-ground. Similarly, Rāmānuja in his *Śrī-Bhāṣya* states that playing with the ball and so on has nothing but play as its sole purpose. In the Vedic and classical Sanskrit language, various other words such as *Krīḍā*, *Utsava*, *Prasava*, *Vinoda*, *Khela* and so on stand for the various modes of expression of '*Līlā*' or play and the play-spirit. The ancient Vedic word '*Krīḍā*' is the only word to which the work '*Līlā*' approximates in sense. The Ṛgvedic verse[2] dedicated to the Maruts or the Air-gods characterises them as '*Krīḍayaḥ*' or brimming over with instinctive playfulness and as 'Bhrāja dṛṣṭayaḥ' or smiling with eyes shining in victory. It is a common sight that those who play in the play-ground seem to be over-flowing with life and dancing with the joy of life. Thus '*Krīḍā*' or play is a movement not from desire to the attainment of desire, but from pleasure to delight or from delight to ecstacy. The *Mahārthamañjarī*, a Śaiva philosophical text defines '*Krīḍā*' as '*Spanda*' or movement attended with delight. All the other synonyms of *Līlā* such as

1. 2.1.11.33
2. 1.87.33

Utsava, Prasava, Vinoda, Khela, etc. stand to refract the light of *Līlā* or *Krīḍā* in diverse directions.

In ancient India when play formed an integral part of life and when no compulsion was needed to play in the life of the community it was this concept of '*Līlā*' or '*Krīdā*' that dawned on the Indian mind. The concept is not only historically important. It is rather absolutely significant. The ancient Indians could never think of play as a movement or an organization, social or national or international, for that matter, far removed as their life was from the artificial life of to-day. As play does not form the integral part of our life to-day the society or the state or both have to launch play-movements and play-programmes. What the ancient Indians thought of play or rest and recreation was against the modern concepts of play. Play in ancient India was looked upon as an essentially highly pleasurable activity. It was a state of mind, a state of elation in which man felt himself filled with energy immensely beyond his ordinary reach. It was a state of intoxication giving one the feeling of a great increase in his personal force and value and vigour.

The play-ideal of ancient India was a life-ideal. It was *Rasa*-ideal to all intents and purposes. Life meant self-preservation and play, self-gratification. The one without the other was simply unthinkable. All rhythmic movements and dancing; all singing and drumming; all story-telling and mimicry; all games and sports; all arts and crafts; all hunting and fighting and, in fact, all the various forms of rest and recreation were conceived of as issuing from and ending in '*Rasa*'. While describing Pārvatī growing into womanhood, our national poet Kālidāsa advocates the ancient India's ideal of play or the '*Krīḍā-Rasa*'. For Kālidāsa, one of the greatest of our past countrymen and the greatest, perhaps, of the upholders of ancient India's ideals, *Krīḍā* was *Rasa* par excellance. It is probably this concept of *Krīḍā* as '*Rasa*' that emerged later in the '*Līlā-Nyāya*' of the great Indian Philosopher Śaṅkara in his explanation of the Being-becoming mystery of the one universal reality.

All this must not be mistaken to mean that ancient Indians were primitive or preliterate in their play attitudes. They were engaged in the same sorts of plays for which we remember the highly civilized nations, the Athenians or the Romans of the ancient world. In fact, the ancient Indians were more civilized than these great nations of the past. The Spartans and the Romans of the 5th century B. C. might have forgotten the life ideal of play in the heat of their military motives directing their games and sports, sword and spear-plays and horse back races and chariot-races. But the

ancient Vedic Indians engaged in similar pursuits and having similar motives of games and contests never seem to forget the real ideal of play, the *Rasa*, or the pleasure-ideal. We have a verse in the *Ṛgveda*[1] in which the Air-gods are described as past-masters of chariot-racing. The imagery of the Vedic poet in fact germinates in the soil of such contests of chariot-racing and horse-back racing which the warlike Vedic Aryans loved very much. Certainly such contests and tournaments must have been for a purpose—the purpose of teaching people the art of war and making them fit for any eventuality. Such games and sports were sponsored and directed by the society or the state to serve military ends. But the people, the contestants and the spectaters alike had their eyes fixed on '*Rasa*' in such feats of physical strength and skill.

Much has been said about the art-attitudes of the Athenians of the 6th-5th century B. C. directing their grand gymnastics and their use of the lyre and the flute. Their olympic games must have been wonderful spectacles. But the ancient Indians were not ignorant of such games and sports, such olympics of physical force and fitness. *Mahābhārata* (*Virāṭa Parvan*) speaks volumes about the olympics of the period, the manly games and sports of the '*Ārālikā*-s', the elephant—fighters, the '*Govikarta*-s', the bull-fighters, the '*Niyodhaka*-s', the wrestlers and so on. The motive of encouragement of such plays by the society or the state was no other than the making of the youth into soldiers, artists, sportsmen, athlete and statesmen all in one. But even then the '*Rati-Vivardhana*' or the *Rasa*–aspect of the play does not seem to be lost sight of.

We know a lot about the religious attitude of the Roman people of the 5th century A. D. and we know that beautiful cathedrals and master-pieces of painting and music came to be evolved out of the religiously harnessed play-spirit of the Roman nation. But we must also know that similar attitudes directed the play-spirit of ancient Indians too. It was the Emperor Aśoka, who, first of all gave the religious attitude of play his royal consideration and support with the result that the whole country from one end to the other became filled with master-pieces of sculpture and monasteries. Though the imperial mandates emanating from Aśoka seem to ban the '*Samāja*-s' or the public gathering on shows and carnivals and games and sports, but, his idea behind such mandates was not to kill the play-instinct of the people. The purpose of such royal dictates was simply to sanction some aesthetic plays that had some distinct religions flavour,

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1. 1.87.3

The obsession of the European nations of the middle ages with scientific attitude of rest and recreation in their national systems of gymnastics and national promotions of plays is a well-known fact. But, we should also know that people in ancient India, say in the Golden Age of the Guptas were swayed by similar attitudes in the encouragement of plays and the fostering of the playspirit in the youth of the community. The poet Bāṇa of immortal fame in the history of Classical Sanskrit Literature suggests in his *Kādambarī* the scientific attitude of the state towards the inclusion of games and sports in the educational curriculum of the aristocracy as well as of the laity. Even when plays were encouraged by the society or the state on scientific motives, the play-spirit, the spirit of '*Rasa*' was not allowed to be killed by any undue pressure on formal gymnastics or compulsion on physical exercises as is the case to-day with most of the states in the modern world.

We know the social tendencies of the modern play-movements all the world over. We know that people are taught to look upon life as a great game, to understand the sense of social relationships in the class rooms and the play-fields and to treat extra-school activities as much important as the school-activities. We also know that the problem of mass consumption of leisure is looming large before the modern democratic states and governments. The surplus energy of children, adults, men of different walks of life on Saturday afternoons and Sundays has become a regular concern of the state. We see physical education making rapid strides in the public education of to-day. We know that the following seven cardinal principles of recreation in the education of the children irrespective of the sex have become common ideas all over the world :—

(i) Health
(ii) Command of the fundamental processes
(iii) Worthy home memberships
(iv) Vacation
(v) Citizenship
(vi) Worthy use of leisure, and
(vii) Ethical character.

Various types of agencies have sprung up to find varied types of recreational opportunities for the people of the present-day world. Playgrounds, parks, bathing clubs, boating clubs, dramatic associations, art-musia, music societies, athletic clubs, theatres, motion pictures, radio broadcastings and so on are all but the happy results of the social attitude of the states towards the promotion of the play-activities. But, when we look at the sketch of character of the '*Nāgaraka*-s' i. e, ladies and gentlemen by Vātsyāyana in his *Kāma*-

Sūtra[1] what strikes us most is the democratic attitude of the Indian society of the 3rd-4th centuries A. D. towards recreational facilities and opportunities given to the people irrespective of caste and creed in the days of governments of aristocratic and monarchical colour. It is indeed such outlook on play-activities of aesthetic and artistic forms that has been responsible for keeping aloft the high ideal of '*Rasa*' as the central play-ideal in the past ages of our country. Play movements and play-organisations of to-day were not needed in those days even when the recreational tendencies were much the same. The reason seems to be this that while the modern play-problem is the by-product of our mechanical life in the industrial civilization of to-day, the ancient Indian social attitude towards play was in keeping with the natural rural civilization of the times.

In the various outlooks held from time to time on recreational activities of our people the ideal of *Rasa* or to life-ideal of play has been the central ideal. The modern world has been rejecting theories after theories of play- or recreation. For instance, the following traditional theories of rest and recreation have become outdated and outmoded :

(i) The surplus energy theory of Schiller and Spencer.
(ii) The recreative theory of Lord Kanes
(iii) The relaxation theory of Patric
(iv) The recapitulation theory of Stanley Hall, and,
(v) The Cathartic theory of Aristotle as developed by Groos, Carr and other psychologists.

The theory holding the ground to-day is the self-expression theory of rest and recreation. Though it is true that the self-expression theory of play or recreation is of universal acceptance at present, a day may come when consequent upon advanced psychological researches into the motivations of play, it may give way to some other theory and that to yet another and so on. But, the ancient Indian theory of recreation or the *Rasa*-theory is so very essentially engrained in the being of man that it may cease to exist when man ceases to exist.

Our *Rasa*-theory includes in its fold the surplus energy theory of play which treats the play as the aimless expenditure of exuberant energy. Moreover, it can meet the charge of definite aims in such plays as ball-games, card-games, races, dances and arts and crafts that can not be met by surplus energy theory. When our aestheticians who have developed the *Raṣa*-theory

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1. 1.4.

in the context of the literary arts, speak of the '*Samucchalana-svabhāva*' of the mind of the creative artist and of the '*Pūrṇī-bhaviṣyadrasā-svādāṅkurībhāva*' of the heart of the spectator, they do not mean what is meant by the expenditure of energy in the surplus energy theory. Our *Rasa*-theorists meet the charge of aimlessness of the expenditure of energy by relating the *Rasa*-creation and the *Rasa*-realisation to the needs of life, the fourfold attainments of life.

The recreative theory of play which urges people to flee from empty idleness to active recreation in play is not foreign to the idea the *Rasa*-theory which solves the problem of the recuperation of those who have exhausted their energy as well as those who have superfluous energy. When *Rasa* is the realisation of our inmost being in the day-to-day activities of life, the play of life, the problem of fatigue presents no difficulty.

The relaxation theory of play is a part only of the full fact of the *Rasa*-theory of recreation. The theory holds good in the present-day world of laboratories, factories, banking organisations, stores and the streets. But the world of the children and the adolescent is beyond the reach of this theory. With our *Rasa*-theory the case is entirely different since it bases its findings on the deep-seated human instincts and emotions which do not change with the changes in the outer structure of our life.

The recapitulation theory of play which means that man plays because when he plays he remembers his lost paradise or recapitulates the 'Culture epochs' in the cultural advancement of his race, is, more or less, the hidden foundation of the super-structure of our *Rasa*-theory. The nine fundamental emotions of love, anger, etc. are the emotions of the human race in all the epochs—past, present as well as future.

Aristotles' Cathartic theory of play as developed by eminent psychologists like Groos, Carr and others may bear some comparison with India's theory of play i. e. the *Rasa*-theory. We know that the Cathartic theory originated from the analysis of tragic dramas with a view to maintaining the capacity of the tragedies to free our soul from injurious pent-up emotions. We also know that its application to recreational activities in general means that plays help us in relieving ourselves of our pent-up emotions. For example, when children indulge in the fighting-plays their emotions of anger become subsided after getting adequate opportunity for their expression. The case of the *Rasa*-theory is different. It does not take its being in the analysis of tragic dramas since India had no tragic dramas. It emerges, from the analysis of the dramatic art in general. But it has had a deep cultural

foundation. It was not a brilliant discovery of the sage Bharata. The ***Rasa*-theory** did not originate from the well-known *Rasa-sūtra* of the ***Nāṭyaśāstra*** of Bharata. Since ages before Bharata, the people of India had been recognizing certain types of human consciousness as essentially '*Rasa*' or aesthetic delight. The choice of the word '*Rasa*' out of various other words is also extremely significant. Human beings, for some reason or the other, may not equally be keenly sensitive to the experience of other organs of sensation, but the experience of the palate is such that it cannot be missed. The identification of the Ultimate Reality with *Rasa* in the ancient Vedic and post-Vedic literature does not necessarily mean that *Rasa* as a distinct aspect of human consciousness came to be acknowledged, first of all, in the spiritual sphere of life. In fact, the analysis of the experience of the Ultimate Reality as Rasa was a reflex from the analysis of the experiences of the physical spheres of life.

In the *Ṛgveda*[1] we come across two words namely '*Utsava*' and '*Prasava*' in the context of the description of the wars between Indra and Vṛtra. For the people of the Ṛgvedic period, it seems, wars between two armies facing each other in the battle-fields were '*Utsava*-s' or olympic feats of strength and valour. The Ṛgvedic imagery of the wars as '*Utsava*-s' can mean only this that games and sports of vigour and physical force were prevelant in the times long past. The '*Utsava*-s' or the competitive contests and '*Prasava*-s' or non-competitive plays were meant to afford delight to the spectators. Though the word '*Rasa*' is not used in such contexts, the idea of *Rasa* or aesthetic delight is implied in the expression '*Madannanu*'[2] which suggests jubilations and delightful sensations of the spectators of the wars between the gods and the demons.

In later times we find the word '*Rasa*' used in contexts other than those of poetry and drama. The poet-dramatist Bhāsa who is dated before Kālidāsa, uses the word '*Krīḍārasa*' to express his personal impressions of creative recreations afforded by flute-playing of his times when '*ghaṭā*-s' and '*samasyā*-s' and '*samāja*-s, all meaning various recreational activities were the order of the day.

The word '*Krīḍārasa*' seems to have become almost a catch-word with the Sanskrit poets of eminence much before the formulation of the '*Nāṭya-rasa*' concept of the dramaturgists. Even Bharatamuni, the first formulator of the *Rasa*-theory of drama finds in recreational activities alone a fit analogy for the dramatic performance called by him as '*Krīḍanīyaka*'. All these

1. 1.102.1.
2. *Ṛgveda*, 1.102.1.

cumulative evidences ultimately mean that the application and analysis of the playful activities and the play-spirit of the period formed the basis for the appreciation and analysis of the aesthetic experiences of the art of the drama and poetry. The theory of '*Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa*' approximating 'empathy' in sense is best understood by the analogy of pleasurable experiences of the games of foot-ball and cricket and so on where the audience identifies itself with the playing parties, winning or losing.

Be it as it may, the theory of activities of play or recreation is no other than the theory of '*Rasa*' It is the abundance of joy in the player and the play-spectator i. e. '*Rasa*' that explains all popular interest in recreational activities. The theory of the purging of the pent-up emotions of Aristotle's Catharsis is, more or less, akin to the theory of the '*Vyabhicāribhāva*-s' of Indian aesthetics. But, the *Rasa*-experience is created and recreated out of the '*Sthāyibhāva*-s' or the basic permanent instincts and emotions which influence the life of man in the attainment of the objects of life.

Now, we have to see whether our *Rasa*-theory contains the essential elements of the self-expression theory of rest and recreation. The advocates of the Self-expression theory of play say that the theory is so comprehensive as to account for any and every phase of play. This theory, as we know it, takes its roots in the rich soil of the advancing sciences of sociology and social psychology of the 20th century. The postulates of the theory are :

(1) That man being an active dynamic creature must play for the simple reason that he is alive. Even when man is relieved of the pressure of compulsions of the needs of the body and mind, he must move to seek activity. Why does man rest or relax is no problem. The problem is why does he engage himself in this or that form of rest or recreation ?

(2) That man engages himself in such play forms for which his organism is physiologically and anatomically adopted.

(3) That man likes those playful activities alone for which his organism is physically fitted.

(4) That man's play-patterns are such as are in full harmony with his social and physical environment.

The above postulates help us conclude that play can be explained only as self-expression which the individual must seek. Being what he is with the physiological and the anatomical structure he has, with the degree of physical fitness he has and with the psychological inclination he has, all that is necessary to explain play is the fact that he seeks to live, to use his abilities,

to express his personality—this is how Mitchell and Mason conclude. As with man so with animals play is the sign of life and activity.

The motivations of our play-activities according to above—stated self-expression theory are :

A. Our habits are the drives which lead to play. The individual being what he is and possessed of the motives and desires he has, seeks self-expression, seeks life (Mitchell and Mason),

B. Our physiological urges and our attitudes and sentiments defined by our social environment predispose us to seek self-expression in certain types of play-activities.

C. The universal desires of men, such as the desire for new experience, the desire for security, the desire for response, the desire for recognition, the wish for participation, the wish for the aesthetic experince and so on are forces of life to impel one to play.

So far as the advantages of the self-expression theory over the traditional theories of play are concerned, the following have been carefully noted :

(i) That this theory is an advance over the surplus energy theory, the recreation theory and the recepitulation theory in the sense that it explains man's play on the motivations of habits and attitudes since instincts or inforn impulses have been proved to be no persistent stimulae dominating the behaviour of man.

(ii) That this theory alone can explain individual differences in play based as it is on learned responses, habits and attitudes of man.

(iii) That this theory accounts for the fact that play-activities rather distasteful in the beginning become tasteful with mastery over the skills of the play.

(iv) That this theory alone finds a scientific explanation for man's tendencies to set goals of proficiency in play-activities which remain unexplained on inborn or instinctive desires.

(v) That this theory alone explains the fact of our courting dangerous and thrilling experiences more as a result of our life in society than as the result of our inborn impulses.

But, if we closely follow the self-expression theory with all its scientific superstructure we can safely say that the theory does not maintain any difference between work and play. It means that the *Krīḍā-rasa* concept is

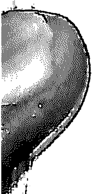
missing here. It is not self-expression but persistent effort on the part of man that leads him to attain fame or to attain pleasure or to excel others in life's attainments. Even when the self-expression theory draws out lines of demarcation between drudgery and work on the one hand and work and play on the other, what it says about play, namely, that play is self-expression for its own sake, does not seem to be unsaid in the ancient Indian theory of play, the *Rasa*-theory. According to the ancient Indian concept of '*Rasa*' as realised in the field of the literary and the dramatic arts, we know that *Rasa* is an aesthetic experience essentially attended with delight and ecstasy and as such it cannot be realised in the practical pursuits of our daily life, since the demands and insistences of our day-do-day life in our social or physical surroundings are such as cannot allow our experiences to be necessarily delectable. It means that there is an absence, here, of what the *Rasa*-theorists call as '*Rasāsvāda-pratyaya*'. Moreover, the self-expression theory, which explains the play-activities of the present-day individual, presently means to say that no one in the social set-up of the past ages has ever been able to express his self to its unbounded possibilities and that it is only the man of the present-day social set-up who has learnt, first of all, the value of self-expression. If by self-expression we mean the expression of the inhibited tendencies of the individual, it can certainly be concluded that the theory leads to undesirable results. In such a view of self-expression only the biological aspects of human life like eating and drinking, sleeping and resting the limbs, fearing some evil to fall and sexual inclinations are touched upon. But the *Rasa*-theory of play is a theory of life of culture and civilization. The 'self' in the self-expression theory of play consists of the bundle of universal wishes of mankind—the desire of new experience, the desire for security, the desire for response, the desire for recognition and so on. But such a self is being expressed in activities other than the activities of play or recreation. We should not confuse play as play with an ulterier aim, say, the ball-play of a boy aspiring to become a star or a girl dancing to become a beautiful dancer. The play with ulterior motives to the Indian mind, is no real play, but play functioning in all essentials as work.

The self-expression theory of play or recreation means that the individual playing or expressing his self or living his life fully gets the pleasure as if it were a bunch of sweet grapes from the heaven. But the *Rasa*-theory of play of ancient India looks upon play as the creation and the realisation of *Rasa* or bliss that is already there in the inner core of our being and requires to be revealed, unrevealed as it is in our practical utilitarian day to-day life.

Our *Rasa*-theory of play has been in slow but steady evolution since ages, since the Vedic times to the time of Bharata. It had its roots in the

fertile soil of the sensual pleasures offered by such plays as chariot-racing or horse-racing of the ancient Vedic period. It germinated in the sensory plays of archery, wresting, elephant-fighting, lion-fighting etc. in the great open amphitheatres of India of the epic age. It sprouted forth in the implicit or explicit recognitions of the delightful experiences of beauty in form and beauty in general rhythm. With case and elegance it budded forth in the perceptions of beauty in colour, beauty in sound and beauty in motion. Its full-flowing could not be delayed as appreciative people experiencing aesthetic delight in the creations of the arts of drama and poetry started discussing and analysing and formulating their experiences.

So far as the appreciative side of the recreational activities is concerned, it is only the *Rasa*-theory of ancient India that gives the greatest possible satisfaction to our mind. But the question remains : does the *Rasa*-theory touch upon the creative aspect of recreational activities ? The answer is : It does. Though it does not say the ordinary things made much of by the modern play-theorists, according to whom one who plays does so for the satisfaction of various wants—the want of novel experience, the want of recognition, the want of response, the want of participation, the want of the aesthetic and so on. But it says something striking when it does not differentiate between the creative and the appreciative aspects of play and recreation. According to the *Rasa*-theory the inner-motivations of one engaged in playful-activities is '*Rasa*' pure and simple. When '*Rasa*' is involved in the production as well as the consumption of play or recreation, it is but natural to believe that no extraneous factor can crop up to confuse the main issue that life is play and play, life.



ON THE TEXT, TRADITION AND MEANING OF THE KAṬHA UPANIṢAD

R. Morton Smith

The text of the Upaniṣads has usually been taken to resemble the law of the Medes and Persians that altereth not. If so, brahmans, composing verse, did not know how to scan, or were such botchers that with a language of flexible word order, they could still not make good metre. This I do not believe, and therefore, hold that emendation is sometimes justifiable. The processes that made the Śaunaka and Paippalāda recensions of *Atharvaveda* so different, I suggest, have also been at work on the Upaniṣads, which cannot be supposed to have been canonical immediately on composition; and might well have had more difficulty in becoming so with the heresies flourishing ubiquitously amid the orthodox. In this essay we hope to throw light on the original text, meanings, and of the internal chronology of the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad.* Reüse of old material was a constant matter, indeed a necessary way of getting authority for new doctrine, and some instances we have given in *ABORI* 1968 (Remeaning Philosophy). In this article I am concerned with original meanings, and not with later classical understandings, such as those of Śaṅkara, which involve frequent mistranslations and misinterpretations, not out of incompetence, but for doctrine's sake.

Weller makes the Upaniṣad very composite; after close study I have much more sympathy with him than I expected. Initial and final verses may well show change of metre, but changes should not be continual. By the time of the core of the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* many unpoetic matters are going into verse, and this may well also apply to teachers' explanations of Upaniṣadic verses; the result is our text is full of glosses and commentary. A priori we would put *triṣṭubh* passages before the *anuṣṭubh* in the first part, *KU.*, 1.1-3; this is not obvious of the second part. The *triṣṭubh*-s of 1-3 are surprisingly advanced, and would place it after *Muṇḍaka, Śvetāśvatara* 1-2, and *Praśna*; the

anuṣṭubh-s would agree. This is a later date than one would expect conventionally, and chronology may be disturbed by literary ambition. But there is no clear reason why *Kaṭha* cannot be as late as the 4th century BC. There are in fact prakritisms as well as Vedisms in the text.

In translating we do not believe in inserting things not in the text, as the vulgate often must.

1.1 Has there been a versified version between *TB.* and *KU.*? The first line is very near an *anuṣṭubh*; .4 is practically a *śloka*, and .2 is *triṣṭubh*.

uśan ha vai Vājaśravasaḥ sarvavedasaṁ dadau./
tasya ha Naciketā nāma putra āsa//

Om vai, insert *sam* (*sarva*-) and we have a *śloka*: pada c has a *triṣṭubh* ending, and .2 is *triṣṭubh*.

Vājaśravas deliberately made a dedication of all his possessions. His son was Naciketas.

.2 taṁ ha kumāraṁ santaṁ dakṣiṇāsu nīyamānāsu śraddhā āviveśa// (note hiatus)

Faith entered him, though a child, as the sacrificial cows were being led in.

.3 so 'manyata pītodakā jagdhatṛṇā dugdhadohā nirindriyāḥ/
anandā nāma te lokās tān sa gacchati tā dadat//

Have we an abbreviated story here? Or better, inversion of ab and cd would ease the construction. We would then translate :

Joyless are these worlds. He will go to them giving these with their water drunk, grass eaten, milk milked, without strength.

c is a tag we find in *Iśa* and *BAU*, of the late 6th century.
We should note the Vedic injunctive; *sa* makes the remark personal.

.4 sa ha uvāca pitaraṁ tāta kasmai māṁ dāsyasi
dvitīyaṁ (ca) tṛtīyaṁ (ca)
tam hovāca Mṛtyave tvā dadāmiti

ca would make c metrical, d and most of e are missing, in f prakritic *ti* for *iti* makes a good *anuṣṭubh*. Again, hiatus in a.

He spoke to his father "Daddy, to whom will you give me?" Twice and thrice. He said to him, "To Death I give you".

.5 bahūnām emi prathamo bahūnām emi madhyamaḥ/
kiṁ svid yamasya kartavyaṁ yan mayādya kariṣyati//

Of many I go first, of many I go middle. I wonder what is Yama's business that he will do by me today,

The vulgate takes *yamasya* as gen. for dat, (prakritic), and father as the subject of the verb; but he is not mentioned, and Yama is the natural subject grammatically. Here we leave the Brāhmaṇa.

.6 anupaśya yathā pūrve pratipaśya tathāpare/
sasyaṁ va martyaḥ pacyate sasyaṁ va jāyate punaḥ//

Look along, as are the ancients, look back, so are the later men. A mortal ripens like corn and is born again like corn.

This verse could be a gloss on .5; c has a very bad *vipulā* in *IM*, and we need the prakritic *va* for *iva* to scan. cd certainly belong to the full belief in *saṃsāra*, and contradict *BAU.*, 3.9.28, V.7, where man cannot grow again. The *saṃsāra* idea is introduced sharply, and is not continued here.

There is again a narrative gap, for in .7 Yama is being spoken to. These verses .6-7 or .5-7 are not parallelled in *TB*, and may come from another version of the story, for *triṣṭubh*-s take up the rest of the *Valli*.

.7 vaiśvānaraḥ praviśati atithir brāhmaṇo gṛhān/
tasyaitāṁ śāntiṁ kurvanti hara Vaivasvatodakam//

A brahman guest enters a house like the common fire. People do this calming of him. Bring water, Yama.

.8 āśāpratīkṣe saṃgataṃ sūnṛtāṃ ca
iṣṭāpūrte putrapaśūṃśca sarvān/
etad vṛṅkte puruṣasyālpamedhaso
yasyānaśnan vasati brāhmaṇo gṛhe//

His hope and expectation, his meeting and joy, his sacrifice and finished work, all his sons and beasts, this of a silly man in whose house he stays unfed, a brahman roots up (to himself, Atn.)

or a better order, . . one uproots . . in whose house he, a brahman remains unfed. *iṣṭāpūrte* I take as his sacrifice and what he has already won by sacrifice. Could *sūnṛtā* have had the Avestan sense, *saṃgatam*, what has come to him, his success, and his *ability* ? It is less of a transition than the vulgate.

.9 tisro rātrīr yad avātsīr gṛhe me
anaśnan brahmannatithir namasyaḥ/
namas te astu brahman svasti me'stu
tasmāt prati trīn varān āvṛṇīṣva//

Since you have spent three nights in my house unfed, an honourable guest, O brahman, honour be to you, brahman, well-being be to me. Against that, choose three wishes.

The mixture of *sandhi* and hiatus is common in later Vedic texts. In d we need *āvṛṇiṣva* to scan. Again there is a gap in the narrative, possibly filled in by prose originally.

.10 śāntasaṃkalpaḥ sumanā yathā syād
vītamanyur Gautamo mābhi mṛtyo/
tvat-prasṛṣṭam mābhivadet pratīta
etat trayāṇām prathamaṃ varaṃ vṛṇe//

So that Gautama may be with a calmed temper, good mind, with his anger at me gone, (and) approached, may greet me freed by you, that wish the first of the triple ones. I choose.

.11 yathā purastād bhavitā pratīta
Auddālakir Āruṇir matprasṛṣṭam/
sukhaṃ rātrīs śayitā vītamanyus
tvāṃ dadṛśivān mṛtyumukhāt pramuktam//

Approached Auddālaki Āruṇi will be as before, O you released by me. He will lie comfortable through the nights when he has seen you released from the jaws of death.

pratīta must be parallel to the previous *pratīta*, and cannot change voice. *prasṛṣṭam*, accusative is not easy to fit in grammatically, but the vocative is easy, and the easier corruption followed by an s.

The patronymics have gone wrong. Auddālaki should make a brother of Śvetaketu, and Aruṇa is a great-grandson of Vājaśravas. It is simple to suppose that the author had no great sense of chronology, and Uddālaka Āruṇi and his son had swamped the memory of their predecessors.

.12 svarge loke na bhayaṃ kiṃcanāsti
na tatra tvaṃ na jarayā bibheti/
ubhe tīrtvā aśanāyāpipāse
śokātigo modate svargaloke//

In the heaven world there is no fear whatsoever, you are not there, one is not afraid of old age. Having crossed over both hunger and thirst, going beyond pain, one is happy in the heavenly world.

.13 sa tvam agniṃ svargyam adhyeṣi mṛtyo
prabrūhi taṃ śraddadhānāya mahyam/
svargalokā amṛtatvam bhajantī
etad dvitīyena vṛṇe vareṇa//

You there, Death, know the fire connected with heaven. Tell it to me, for me who am believing. Those who have the heavenly world partake of immortality. I choose this with my second wish.

We are still in the Brāhmaṇa world, far away from the ideas of the third wish.

The Nāciketas fire is originally for avoiding *punarmṛtyu.*

.14 pra te bravīmi tad u me nibodha
svargyam agniṃ Naciketaḥ prajānan/
anantalokāptim atho pratiṣṭhāṃ
viddhi tvaṃ etaṃ nihitaṃ guhāyām//

I will tell it for you. Pay attention to me, Naciketas, learning the fire connected with heaven. Know you it then the basis, having as its attainment the unending world, placed in the secret place, cavity of the heart.

prajānan should go with *nibodha*. *nihito guhāyām* is on old tag by now.

.15 lokādim agnim tam uvāca tasmai
yā iṣṭakā yāvatīr vā yathā vā/
sa cāpi pratyavadat yathoktam
athāsya mṛtyuḥ punar evāha tuṣṭaḥ//

He told him that fire which has the world as its first-fruit, what bricks, how many indeed how indeed. And he repeated that as it had been spoken. Then Death pleased, spoke to him again.

vā must be for *vai*, as 'or' makes no sense. I do not like *lokādi* as a tatpuruṣa; the Nāciketas fire is for winning the next world, and may well begin with this.

.16 tam abravīt prīyamāṇo mahātmā
varaṃ tavehādya dadāmi bhūyaḥ/
tavaiva nāmnā bhavitāyam agniḥ
sṛṅkāṃ cemāṃ naikarūpāṃ gṛhāṇa//

Being pleased the great-souled one said to him, "I give you here today a boon further. This fire will be with your name. Take this? jewel of many forms.

Again in b we have the prakritic gen. for dat. as with *asya* above. *aneka*—will not scan, hence our emendation.

.17 tri Ṇāciketas tribhir etya sandhiṃ
trikarmakṛt tarati janmamṛtyū/
brahmajajñaṃ devam īḍyaṃ viditvā
nicāyyemaṃ śāntim atyantam eti//

The man of three Nāciketas fires, coming to the dusk with three, thrice, doing three rites, crosses over birth and death. Knowing the adorable god who knows what is born of the brahma, reverencing him, he goes endlessly to peace.

The vulgate *imāṃ śāntim,* this peace is difficult, as there is no reason for 'this'. Nicāyya I take in the *ṚV.* sense, and there might be a solution with imām; "observing reverently the quietening down of this fire here, he goes to that which has no end". This is more in line with ab, and is probably better.

.18 tri Nāciketas trayam etad viditvā
ya evaṃ vidvāṃś cinute Nāciketam/
sa mṛtyupāśān purataḥ praṇodya
śokātigo modate svargaloke//

The man of three Nāciketas fires knowing this triad, who thus knowing piles up the Nāciketas fire, he pushing the bonds of death from in front of him, passing beyond pain is happy in the heavenly world.

sa in c is needed to scan and correspond to *ya* of b.

.19 eṣa te'gnir Nāciketas svargyo
yaṃ dvitīyenāvṛṇīthāḥ vareṇa/
tavaiva pravakṣyanty etam agniṃ janāsas
tṛtīyaṃ varaṃ Nāciketo vṛṇīṣva//

This fire connected with heaven is yours, Naciketas, which you have chosen with your second wish. Yours only people will call this fire. Choose the third wish, Naciketas.

Displacements have occurred upsetting the scansion. In b we have reversed *avṛṇīthāḥ* and *dvitīyena.* In c we suggest a *samprasāraṇa* of .ava to -o, as occurs with *bhavati* (*BAU* and *Kaṭha*). We could take *agnim* as a gloss, and try *pravakṣyanti tavaivaitam..,* but it is a poor pre-caesura, as the other is good. a could be *jagatī*: *suargio*; *janāsas* is also a Vedism.

.20 yeyam prete vicikitsā manuṣye
astītyeke nāyam astīti caike/
etadvidyām anuśiṣṭas tvayāhaṃ
varāṇām eṣa varas tṛtīyaḥ//

The question here, when a man is dead, some say he exists, some say he is not. May I know this, taught by you. This third of the boons.

The Nāstikas are the followers of Ajita Keśakambalin, the Cārvākas, though he himself is probably long dead by the time of *KU*.

We take *varāṇām* as having a Vedic dissylabic final; otherwise one must insert something like *vai*.

.21 devair atrāpi vicikitsitaṃ purā
na suvijñeyamaṇureṣa dharmaḥ/
anyaṃ varaṃ Naciketo vṛṇīṣva
mā moparotsīrati mā sṛjainam//

There has been desire to know on this point by the gods. It is not easily known. Subtle is this matter. Choose another wish, Naciketas. Don't hem me in; let this one go past me.

If we keep the *hi* of the vulgate, we will have synesis of suvi , = svi-, as also in b of .22 if we keep *ca*. Again we have the Vedic tmesis of ati-sṛj.

.22 devair atrāpi vicikitsitaṃ kila
tvaṃ mṛtyo yan na suvijñeyam āttha/
vaktā cāsya tvādṛg anyo na labhyaḥ
nānyo varas tulya etasya kaścit//

Indeed that has been desired to be known by the gods, which you, Death, say is not easily known. And another expositor like you is not to be found. No other boon at all is equal to this.

.23 śatāyuṣaḥ putrapautrān vṛṇīṣva
bahūn paśūn hastihiraṇyam aśvān/
bhūmer mahad āyatanaṃ vṛṇīṣva
svayaṃ ca jīva śarado yāvad icchasi//

Choose sons and grandsons living 100 years, much cattle, gold, elephants, horses. Choose a great sphere of action, abode of (on) the earth, and yourself, live as many years as you wish.

If the elephants are for war, this suggests a date after the 6th century BC.

.24 etat tulyaṃ yadi manyase varaṃ
vṛṇīṣva vittaṃ cirajīvikāṃ ca/
mahān bhūmau Naciketas tvam edhi
kāmānāṃ tvā kāmabhājaṃ karomi//

If you think this boon equal, choose possessions and long life. Be you great on the earth, Naciketas. I make you possessor according to desire of (your) desires.

Our translation keeps the *pāda*-s of a and b; in c the vulgate *mahābhūmau*, does not really make sense, What is the small earth ? As a compound it

only comes here according to MW, and in a different sense, the whole as opposed to a (ferudatory) part kingdom much later (14th cent.). Our emendation makes much better and easier sense, and fits with *mahad āyatanam* above.

.25 ye ye kāmā durlabhā martyaloke
sarvān kāmāṃśchandataḥ prārthayasva/
imā rāmāḥ sarathāḥ satūryā
na hīdṛśā lambhanīyā manuṣyaiḥ//
ābhir prattābhiḥ paricārayasva
Naciketo maraṇam mānuprākṣīḥ//

Whatever desires are hard to obtain in the world of mortals, ask all these at will. Here are girls delightful, with music. Indeed such ones are not to be got by men. Play around with them, given by me. Don't over-ask me about death, Naciketas.

The vulgate of chariots in c makes no sense; who wanted women drivers in antiquity? We, therefore, take MW's saratha, which makes simple sense. The vulgate has corrupted the next verse, which can be easily put right. *mat-* in e does not scan, and is easily understood, *prattābhiḥ*, offered (by me).

.26 śvobhāvā martyasya yad antakaitat
sarvendriyāṇāṃ jarayanti tejaḥ/
api sarvaṃ jīvitam alpam eva
tavaiva vāha tava nṛtyagīte///

All this, Death, Killer, these that are just for tomorrow wear out all indeed, he said, yours be the song and dance.

In d chariots, vehicles make no sense: hence, we emend *tav eva vai āha* with double sandhi, which we can find again in *KU*, and *MBh*.

.27 na vittena tarpaṇīyo manuṣyo
lapsyāmahe vittam adrākṣma cet tvā/
jīviṣyāmo yāvad īśiṣyasi tvaṃ
varas tu me varaṇīyaḥ sa eva//

Man is not to be satisfied with wealth. Shall we take wealth to ourselves if we have seen you (once, aor.)? Shall we live so long as you have power ? Only this boon is to be chosen by me.

.28 ajīryatām amṛtānām upetya
jīryan martyaḥ kvadhaḥsthaḥ prajānan/
abhidhyāyan varṇaratipramodān
atidīrghe jīvite ko rameta//

What mortal with his bad inferiority, liable to age, approaching understanding the non-agingness of the immortals, thinking on the joys of beauty and pleasure, would want an excessively long life ?

This is not properly a rejection of worldly pleasures; they will last properly in Yama's world. The verse can be re-meant in another context.

1.29 yasminn idaṃ vicikitsanti mṛtyo
yad sāmparāye mahati brūhi nas tat/
yo'yaṃ varo gūḍham anupraviṣto
nānyaṃ tasmān Naciketā vṛṇīte//

While they are desiring to find this out O Death, tell us that, what is in the great passing on. Which boon enters into the secret, none other than that Naciketā chooses.

The reference in a is to the gods being puzzled. The vulgate translation of *yasminn idam* does not really meet the grammar.

2.1 anyac chreyo anyad utaiva preya
ubhe nānārthe puruṣaṃ sinītaḥ/
tayoḥ śreya ādadhānasya sādhu
hīyate 'rthād ya u preyo vṛṇīte//

The better is one thing and the pleasanter another. Both bind the soul, with different profit. Of him who takes to himself the better of these two it is well. He who chooses the pleasanter misses his (true) profit.

Omit *te* in b and *bhavati* in c for the scansion; neither are needed for sense. *puruṣa* could be just a man, but we are thinking of the soul here.

.2 śreyaśca preyaśca manuṣyam etas
tau samparītya vivinakti dhīraḥ/
śreyo hi dhīro preyaso vṛṇīte
preyo mando yogakṣemād vṛṇīte//

Coming to the human better and pleasanter, the man of insight having gone over them both, distinguishes them. For the man of insight prefers the better to the pleasanter. The unintelligent man prefers the pleasanter to secure possession.

I have taken *etas* as *-ta* part. of *i*+*ā* as I do not care for personifications of abstracts in early Sanskrit. *Manuṣya* is properly an adjective connected with man. In c I have omitted '*bhi*' for better scansion;— is a bad copula; one could invert, *preyaso'bhi vṛṇīte*, with lengthening of *i* before *v* (Vedic). We

take d as above since the two ablative must be translated the same way. The rake goes through his capital for present enjoyment of sense.

.3 sa tvaṃ priyān priyarūpāṃś ca kāmān
abhidhyāyan Naciketo'tyasrākṣīḥ/
naitāṃ sṛṇkāṃ vittamayīm avāpto
yasyām majjanti bahavo manuṣyāḥ//

You pondreing desires that are pleasant and have pleasing appearance, let them go, Naciketas. You have not taken this, made of wealth in which many men drown.

Could we suggest 'cauldron' for *sṛṅkā*? Such an image would have parallels in Old Irish, and the Celtic world. People do not drown in chains. The Roman equivalent was the more sophisticated art form of the cornucopia. Another possibility is to take *majjanti* as a prakritic form from *mad*, be drunk.

.4 dūram ete viparīte viṣūcī
yā avidyā yā ca vidyeti jñātā/
vidyābhīpsuṃ Naciketaḥ samatve
na tvā kāmā bahavo lolupantaḥ//

These two (being) in everything are gone far apart, what is known as ignorance and what knowledge. You desiring knowledge in equanimity, Naciketas, many desires are not tearing apart.

We need the first *yā* in b to scan. The vulgate of c will not scan at all: v--- is no ending, and *vidyābhīpsinam* is both bad pre-caesura scansion and an ugly and needless formation. A desiderative has been explained to some pupil. *-tv* has been read as *-ny-* and the rest followed.

.5 avidyāyām antare vartamānāḥ
svayaṃ dhīrāḥ paṇḍitam manyamānāḥ/
dandramyamāṇāḥ pariyanti mūḍhāḥ
andhenaiva nīyamānā yathāndhāḥ//

Living in ignorance, cleverly thinking themselves men of insight, infatuated men keep running round in circles, like the blind led by the blind.

.6 na sāmparāyaḥ pratibhāti bālam
pramādyantaṃ vittamohena mūḍham/
ayaṃ loko nāsti pareti mānī
punaḥ punar vaśam āpadyate me//

The future state does not shine towards the fool who is enjoying himself, infatuated with the infatuation for wealth, thinking "The

world is this one here, there is not one beyond". He walks into my power again and again.

Note the double *sandhi* in c.

.7 śravaṇāyāpi bahubhir yo na labhyaḥ
śṛṇvanto'pi bahavo yaṃ na vidyuḥ/
āścaryo vaktā kuśalo'sya labdhā
āścaryo jñātā kuśalānuśiṣṭaḥ//

He who is not to be received by many even for hearing, whom many would not know even hearing, of him the expounder is wonderful, the receiver clever, the knower wonderful, taught by one clever.

a indicates that the *śūdra*-s (+) are outside scripture and ***brahma***, and d that one must have a teacher, qualified, no self-taught heretices; this we suggest is taken up in the next verse.

.8 na nareṇa avareṇa prokta
eṣa vijñeyo bahudhā cintyamānaḥ/
ananyaprokte gatir atra nāsti
aṇīyān hy atarkyam aṇupramāṇāt//

This one, much thought about, is not to be known when expounded by a modern. If he is not expounded by another, there is no way to him. For he is incredibly more subtle than the measure of the subtle.

We have so translated a since modern views never were very good in India; one needs authority of the purāṇas, ancients. There are heretics, Buddhists, Jainas, and others, and they have done thinking in many ways, but it is no good.

If we keep *suvijñeyo* we again have synezesis, svi-. 'It is not easily known, taught by a modern'.. still makes sense. 'An inferior man' of the vulgate is not specific enough. In d I would prefer *atarkyo* (changed for scansion of classical *sandhi*); He is not to be deduced by reason. This fits.9.

.9 naiṣā tarkeṇa matir āpanīya
proktānyenaiva jñānāya prayiṣṭha/
yāṃ tvam āpas satyadhṛtir batāsi
tvādṛṅ no bhūyān Naciketaḥ praṣṭā//

This idea is not to be obtained by reasoning, being only for knowing when taught by another, dearest; which you have attained. Well! you are firm in truth. There won't be another questioner like you, Naciketas.

The vulgate *sujñāna* in b does not seem to be a noun again till the *Kāmandakinītisāra*; we have removed su-, (come from *su-vijñeya* above), which makes bad scansion, as does -ă before pr. The resolved *preṣṭha* is Vedic. We are still in trouble before *praṣṭā,* though we would suggest a thematic vocative, Naciketa. Exchange with *tvādṛṅ* would scan: *praṣṭā no bhūyān Naciketaḥ tvādṛk.* Our translation of d with *no=na u* and *bhūyān* nom.s.m. of *bhūyas* as an alternative to *nas* and a 1st aor. opt. *bhūyāt. āpaneyā* is a needless form.

.10 jānāmy aham śevadhirity anityaṃ
na hy adhruvaiḥ prāpyate hi dhruvaṃ tat/
tato mayā Nāciketaś cito'gnir
anityair dravyaiḥ prāptavān asmi nityam//

I know what is called wealth is impermanent. Indeed the permanent is not attained by the impermanent. Then by me the Naciketas fire is piled; I have attained the permanent by impermanent things.

Is *śevadhi* originally the wealth laid on the funeral pyre? Root *śyai+u* suffix; the pyre must be laid. I would not be surprised if the first *hy* in b is inserted, and hiatus original; we need the second.
cd can be a question or a paradox. The impermanent fire was for permanent non-*punarmṛtyu.*

.11 kāmasya āptiṃ jagataḥ pratiṣṭhāṃ
krator ānantyam abhayasya pāram/
stoma mahad urugāyaṃ ca dṛṣṭvā
dhṛtyā dhīro Naciketo'tyasrākṣīḥ//

The attainment of desire, the basis of the living world, the boundlessness of will, the far shore of freedom from fear, the ritual chant, great and enlivening widely, having seen, having insight, by your firmness Naciketas, you have let go.

In a we allow the hiatus for the regular *triṣṭubh,* though 4+6 is allowable. The vulgate cd will not scan, and offers 3 different genders in c. I have removed the repeated *pratiṣṭhām,* and follow Radhakrisnan with Vedic *stoman* for the thematic *stoma,* but do not take the compound, as the neuter has then nothing to go with. We take *urugāya* in its original sense (root *jīv,* cf. Avestan gaetha); we need the ca for the second adj, and removing *pratiṣṭhā* keep *dṛṣṭvā,* in c, and d scans. We must confess ă before sr; prakritic pronunciation? or Vedic doubtful syllable? or necessary error? easiest so.

.12 taṃ durdarśam gūḍham anupraviṣṭaṃ
guhāhitaṃ gahvareṣṭham purāṇam/
adhyātmayogādhigamena devam
matvā dhīro harṣaśokau jahāti//

Thinking on the god by the personal approach of *yoga*, who is hard to see, has entered right into the secret place, placed in secret, being in the depth, the man of insight leaves pain and joy.

gūḍham anupraviṣṭam is a tag, cf. 1.29c.

.13 etac chrutvā samparigṛhya martyaḥ
pravṛhya dharmyam aṇum etam āpya/
sa modate modanīyam hi labdhvā
Naciketasam vivṛtam sadma manye//

A mortal, hearing this and fully grasping, rooting up what is connected with form, attaining this subtle one, he is happy, having got something to be rejoiced in indeed. I think Naciketas an open, chosen seat.

For *dharmya* we think of the Buddhist sense of *dharma*, thing (Lat. forma). c post-caesura could go with d. The vulgate order of d will not scan, hence our transposition. *dharmyam* seems to have reminded someone in the tradition of a verse where *dharma* has a comparable sense.

.14 anyatra dharmād adharmād
anyatrāsmāt kṛtākṛtāt/
anyatra bhūtād bhavyācca
yat tat paśyasi tad vada//

Other than form and non-form, other than this (world) made and not made, other than what has come and what will come into being, tell just what you see.

The second *anyatra* in a and first *ca* in b destroy the scansion and are not needed. We have another metre, and no real connection with the previous verse.

.15 Though the metre is right, it is impossible to see any relevance of this verse and the following two that are its commentary. We will take it later.

.18 na jāyate mriyate vā vipaścin
nāyam kutaś cin na babhūva kaś cit/
ajo nityaḥ śāśvato 'yam purāṇo
na hanyate hanyamāne śarīre//

The one who knows the ecstasy is neither born nor dies. He here has not come from somewhere, he has not been anyone. Unborn, permanent inner, eternal he, ancient, is not killed when the body is being killed.

This descends from the doctrine of Prakudha Kātyāyana, on whose atomic theory the soul is an atom, and therefore, indestructible, and which is parodied by the Buddhists when they said he denied the possibility of killing; a sword had merely separated substances in no real contact. We have the explaining comment in .19: the eternity, *śāśvata,* is objectionable to the Buddhists, but the atoms eternal and unchanging. (cf. *IT* Vol. II p. 160).

.19 hantā ced manyate huntum hataś cen manyate hataḥ/
ubhau tau na vijānīto nāyam hanti na hanyate//

If killer one thinks to kill, if killed one thinks, 'A killing is done', both of these do not discern; this one here neither kills nor is killed.

We continue with Prakudha in .20;

.20 aṇor aṇīyān mahato mahīyān ātmāsya jantor nihito guhāyām/
tam akratuḥ paśyati vītaśoko dhātuprasādān mahimānam ātmanaḥ//

Of the small smaller, of the great greater, the self of this born creature is placed in the cavity. That, the size of the soul the man without will, having sorrow gone sees by the pellucidity of his elements.

Though this makes good sense on the early doctrine, and *Sāṃkhya,* Jainism and *Ājivaka*-s go back to very similar origins, the theists have taken over the verse, and with the visarga of *dhātuḥ prasādāt,* have used it for their view, (backed up in .23) with a very different translation. 21.2 are explanations of the original.

.21 āsīno dūraṃ vrajati śayāno yāti sarvataḥ/
kas tam madamadaṃ devaṃ madanyo jñātum arhati//

Seated he wanders far, lying down he goes everywhere, who other than I is fit, able to know that deity, me and non-me:

mad-amad we suggest makes better sense than *mada-amada,* as being glad or drunk has no natural connection here.

.22 aśarīram śarīreṣu anavastheṣv avasthitam/
mahāntam vibhum ātmānam matvā dhīro na śocati//

The man of insight thinking on the pervading great self, bodiless in bodies, based among those that have no basis, does not grieve.

We may now come to the theistic translation of .20 before going to .23.

.20 Smaller than the small, greater than the great, the self is placed in the heart of this creature. The man without will, having his pain gone, sees the greatness of the Self by the grace of the Creator.

.23 nāyam ātmā pravacanena labhyo
na medhayā na bahunā śrutena/
yam evaiṣa vṛṇute tena labhyas
tasyaiṣa ātmā vivṛṇute tanum svām//

This self is not to be got by oral teaching, nor by (native) intelligence, or much scripture, hearing. Only whom he chooses, by him is he to be received. To him the Ātman reveals his self.

tasya in d we take as genitive for dative.

We have a gloss on the verse in .24.

.24 nāvirato duścaritān nāśānto nāsamāhitaḥ/
nāśāntamānaso vāpi prajñānenainam āpnuyāt//

Not on who has not ceased from bad deeds, not the unquiet, not the man of restless mind either can attain him by intelligence,

seems to be an interjection by a bored listener. It does not connect.

.25 yasya brahma ca kṣatraṃ ca ubhe bhavata odanaḥ/
mṛtyur yasyopasecanaṃ ka itthā veda yatra saḥ//

For whom priest and warrior are both pudding and death sauce, who really knows where he is ?

Inverting *yasya* and *brahma ca* would make good classical scansion. One suspects a quotation now untraceable for this verse.

.15 sarve vedā yat padam āmananti
tapāṃsi sarvāṇi ca yad vadanti/
yad icchanto brahmacaryaṃ caranti
tat te padaṃ saṃgraheṇa bravīmi//
oṁ ityetat.

The word all the Vedas intend, and what all austerities say, wanting which people do brahmanic learning, that word I will tell you concisely. It is *oṁ*.

The relevance of this verse is far from obvious.

.16 etad dhy evakṣaraṃ brahma etad dhy evakṣaram param/
etad dhy evakṣaraṃ jñātvā yo yad icchati tasya tat//
For just that syllable is the brahma, just that syllable the highest; Knowing just that syllable, that is his which he wants,

The sentiment is clearly from the old pre-Upaniṣadic world, but that does not make it necessarily pre-Upaniṣadic; as an interpolation it can well be so. One *hi* is enough, and as the next verse has none, and is closely parallel, we could do without it; *hi* is probably inserted in a when the verse is used as explanation.

2.17 etad ālambanam śreṣṭham etad ālambanam param/
etad ālambanam jñātvā brahmaloke mahīyate//
This is the best thing to hang on to, this the highest same. Knowing this to hang on to, one is magnified in the brahma-world.

Weller holds that *KU* 1.3 does not belong to the original work. The *śloka* metre rather supports him. .1 and .14c-15 are the only *triṣṭubh*-s .1 and .14c I take as pre-Upaniṣadic; .15 will go with the earlier Upaniṣad.

3.1 amṛtam pibantāu sukṛtasya loke guhām praviṣṭau parame parārdhe/
Chāyātapau brahmavido vadanti pañcāgnayo ye ca triNāciketāḥ//

The shade and (life-) heat drinking nectar of that well done in the world, having entered the cave in the highest further half, those who know *brahma* tell; also those of three Naciketas fires who keep the five fires.

Drinking *ṛta* seems very odd. I suggest a resolved 1st syllable long. The Nāciketas fire is connected with (*anti*) *punarmṛtyu*, is there with reference to the grave and the pyre, from which the soul with its life heat departs to Yama ? Can *chāyā* have the connotation of GK *skia*, shade, ghost [1]?

.14cd kṣurasya dhārā niśitā duratyayā
durgam pathas tat kavayo vadanti/
The sharpened edge of a razor is hard to cross. The 'poets' say that is the hard part of the journey.

Does this image go back to the same source as Zoroaster's Cinvat Bridge ?

.15 aśabdam asparśam arūpam avyayam
tathārasam nityam agandhavat ca yat/
anādy anantam mahataḥ paraṃ dhruvaṃ
nicāyya tan mṛtyumukhāt pramucyate//

Without sound, touch, form, not passing away, falling apart, similarly without taste, eternal, no beginning, end, no beyond the great (self), steady, that one is freed from the jaws of death regarding thinking on.

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1. Cf. *ṚV.* 10.121.2

The *phalaśruti* must be old, and the change of metre is appropriate.

.16 Nāciketam upākhyānam mṛtyuproktaṃ sanātanam/
uktvā śrutvā ca medhāvī brahmaloke mahīyate//

Hearing or reciting the old-time Naciketas story, the intelligent man is magnified in the *brahma* world.

This is probably the older verse; in connection with non-redeath, we have .17.

.17 ya imam paramaṃ guhyaṃ śrāvayed brahmasaṃsadi/
prayataś ṣrāddhakāle vā tad ānantyāya kalpate//

Who causes this highest secret to be heard in the assembly of brahmans, or ritually pure at the ceremony for the dead, it tends to non-ending (i.e. of the rite, counteracting *punarmṛtyu*).

Prayatas can be gen. abs. of *pra*+*i*=die.

3.2 yaḥ setur ījānānām akṣaram brahma yat param/
abhayaṃ titīrṣatāṃ pāraṃ Nāciketaṃ śakemahi//

May we have strength over the Nāciketas fire which is the causeway of those who have completed sacrificing, who are wanting to cross to the far shore, freedom from fear, which is the highest brahma.

Weller keeps this verse separate, and I cannot see its connection unless as a comment on .1. *parame parārdhe.*

We now have some early *Sāṃkhya.*

.3 ātmānaṃ rathinaṃ viddhi
śarīram ratham eva tu/
buddhiṃ tu sārathiṃ viddhi
manaḥ pragraham eva ca//

Know the self as the owner of the chariot, the body as the chariot; But the intelligence know as the driver, the mind is just the rains.

.4 indriyāṇi hayān āhur viṣayāms teṣu gocarān/
ātmendriyamanoyuktam bhoktety āhur maniṣiṇaḥ//

They call the senses the horses, in them objects are their field. The cognoscenti call the one who is joined to the self, senses and mind the experiencer.

.10 indriyāṇi parā hyarthā arthebhyaś ca param manaḥ/
manasaś ca parā buddhir buddher ātmā mahān paraḥ//

Purposes are behind the senses, the mind is beyond purposes, the intelligence behind the mind, the great self behind the intelligence,

.11 mahataḥ param avyaktam avyaktāt puruṣaḥ paraḥ/
puruṣān na paraṃ kiṃ cit sā kāṣṭhā sā param gatiḥ//

The unmanifest is behind the great soul, the Puruṣa, activating principle behind the unmanifest. There is nothing behind the Puruṣa. That is the goal, the highest point of going.

These verses seem to have *MBh* language, and a rather different use of *puruṣa*. With them we might take .13, but they are themselves interpolated with commentary .5-9.

.13 yacched vāṅmanasī prājñas tad yacched jñāna ātmani/
jñānam ātmani mahati tad yacched śānta ātmani//

Let the knowing man restrain speech and mind, he should restrain mind in the knowing self, the knowing self in the great self, and that in the calmed self.

niyacched in the vulgate c must be omitted to scan.
Within these come the gloss .5-9 :

.6 yas tu vijñānavān bhavati yuktena manasā sadā/
tasyendriyāṇi vaśyāni sadaśvā iva sāratheḥ//

The man who has discrimination, with his mind always directed, his senses are under his will, like good horses of a charioteer.

yuktena manasā indicates the need for *yoga*; one can not find *ātman* in the business world : the ascetic is proclaiming his superiority.

.5 has been modelled on this in the negative, so that it does not scan well at the caesura. In both cases we must read *bhoti* which already occurs in *BAU*. A similar modelling of the positive makes .8,

.7 yas tv avijñānavān bhoti amanaskaḥ sadāśuciḥ/
na sa tat padam āpnoti saṃsāram cādhigacchati//

Who is without discrimination, always impure, mindless, he does not reach that place, and goes on to transmigration.

In the positive .8 the discriminating man having a mind, always pure, does go to the place of no return .8c has to be padded with meaningless *tu*. Finally .14ab has relevance and might have come originaly after .15, but is in the plural, which is odd, unless we take the verbs as inj. Atm. 3 sing.

.14ab uttiṣṭhata jāgarata prāpya varān nibodhata/
Stand up, awake, having got your wishes, be understanding.

We need the *MBh* form *jāgarata* to scan. Originally before the *phalaśruti* ?

.12 eṣa sarveṣu bhūteṣu gūḍho tmā na prakāśate/
dṛśyate tv agryayā buddhyā sūkṣmayā sūkṣmadarśibhiḥ//
This self hidden in all beings does not shine out, but it is seen by those who have sharp sight by their top subtle intelligence.

This I take to be a gloss of .10-1, perhaps by someone of Vedantist leanings.

3.9 vijñānasārathir yas tu manaḥpragrahavān naraḥ/
so'dhvanaḥ param āpnoti tad Viṣṇoḥ paramam padam//
But he who has discrimination for his charioteer, and the mind for his reins reaches the end of the road. That is the highest step of Viṣṇu.

It is agreed that *KU* originally ended at 3.17. I would be willing to take 1.1.2, .8-2.13, .18, .20, 3.1, .14cd?, .15-7 as put together by one man, sometimes reusing old verses. We suggest he has added these on to another beginning, 1.1.1-6, .7. Then there are commentary verses, as 2.14 interpolations with commentary, as 2.15-7; commentary in 2.19, .21-2. 2.23-4 is interpolation, as is .25.+.2 could be old; 3.3-11, .13 are late. For our main mass of *triṣṭubh*-s the scansion patterns are consistent. (see appendix).

In the interval between *KU* 1.1-3 and 2.4-6 the *śloka* has displaced the *triṣṭubh*, which is, therefore, the ornamental introduction and end. This would help a 4th or even 3rd century date.

2/4.1 parāñci khāni vyatṛṇat svayambhūs
tasmāt parāṅ paśyati nāntarātman/
kaś cid dhīraḥ pratyag ātmānam aikṣad
āvṛttacakṣur amṛtatvam icchan//
The self-existent bored holes outward. One turned away from him does not see in the inner self. A man of insight, desiring immortality, looked backward at the self, having his sight directed (to it).

parāk would be much easier in b; we would have an aetiology. Therefore, men see outside, not inwards, in the self, body. The verse may then be being reused.

.2 parācaḥ kāmān anuyanti bālās
te mṛtyor yanti vitatasya pāśam/
atha dhīrā amṛtatvam viditvā
dhruvam adhruveṣv iha na prārthayanti//
Fools go after outside pleasures. They go to the noose of manifest death. Men of insight rather, knowing immortality do not aim at the permanent in the impermanent in this world.

We now have a number of verses followed by *etad vai tat*, which we take as a refrain, but which should then go together. Refrains usually make sense in the first verse, but not necessarily thereafter. We have considered these verses in *ABORI* Jubilee Vol. 1968, pp. 130 ff, Remeaning Philosophy. The verses are 2.4.3, .5-9, .12-3, 5.1, .4, .8, 6.1. We, therefore, take them together. I suspect that two translations may be necessary, an original, and a later in favour of a more theistic doctrine.

.3 yena rūpaṃ rasaṃ gandhaṃ śabdān sparśāṃś ca maithunān/
etenaiva vijānāti kim atra pariśiṣyate//

By this only one distinguishes by which he (distinguishes) form, taste, smell, sounds, and sexual touches. Is it left here. What is left here ? It is this. (In the body).

In d we first take *kim* as mere interrogative. We have seen traces of the doctrine of Prakudha Kātyāyana, and we may have more here. Since the *jīva-ātman* is pure and beyond sense, is the discriminating organ, *manas* left here behind on death? .4 reassures on this point. Yes, but it doesn't matter.

.4 svapnāntaṃ jāgaritāntaṃ ca ubhau yenānupaśyati/
mahāntaṃ vibhum ātmānam matvā dhīro na śocati//

whereby one sees both the dreaming and waking state, the great self, thinking on that, the man of insight does not feel pain.

The second translation is the vulgate, which is perfectly good, but .4 does not answer the question.

.5 ya imam madhvadaṃ veda
ātmānaṃ jīvam antikāt/
īśānam bhūtabhavyasya
na tato vijugupsate//
etad vai tat//

He who knows the experiencing factor besides the life-soul which is master of what is to come into being from the elements, does not wish to protect himself, recoil from it. It is this.

I do not care for the vulgate translation identifying the honey-eater and the *ātmānaṃ jīvṃ*. The universal *ātman* is never called *jiva*, but the *jīva* is called the *jīva ātman*, to whom 'near at hand', *antikāt*, is not really applicable. The experiencer, *manas vijñāna*, can be 'besides' the *jiva*. In Prakudha's theory *jiva* was one of the atoms, and the sense-impressions and/or *manas* (as a further sense) were material, of *ākāśa*, but not *jiva* : thus they perish at death, and one can ask

kiṃ pariśiṣyate ?, The *jiva* is unchangeable, hence superior to all other atoms, elements, which only come into being in compounds. This is our justification for the translation above of *bhūtabhavya*, Theism in India is not Providential, having shaped the past and ordained the future and the experiencer, *madhvad*, is certainly not lord of the past and future. The vulgate translation has theistic overtones; *iśāna* suggests *iśvara*, but the experiencer is never lord of past and future with the powers connocted. In our translation, when one knows the *jīva-ātman* without qualities, which latter is above time, or compounds of the material elements, he does not reject it (desiring the pleasures of Yama's world of the old pre-Upaniṣadic view).

Madhvad will refer to *BAU* 2.5.16ff, and *na tato vijugupsate* to *BAU* 4.4.15 of c 495BC. When one knows the *jiva*, one does not object to a permanent entity (like the Budddhists), or, one does not revolt against the impermanence of experiencing.

.6 The vulgate translation of this makes no grammar from the text, which seems to offer no alternatives.

yaḥ pūrvam tapaso jātam
adbhyaḥ pūrvam ajāyata/
guhām praviśya tiṣṭhantam
yo bhūtebhir vyapaśyata//
etad vai tat//

Who begot of old the first one from the waters, born from heat, who entered the cavity erect, who saw widely by means of the elements. It is this.

.7 yā prāṇena sambhoti
Aditir devatāmayī/
guhām praviśya tiṣṭhantī
yā bhūtebhir vyajāyata//
etad vai tat//

Who as Aditi, consisting of 'godness' supernatural substance, unites with breath, having entered the cavity erect, who was born variously by means of the elements, begot variously. It is this.

In .6 we have taken *ajāyata* as *Atm.*, not passive, begot for himself, with the parallel of *R* 3.13.17 Crit Ed. This accounts for the accusatives, which at least with *jātam*, and indeed *tiṣṭhantam* is otherwise impossible. I suspect we have old sexual verses reused. The life-heat is in (watery, liquid) semen (cf. *Apām Napāt*). The *guhā* would originally be the womb. There is no reason why *Paśyati* should not be *Atm.*; if passive, 'who was seen widely

through the elements'. One might wonder could we have a trace of I-E pak, (Av. pas) = bind, fix, which shows class 4 in Gk pēssō; we would then have 'who unbound himself, was unbound by creatures; this would suit the mention of Aditi, folk-etymologized as non-binding.

In .7 we again have *bhoti* for *bhavati* in a; *bhūtebhis* can be taken as a prakritism as well as an archaism.

.8 = SV I 1.8.7, used here, we suggest as explaining Agni as the life-heat. It is in *triṣṭubh*, not *śloka*.

.3 araṇior nihito jātavedā
garbha iva subhṛto garbhiṇībhiḥ/
dive diva īḍio jāgṛvadbhir
haviṣmadbhir manuṣiebhir agniḥ//
etad vai tat//

Placed in the two fire-sticks, like a well-carried embryo in pregnant women, having his knowledge born, having knowledge of the born, every day Agni should be worshipped by men with oblations on their wakening. It is this.

.9 is a reuse of *AV* 10.8.16 (also numbered 18.16) through *BAU* 1.5.23; the d of *BAU* is here as d in .13.

.9 yataś codeti sūrio
astaṃ yatra ca gacchati/
taṃ devās sarve arpitās
tad u nāty eti kaścana
etad vai tat//

From whom the sun rises and in whom it sets, to him all the gods were handed over, caused to go. None goes beyond it.

In *BAU* ab is expressly explained as *prāṇa*, hence *tam*, m.; *KU* has been careless, but *AV* was correct with *tad*, and its *pada* would fit well; *tad eva manye'haṃ jyeṣṭham*, just that I think the best. I would not be surprised if the c-f of 5.8 = 6.1 should have come here, or perhaps better before .9, 5.8.6.1e-f.

tad eva śukraṃ tad brahma
tad evamṛtam ucyate/
tasmin lokāḥ śritāḥ sarve
tad u nāty eti kaś cana//
etad vai tat//

The semen is it, the *brahma* is it, only that is called immortal. All the worlds rest on it. Nobody at all goes beyond it.

We give a sexual translation, drawing support from 5.8ab :

ya eṣa supteṣu jāgarti
kāmaṃ kāmam puruṣo nirmimāṇaḥ/

The activating principle who is awake in those who are sleeping, fashioning desire after desire...

One need not dwell on the weakening of sexual inhibition in sleep. There had been the view that immortality is in the son.

6.1 ab is perhaps an alternative;

6.1 ab ūrdhvamūlo avākśākha
eṣo'śvatthaḥ sanātanaḥ/

Having its roots up and its branches down, this ancient aśvattha tree.

This could well apply to the family tree: hence the relevance of semen. Returning to .9: In *Īśa* .4 devas has been reinterpreted to mean senses (*prāṇas* are *devatās*), and this could be so here; the sense have been handed over to, caused to go to the *jīva-ātman*. This sense of *devatā* may lurk in .7 *devatāmayī* and we much look for aditi in diti=division, the one having no division, the (*jiva*) atom. In .6 could we regard the *jīva* (atom) as the cause of begetting? or have we moved on to *ātman*? (*puruṣa* if we prefer that term).

.10-1 are commentary verses, but it is not clear on what; perhaps the doublets .12-3 :

.10 yad eveha tad amutra yad amutra tad anv iha/
mṛtyos sa mṛtyum āpnoti yeha nāneva paśyati//
Just which it is here in this world, it is that in the next world; which it is in the next world, that again in this. He gets death after death who sees difference as it were in this world.

We need a double *sandhi* in c. .11ab+10cd=*BAU* 4.4.19. The vulgate whatever is not in the text; the *jīva-ātman*, having no senses, qualities does not change, and anyone who thinks it does and believes in personality is in the stream of *saṃsāra*. One could take the *tad* as referring to *tad nātyeti kaścana*, translating none of the devas, senses go beyond (death) to it. .11 continues the comment emphasizing that the *jīva-ātman* is only known by reasoning.

.11 manasaivedam āptavyam neha nānāsti kiṃ cana/
mṛtyos sa mṛtyuṃ gacchati nāneva paśyati//
This one is only to be won by mind. None whatsoever is different in this world. He goes to death after death who sees as it were difference in this world.

This can apply to individual *jīva*-s or the *ātman*. Atoms of one kind are all the same. (note again double *sandhi* in d.)

I suggest .12 is modelled on .13 :

.13 aṅguṣṭhamātraḥ puruṣo
jyotir iva adhūmakaḥ/
īśāno bhūtabhavyasya
sa eva adya sa u śvaḥ/
etad vai tat//

A 'soul', the size of the thumb, like a smokeless flame, master of what is to come into being by the elements, he/it is (the same) today and tomorrow. It is this.

c would indicate that the soul is going to master sensual matter. Again for later meaning, we would not reject the vulgate, with the search for a deism, more or less personal.

4.12 aṅguṣṭhamātraḥ puruṣo
madhya ātmani tiṣṭhati/
īśāno bhūtabhavyasya
na tato vijugupsate//
etad vai tat//

A 'soul', the size of the thumb is in the middle of the body, master of what is to come into being from the elements. One/It does not recoil from it. It is this.

In d either as in 4.5 one accepts this state of affairs, or possibly *tatas* is *bhūtabhavya*, though the *puruṣa* does not wish to get involved.

.14-5 should go with .10-1 expanding on their sense,

.14 yathodakaṃ durge vṛṣṭam
parvateṣu vidhāvati/
evaṃ dharmān pṛthak paśyaṃś
tān evānuvidhāvati//

As water rained on the rough ground in the hills runs off in various directions, so one who looks on things with difference just runs after them in various directions.

.15 yathodakaṃ śuddhe śuddham
āsiktaṃ tādṛg eva ti/
evaṃ muner vijānata
ātmā bhavati Gautama//

As they say pure water poured in pure is just such, so is the self of the ascetic, who is discriminating.

The vulgate *bhavati* in b will not scan, and *bhoti* with crasis between b and c is not acceptable. We have taken the prakritic *ti=iti,* found also in *ŚpB.*

5.1 puram ekādaśadvāram
ajasyāvakracetasaḥ/
anuṣṭhāya na śocati
vimuktaś ca vimucyate//
etad vai tat//

Standing behind the 11-gated city of the urborn one, whose thinking is not crooked, he does not feel pain, and released, he is released. It is this.

The subject is the *aṅguṣṭhamātra puruṣa*, who stands behind the city (wall) in the *ātman,* body. I am content with the more literal meaning of *anu-ṣṭhā.* The *jiva,* being elemental, is not born, *aja*; the difficulty is that he should not have *cetas,* mind, which is a sense like sight. Our suggestion is that he is 'not-having a mind that is by definition crooked'. Does *anu-ṣṭhā*=rule make a pun on *aja*=leader ?

.4 asya visraṃsamānasya
śarīrasthasya dehinaḥ/
dehādvimucyamānasya
kim atra pariśiṣyate/
etad vai tat//

When this body-possessing (soul) is released from the body, when this body here falls to pieces, what is left here ? It is this.

This would give a final verse parallel to the first with the refrain *etad vai tat* fitting into the sense. .8 cd=6.1 cd may have followed, but with neither ab. We have a hymn of the *jīva/puruṣa,* quite consistent with the Jaina/ *Sāṃkhya* conception of the plurality of souls, and doctrinally it would fit well c 450.

4.1-2 and the commentary verses will have been made later and all pieced into an Upaniṣad. The *vipulā* pattern of these verses is not obviously early, at IIP.1-1-0-0-0-0-1+2 quoted D, and it is certainly later than *Īśa* of the last quarter of the 6th century BC. We may now take the other verses.

5.2 is *ṚV* 4.40.5 used to illustrate/prove something, much as in the way the Bible could be made opposite somehow in the 16-17th centuries in Europe.

5.2 haṃsaḥ śuciṣad vasur antarikṣasad
hotā vediṣad atithir duroṇasat/
nṛṣad varasad ṛtasad viomasad
abjā gojā ṛtajā adrijā ṛtām//

The goose/(soul) sitting in the pure place, the good one sitting in the sky, the priest sitting in the sacrificial ground, the guest at the cups, sitting in men, sitting in the enclosure, in the world-order, in heaven, born of water, milk, proper form, the soma stone, let him arise.

We give the *ṚV* verse, but suggest the emendation *ṛtām* for *ṛtám*, let him arise, (inj/imo *Ātm.* cf Gk orto) *KU* has *ṛtam bṛhat*, which destroys the scansion of d. *vara* does not mean 'gods' as in the vulgate, and MW's *vara* is much better. With the mention of milk, *adri* as the soma stone is also much better, than the vulgate 'mountain'.

.3 is commenting on the *anguṣṭhamātra puruṣa* of 4.12.3;

.3 ūrdhvam prāṇam unnayati
apānam pratyag asyati/
madhye vāmanam āsīnaṃ
viśve devā upāsate//

It leads up the out-breath, it throws back the away-breath. All the gods pay court to the dwarf seated in the middle.

Should we have *avāna*, by phonetic confusion ? The gods seem to be the senses again. I should not be surprised if we have a quoted verse. The verse goes closely with .5 :

.5 na prāṇena nāpānena
martyo jīvati kaścana/
itareṇa tu jīvanti
yasminn etāv upāśritau//

Not by the out/continuing or away-breath does any mortal live, but by something else they live, on which these two depend.

With Prakudha *prāṇa* is only the air atom; it is the *jīva* atom that makes life.

.6 is a comment on .4, even if a bit irrelevant, connected by d with 4.15.

.6 hanta tedaṃ pravakṣyāmi guhyaṃ brahma sanātanam/
yathā ca maraṇaṃ prāpya ātmā bhavati Gautama//

Listen! I'll tell you the old secret *brahma,* and how the self having reached death comes into being, Gautama.

We have a double *sandhi* in a.

.7 yonim anye prapadyante
śarīratvāya dehinaḥ/
sthāṇum anye'nusaṃyanti
yathākarma yathāśrutam//

Some go into a womb for embodiment as souls, some follow along a stationary thing, according to the *karma,* according to tradition (e.g. *ChU* 5.10.6).

The vulgate 'thoughts' for *śrutam* is not Sanskrit.

With this verse I would incline to take 6.4.

6.4 iha ced aśakad boddhum
prāk śarīrasya visrasaḥ/
tataḥ svargeṣu lokeṣu
śarīratvāya kalpate//

If one has once perceived it here before the break-up of the body, then he is fit for embodiment in the heavenly worlds.

I have emended *sargeṣu* with which the vulgate translation makes no sense without conjuring phrases out of nothing. We would have the old view that by knowledge one could control the next incarnation, (which might be in the heavenly world). If we could read *aśakan,* misread as *-at,* and *sandhi* than 'rectified', *sargeṣu* would make good sense; the chief objection is the 'aor' participle, or *śak* as cl.6. This might be the better emendation. If one is not able to perceive . . one is going to rebirth'.

The scansion of these verses, 4.10-11, .14-5, 5.3, .5-7, 6.4 is not so good as in the *etad vai tat* verses, 11P.3-1-0-0-1-1-1D.

We now have some *triṣṭubh*-s, which may be a comment on the *agni* of 4.8:

5.9 agnir yathaiko bhuvanam praviṣṭo
rūpaṃ rūpaṃ pratirūpo babhūva/
ekas tathā sarvabhūtāntarātmā
rūpaṃ rūpaṃ pratirūpo babhūva//

As fire which is one entering a being became having a corresponding form to every form, so the inner self of all beings being one, has a form corresponding to each form, and is outside (them).

.10 for 'fire', read 'air'.

.11 sūryo yathā sarvalokasya cakṣur
na lipyate cākṣuṣair bāhyadoṣaiḥ/
ekas tathā sarvabhūtāntarātmā
na lipyate lokaduḥkhena bāhyaḥ//

As the sun, the eye of the whole world is not smeared by eyes that have external faults, faults over external objects, so the inner self of all beings, being one, is not smeared with the pain of the world, being outside it.

We keep Radhakrishnan *cākṣuṣair* in b.

.12 eko vaśī sarvabhūtāntarātmā
ekaṃ rūpam bahudhā yaḥ karoti/
tam ātmasthaṃ ye'nupaśyanti dhīrās
teṣāṃ sukhaṃ śāśvataṃ netareṣām//

The one autonomous inner soul of all beings, who makes his one form in many ways/(into many), those men of insight who look to him, being in themselves, theirs only is eternal bliss, of no others.

This is quoted/used in *ŚvetU* 6. d would be aimed at the heresies.

.13 nityo nityānāṃ cetanaś cetanānām
eko bahūnāṃ yo vidadhāti kāmān/
tam ātmasthaṃ yenānupaśyanti dhīrās
teṣāṃ śāntiś śāśvatī netareṣām//

Eternal of the eternal, thinker of thinkers, who, one, effects the desires of many, since men of insight look to him being in themselves, theirs is eternal peace, and of no others.

I suggest these verses are from the theist of *dhātuḥ prasāda* of 1.2.20, who criticizes the impersonality of *etad vai tat* in the next final verse.

5.14 tad etad iti manyante
nirdeśyam paramaṃ sukham/
kathaṃ nu tad vijānīyāṃ kim u bhāti vibhāti vā//

They think the highest bliss is definable with 'It is this'. How would I know it whether it shows or illumines ?

I am not fond of an avagraha at the caesura. With two clauses we might take *nirdeśya* with *nir-*=out of.

Someone less theist has now quoted *Muṇḍ*. 2.2.10.

.15 na tatra sūryo bhāti na candratārakaṃ
nemā vidyuto bhānti kuto'yam agniḥ/
tam eva bhāntam anubhāti sarvaṃ
tasya bhāsā sarvam idaṃ vibhāti'/

The sun does not shine there nor moon or stars; our lightenings do not shine, how then this fire ? Everything shines abroad after him shining. By his light the whole world shines abroad.

2.6 is so diverse that Weller only lets .10-1 and .12-3 go together. .2 is incoherent.

6.2 yad idam kiṃ ca jagat sarvam
prāṇa ejati niḥsṛtam/
mahad bhayaṃ vajram udyataṃ
ya etad vidur amṛtās te bhavanti//

This whole living world whatever having come out moves in breath. The raised thunderbolt is a great terror. Who know this become immortal.

We may take *yad idam* as vv- for – –; but without *bhem,* c does not scan. I can see no relevance of the verse (sic) in its context. It reminds its inserter of *TaitU*. 2.8.1, of which he gives a version :

.3 bhayād asyāgnis tapati bhayāt tapati sūriaḥ/
bhayād Indraś ca vāyuś ca mṛtyur dhāvati pañcamaḥ//

By fear of this one the fire is hot, by fear the sun is hot, by fear Indra and Vāyu. Death runs fifth.

.5 will scan no-how, and in sense and relevance is not much better.

.5 yathādarśe tathātmani yathā svapne tathā pitṛloke, yathāpsu parīva dadṛśe tathā gandharvaloke, chāyātapayor iva brahmaloke/

As in a mirror, so in the self, as in a dream, so in the world of the fathers, as he looked round as it were in the waters, so in the Gandharva world, as if in shade and light in the *brahma* world.

Doubtless .2-3 and .5 are old, but what they meant has been lost.

We have some verses of the personal which may go together :

.7 indriyebhyaḥ param mano
manasaḥ sattvam uttamam/
sattvād adhi mahān ātmā
mahato'vyaktam uttamam//

Mind is beyond the senses, the sentient creature higher than mind, the great self higher than the creature, the unmanifest than the great self.

To translate *sattva* as beingness is ackward here; our suggestion is 'the whole is more than the part'; but we offer the translation as a possibility.

.8 .avyaktāt paraḥ puruṣo
vyāpako'liṅga eva ca/
yaṃ jñātvā mucyate jantur
amṛtatvaṃ ca gacchati//

The *puruṣa* is beyond the unmanifest, pervading and without mark, knowing whom a creature is released, and goes to immortality.

.12 naiva vācā na manasā prāptuṃ śakyo no cakṣuṣā/
astīti bruvato'nyatra kathaṃ tad upalabhyate//

He cannot be won just by speech or mind or sight. How is he (*Puruṣa*) apprehended other than asserting his existence ? (i.e. knowing by being).

.13 astīty evopalabdhavyas tattvabhāvena cobhayoḥ/
asīty evopalabdhasya tattvabhāvaḥ prasīdati//

He is to be comprehended by the assertion and by the true nature of both (asserter and asserted) when he has been comprehended by the assertion of existence, the true nature becomes clear.

We suggest a clear assertion of knowing by being. *ca* is ackwardly placed for the vulgate translation, which also does not properly deal with *ubhayoḥ*. These verses are too personal for somebody, who prefers the impersonal, so we have interspersed .6, .10-1, .14-5.

.6 indriyāṇām pṛthagbhāvam udayāstamayau ca yat/
pṛthag utpadyamānānām matvā dhīro na śocati//
The man of insight does not feel pain when he thinks of the separate nature, and what is the up and down of the senses that arise.

.10 yadā pañcāvatiṣṭhante jñānāni manasā saha/
buddhiś ca na viceṣṭati tām āhuḥ paramāṃ gatim//

When the five knowledges along with mind stand down, and the intelligence does not stir, men call that the highest state.

.11 tām yogam iti manyante sthirām indriyadhāraṇām/
apramattas tadā bhoti yogo hi prabhavāpyayau//

That state they think of as *yoga*, steady, holding the senses. Then one is undistracted. For appearance and disappearance is *yoga*.

I take it this last is a trance state, where sense-impressions, if existent, are not sorted and registered.

BAU 4.4.7 now gives a useful quote, and suggests .15.

.14 yadā sarve pramucyante kāmā ye'sya hṛdi śritāḥ/
atha martyo'mṛto bhoti atra brahma samaśnute//

When all the desires that are in the heart of this man are let go, then the mortal becomes immortal. In this he attains *brahma*.

.15 yadā sarve prabhidyante hṛdayasyeha granthayaḥ/
atha martyo'mṛto bhoti etavad anuśāśanam//

When all the ties of this man's heart in the world are fully cut, then the mortal becomes immortal. So much is the teaching, that is the gist of the teaching.

If these groups are of different authorship, the *vipulā* patterns are not for apart in time : .7-8, 12-3 shows 5P.0-1-1-0-0-0-1D
.6, .10-1, .15 7P.0-0-0-0-0-0-1D D may survive in the religious tradition because of its dominance in *ṚV;* in the secular it is a bad *Vipulā*.

We have three *triṣṭubh*-s left, of which 6.16 gives the physiology of death, and unless suggested by a question from a student on .14-5, does not fit in. It appears in *ChU* 8.6.6, where it is unlikely to be much if, at all earlier. cf. *BAU* 4.2.3.

.16 śatam caikā ca hṛdayasya nāḍyas
tāsām mūrdhānam abhiniḥsṛtaikā/
tayordhvam āyann amṛtatvam eti
viṣvaṅṅ anyā utkramaṇe bhavanti//

There are 101 veins of the heart. One of them goes out to the skull. Coming up by that one goes to immortality in any direction. There are others in the going out (dying).

The vulgate translates *viṣvak*, neut., but our text is masc. The other veins are involved in the dying process, since the senses go down through them and collect in the heart. The vulgate translation makes nice English grammar, but what does it mean ?

.9 is more relevant to the Upaniṣad, and might well have been made by the author of the final verse.

.9 na saṃdṛśe tiṣṭhati rūpam asya
na cakṣuṣā paśyati kaścanainam/
hṛdā manīṣā manasābhiklṛpto
yaitad vidur amṛtās te bhavanti//

His form is not for seeing. Him with the eye nobody sees who is prepared in heart, mind and thought. Those who know this become immortal.

We have a double *sandhi* again in d to scan. The vulgate translates *abhiklptam*; The verse reappears with a little modernized language in *MBh* 5.45.6. Is it a criticism of the rising theism that shows up in e.g. the Parkham Yakṣa ? Finally, there is another comment composite verse before the end.

.17 aṅguṣṭhamātraḥ puruṣo'ntarātmā
sadā janānām hṛdaye sanniviṣṭaḥ/
tam svāt charīrāt pravṛhen
muñjād iva iṣīkam dhairieṇa//
tam vidyāt śukram amṛtam//

ab The thumb-sized spirit, inner self, always being in the heart of men, having entered.

should we read *saṃniviṣṭaḥ* ?

cde He should wrench it/him out from his own body as an arrow from the reed with firmness. He should know him/it as the bright immortal.

I have no doubt that the original meaning of this verse was sexual, reading *tad,* at least in e. We have another instance of the remeaning of old verses, joined with the growing puritanism of the *brahman* as philosophy supplants ritual. There is no difficulty in the sexual imagery.

.18 mṛtyuproktām Naciketo'tha labdhvā
vidyām etāṃ yogavidhiṃ ca kṛtsnam/
brahmaprāpto virajo'bhūd vimṛtyur
anyo'py evaṃvidyo adhiātmam eva//

Naciketas receiving the knowledge spoken by death, and the whole rule of *yoga*, having attaind *brahma*, became free from death, free from *rajas*. Also any other thus-knower just as regards the individual/self,

I have inverted yo and vid, which is normally in following compounds. Also it is hard to avoid the brahmanic evaṃvid; we make a ***bahuvrīhi***, ***virajas*** would have a connotation of Sāṃkhya. As in Naciketo, it has gone over to the thematic declension, another prakritism.

For the vulgate I have used Radhakrishnan's text and translation. He follows Śaṅkara, and therefore has to make his mistakes, which Śaṅkara had to make to establish his Vedānta. We do not pretend to solve the problems of *KU* in this article, but we do hope to have shown there are more than many think; our interest is again in the historical development of the thought, and we do not claim that the Upaniṣad did not mean what Śaṅkara says it means to many over centuries. There is a long contest between the personal and impersonal Ultimate in Indian philosophy, and even when there are many, they may not be personal, since personality is of this world, not ultimate reality.

Vipulā-s we give in the order *Pathyā*, –––⏓ M, –˘˘⏓X, ˘˘˘⏓II, –˘–⏓T, ˘˘–⏓ im, ––˘⏓ IM, ˘–˘⏓ D. (The M of 4.10-1, .14-5 have all bad caesure, not – | –––.) From the *triṣṭubh*-s we have no reason to change our position for *KU* as suggested in the Sternbach Vol. of Indologia Taurinensia, after *Muṇḍaka* and possibly Śvetāśvatara 1-2, but there has been a misprint there, in that the pre-caesure ––˘–– and ˘–˘–– are both 13; not 5 and 2 for 15 and 12 – our reworking has caused minor changes in the figures.

दशरूपक में प्रतिपादित सन्धि-विषयक धारणा का मूल्याङ्कन—कतिपय व्यायोगों के विशेष परिप्रेक्ष्य में

ज्ञान देवी श्रीवास्तव

सुप्रसिद्ध नाट्यशास्त्रीय ग्रन्थ दशरूपक के रचयिता आचार्य धनञ्जय अर्थप्रकृतियों और अवस्थाओं के विवेचन के अनन्तर नाट्य-सन्धियों का विवेचन करते हुये कहते हैं:-

अर्थप्रकृतयः पञ्च पञ्चावस्थासमन्विताः ॥[1]
यथासंख्येन जायन्ते मुखाद्याः पञ्च सन्धयः ॥[2]

जिसकी व्याख्या करते हुये वृत्तिकार धनिक कहते हैं :—

अर्थप्रकृतीनां पञ्चानां यथासंख्येनावस्थाभिः पञ्चभिर्योगात् यथासंख्येनैव वक्ष्यमाणा मुखाद्याः पञ्च सन्धयो जायन्ते ।

आचार्यद्वय के उक्त विवेचन का तात्पर्य यह है कि बीज, बिन्दु, पताका, प्रकरी तथा कार्य नामक अर्थप्रकृतियों का आरम्भ, यत्न, प्राप्त्याशा, नियताप्ति तथा फलागम नामक अवस्थाओं के साथ क्रमशः संयोग होने पर क्रमशः मुख, प्रतिमुख, गर्भ, अवमर्श तथा निर्वहण नामक सन्धियों का निर्माण होता है । अर्थात् :—

मुख सन्धि	=	बीज नामक अर्थप्रकृति	+	आरम्भ नामक कार्यावस्था
प्रतिमुख सन्धि	=	बिन्दु नामक अर्थप्रकृति	+	यत्न नामक कार्यावस्था
गर्भ सन्धि	=	पताका नामक अर्थप्रकृति	+	प्राप्त्याशा नामक कार्यावस्था
अवमर्श सन्धि	=	प्रकरी नामक अर्थप्रकृति	+	नियताप्ति नामक कार्यावस्था
निर्वहण सन्धि	=	कार्य नामक अर्थप्रकृति	+	फलागम नामक कार्यावस्था

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१ १, २२
२ १, २३

इस प्रकार आचार्य ने अपने उपर्युक्त विवेचन में यह तो बताया कि सन्धियाँ कौन कौन सी हैं तथा उनका निर्माण किन घटकों से होता है किन्तु सन्धियाँ हैं क्या ? यह प्रश्न अनुत्तरित रह जाता है (यद्यपि वृत्तिकार धनिक उक्त कारिका को सन्धि का लक्षण ही मानते हैं ।[1]) अतः सन्धि का लक्षण करते हुये धनञ्जय आगे कहते हैं :—

अन्तरैकार्थसम्बन्धः सन्धिरेकान्वये सति ।।[2]

उक्त कारिकांश को सन्धि का सामान्य लक्षण मानते हुये वृत्तिकार धनिक पुनः लिखते हैं-

"एकेन प्रयोजनेनान्वितानां कथांशानामवान्तरैकप्रयोजनसम्बन्धः सन्धिः ।[3]

जिसका आशय यह है कि एक प्रयोजन से अन्वित कथांशों का अवान्तर प्रयोजन के साथ सम्बन्ध ही सन्धि है । धनिक की उक्त व्याख्या से जो तथ्य सुस्पष्ट रूप से समझ में आता है वह यह हैं कि कथांशों का सम्बन्ध सन्धि है किन्तु सन्धि के विषय में इस प्रकार की धारणा स्वयं नाट्यशास्त्रप्रणेता भरतमुनि को भी अभिप्रेत न थी । उनके अनुसार कथांशों का सम्बन्ध सन्धि नहीं है अपितु कथांश (इतिवृत्त के विभाग) स्वयं सन्धि हैं । वे स्पष्ट कहते हैं:—

इतिवृत्तं तु नाट्यस्य शरीरं परिकीर्तितम् ।
पञ्चभिः सन्धिभिस्तस्य विभागाः सम्प्रकल्पिताः ।।[4]

इन पाँच सन्धियों (इतिवृत्त-विभागों) का परिगणन करते हुये भरतमुनि पुनः कहते हैं :—

मुखं प्रतिमुखं चैव गर्भो विमर्श एव च ।
तथा निर्वहणं चेति नाटके पञ्चसन्धयः ।।[5]

सन्धि पद का अभिधेय कथांश कैसे हो सकता है इस तथ्य का प्रतिपादन करते हुये अभिनवगुप्तपादाचार्य "सन्धि" पद का निर्वचन करते हुये कहते हैं :—

"तेनार्थावयवा सन्धीयमानाः परस्परमङ्गैश्च सन्धयः इति समाख्या निरुक्ता, तदेषां सामान्यलक्षणम् ।"[6]

जिसका आशय यह है कि इतिवृत्त का अंशविशेष स्वयं सन्धि है जो परस्पर अङ्गों के साथ सन्धीयमान होने के कारण सन्धि कहलाता है । अभिनवगुप्त के अनुसार कथानक का जितना अंश एक विशेष वैचित्र्य की कल्पना के प्राचुर्य से युक्त हो वह सन्धि कहलाता है—

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१ सन्धिलक्षणमाह—अर्थप्रकृतयः.........पञ्चसन्धयः ।। १.२२, २३

२ १.२३

३ सन्धिसामान्यलक्षणमाह—दशरूपक, पृष्ठ २४

४ नाट्यशास्त्र ९.१

५ तदेव, ९.३७

६ तदेव, १९.३७ अभि० भा० ।

"प्रकारवैचित्र्यकल्पनामया एव सन्धयः ।।"[1]

नाट्यदर्पणकार भी भरतमुनि तथा अभिनवगुप्त की ही धारणा की पुनरावृत्ति करते हैं जब वे सन्धि के विषय में कहते हैं—

"सन्धयो मुख्यवृत्तांशाः... ..... । मुख्यस्य स्वतन्त्रस्य........... महावाक्यार्थस्यांशा भागाः परस्परं स्वरूपेण चाङ्गैः सन्धीयन्त इति सन्धयः ।[2]

साहित्यदर्पणकार तो धनञ्जयकृत सन्धिलक्षण तथा धनिककृत उसकी व्याख्या को अविकल रूप में उद्धृत करते हुये भी इतिवृत्तांश को ही सन्धि कहते हैं:—

"पञ्चधैवेतिवृत्तस्य भागाः स्युः पञ्चसन्धयः ।[3]

इस प्रकार दशरूपक से पूर्ववर्ती तथा परवर्त्ती सभी आचार्य नाट्यसन्धियों के इतिवृत्तांशवाची होने के ही समर्थक हैं । स्वयं धनञ्जय भी दशरूपक के तृतीय प्रकाश में नाटक नामक रूपकभेद के विवेचन के प्रसङ्ग में सन्धियों के इतिवृत्तांशवाची होने का प्रतिपादन स्पष्ट शब्दों में करते हैं ।[4] ऐसी स्थिति में धनञ्जयकृत सन्धि-लक्षण में आये "अन्तरैकार्थसम्बन्धः" में बहुब्रीहि समास मानते हुये यदि उस लक्षण का यह अर्थ किया जाय कि "एक मुख्य प्रयोजन से सम्बन्ध होने पर जिसका (जिस अंश का) अवान्तर किसी प्रयोजन से सम्बन्ध हो वह (अंश) सन्धि कहलाता है" [यह व्याख्या असंगत नहीं है क्योंकि हर सन्धि (जो इतिवृत्त का अंश है) का सम्बन्ध इतिवृत्त के प्रधान प्रयोजन से तो होता है, साथ ही प्रत्येक का बीजसमुत्पत्त्यादि अपने विशिष्ट प्रयोजन से भी सम्बन्ध होता ही है] तो वहाँ भी सन्धि कथांश का ही वाचक बन जाता है, किन्तु धनिक की व्याख्या को स्वीकार करने पर सन्धि कथमपि कथांश का वाचक नहीं हो सकता । इस प्रकार यह कहना गलत न होगा कि सन्धिविषयक गलत धारणा का मूल धनञ्जयकृत उक्त सन्धि-लक्षण नहीं अपितु धनिककृत उसकी व्याख्या है ।

नाट्यसन्धियों से सम्बन्ध धनञ्जय तथा धनिक की धारणा के सम्बन्ध में दूसरी जो उल्लेखनीय बात है वह यह है कि सन्धियों के निर्माण से सम्बन्धित जिस प्रक्रिया का प्रतिपादन ये आचार्यद्वय करते हैं (जिसका उल्लेख प्रस्तुत लेख के आरम्भ में ही किया जा चुका है) उस प्रक्रिया से न केवल पूर्ववर्ती एवं परवर्ती समस्त आचार्यों का वैमत्य है अपितु लक्ष्यग्रन्थों से भी उसकी पुष्टि नहीं होती । ऐसी स्थिति में सन्धि के घटकों से सम्बद्ध उक्त धारणा का परीक्षण भी प्रस्तुत लेख में अपरिहार्य हो जाता है ।

सन्धियों के सम्बन्ध में नाट्यशास्त्र के वरिष्ठ व्याख्याता आचार्य अभिनवगुप्त का यह स्पष्ट अभिमत है कि नाट्य-सन्धियाँ कार्यावस्थाओं का अनुगमन करती हैं (अर्थप्रकृतियों का नहीं)—

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१ तदेव, अभि० भारती, भाग ३, पृष्ठ २ (गा०ओ०सी०)

२ नाट्यदर्पण, प्रथम विवेक पृष्ठ ९४

३ साहित्यदर्पण ६.७४

४ खण्डशः सन्धिसंज्ञाश्च विभागानपि खण्डयेत् ३.२६ ।

"सन्धयो ह्यवस्थापरतन्त्राः "[1]

उन्हीं की सरणि पर नाट्यदर्पणकार भी सन्धियों का सम्बन्ध अर्थप्रकृतियों से न मानकर अवस्थाओं से मानते हुये सन्धियों को प्रारम्भादि अवस्थाओं से अनुगत बताते हैं ।[2] साहित्यदर्पण-कार भी यद्यपि सन्धि के लक्षण के प्रसङ्ग में धनञ्जयकृत सन्धिलक्षण को ही धनिक की वृत्ति के साथ अविकल रूप में उद्धृत करते हैं[3] तथापि सन्धि के स्वरूप के विषय में वे जो कुछ प्रतिपादित करते हैं उससे स्पष्ट है कि वे भी सन्धियों को अवस्थाओं से ही सम्बद्ध मानते हैं, अर्थप्रकृतियों से नहीं । अवस्थाओं के विवेचन के अनन्तर वे कहते हैं :–

यथासंख्यमवस्थाभिराभिर्योगात्तु पञ्चभिः ।
पञ्चधैवेतिवृत्तस्य भागाः स्युः पञ्चसन्धयः ।।[4]

धनञ्जय के सिद्धान्त को स्वीकार करने में सबसे बड़ी कठिनाई जो सामने आती है वह यह है कि उनके सिद्धान्त को स्वीकार करने पर, अर्थप्रकृतियों का जो क्रम आचार्य बताते हैं, उस क्रम अथवा पौर्वापर्य का विपर्यय नहीं होना चाहिये । दूसरे शब्दों में हर प्रबन्ध में गर्भसन्धि के घटक पताका नामक अर्थप्रकृति को पहले आना चाहिये तथा अवमर्श सन्धि के घटक प्रकरी को बाद में (क्योंकि वृत्तांशभूत सन्धियों का क्रम तो सुनिश्चित है अतः रूपकों में गर्भ सन्धि के बाद ही अवमर्श सन्धि की योजना होगी, यदि इन दोनों सन्धियों का विधान विहित है तो) पर वास्तविकता यह है कि लक्ष्यग्रन्थों में इनके पौर्वापर्य का विपर्यय देखा जाता है। उदाहरणार्थ आदि-काव्य रामायण में ही जटायुवृत्तान्त तथा शबरी-वृत्तान्त, जो (प्रदेशभाक् होने के कारण)[5] प्रकरी हैं, पताकाभूत सुग्रीव-वृत्तान्त से पूर्व सुयोजित हैं । ऐसी स्थिति में यह मानना कहाँ तक तर्कसङ्गत है कि रामायण में अवमर्श सन्धि का प्रयोग गर्भसन्धि से पूर्व हुआ है ? उक्त सिद्धान्त में दूसरी असङ्गति यह भी उठती है कि सहाय-निरपेक्ष नायक के चरित में पताका-वृत्तान्त होता ही नहीं[6] तो क्या उनसे सम्बद्ध रूपकों में गर्भसन्धि का अभाव मान लिया जाय ? गर्भसन्धि के लक्षण में

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१ नाट्यशास्त्र १९.३९ अभि०भा०

२ (क) "सन्धयो मुख्यवृत्तांशाः पञ्चावस्थानुगाः क्रमात् ।" ना०द० १.३७
(ख) अवस्थाभिः प्रारम्भादिभिरनुगता, अवस्थासमाप्तौ समाप्यन्त इत्यर्थः" ना०द०, पृष्ठ ९४

३ तल्लक्षणमाह—अन्तरैकार्थसम्बन्धः सन्धिरेकान्वये सति ।
एकेन प्रयोजनेनान्वितानां कथांशानामवान्तरैकप्रयोजनसम्बन्धः सन्धिः । सा०द० ६.७५

४ वही ६.७४

५ सानुबन्धं पताकाख्यं प्रकरी च प्रदेशभाक् । दशरूपक १.१३

६ (क) यदि फलसाधने साहाय्यापेक्षाणां नायकानां वृत्तं निबध्यते तदा पताका भवति । न तु स्वपराक्रमबहुमानिनामिति । ना०द०, पृष्ठ ७०
(ख) सहायानपेक्षाणां नायकानां वृत्ते बीजबिन्दुकार्याणि त्रय एवोपायाः । सहायापेक्षाणां तु पताकाप्रकारीभ्यामन्यतरया वा सह पञ्च चत्वारो वेति । नाट्यदर्पण प्रथम विवेक,पृ०८०

दशरूपककार "पताका स्यान्न वा" कह कर इस बात का विधान करते हैं कि पताका के अभाव में भी केवल प्राप्त्याशा नामक अवस्था के सद्भाव में गर्भसन्धि मान ली जाय किन्तु यह तो उनके सिद्धान्त में एक प्रकार का वदतोव्याघात है, उक्त समस्या का समाधान नहीं। अपने ही कथन द्वारा उनकी अपनी ही मान्यता का खण्डन हो रहा है। इस प्रकार लक्ष्यग्रन्थों में इन अर्थप्रकृतियों का न तो आचार्यों द्वारा उद्दिष्ट क्रम पाया जाता है और न ही सभी का अपरिहार्यत्व। अतः नाट्यदर्पणकार कहते हैं–"नैषामौद्देशिको निबन्धक्रमः सर्वेषामवश्यम्भावित्वं वा।"[1] यही नहीं बिन्दु नामक अर्थप्रकृति को भी प्रतिमुख सन्धि तक सीमित कर देना भी भ्रामक है। अवान्तर'प्रसङ्ग द्वारा मुख्य कथावस्तु के विच्छिन्न हो जाने पर उसे जोड़ने वाला उपाय (अर्थप्रकृति) रूपक में बिन्दु के नाम से जाना जाता है।[2] स्पष्ट है ऐसा स्थल तो कथानक में समाप्ति से पूर्व तक कहीं भी आ सकता है। नाट्यदर्पणकार तो स्पष्ट शब्दों में यह प्रतिपादित करते हैं कि यह समस्त इतिवृत्त में कई बार आ सकता है।[3]

अतः दशरूपककार द्वारा प्रतिपादित उक्त प्रक्रिया ग्राह्य नहीं है।

इसके विपरीत सन्धियों को अवस्थाओं का अनुगामी मानने में कोई असङ्गति नहीं दिखाई देती है, क्योंकि फलागम के लिये उन्मुख प्रायः सभी नायकों के जीवन में ये अवस्थायें आती हैं, और उसी क्रम से आती हैं जिस क्रम से आचार्यों ने इनका उल्लेख किया है क्योंकि प्रत्येक नायक सर्वप्रथम फललाभ के लिये औत्सुक्यमात्र[4] (आरम्भ) रखता दिखाई देता है, तदनन्तर फल के न मिलने पर उसकी प्राप्ति के लिये सप्रयास होता है,[5] उपायों के सद्भाव तथा विघ्नों की शंङ्का के कारण फलप्राप्ति की सम्भावनामात्र की अवस्था से जाता है[6], विघ्नों के अभाव के कारण फल की निश्चितप्राप्तिरूप प्राप्त्याशा[7] नामक अवस्था तक पहुँचता है और अन्ततः समग्रफलसम्पत्तिरूप फलागम[8] को प्राप्त होता है। अतः 'एक एक अवस्था के चित्रण से युक्त रूपक का एक-एक भाग क्रमशः एक-एक सन्धि है' ऐसा मानने में कोई असङ्गति नहीं है। नाटक तथा प्रकरण को छोड़कर भाण, वीथी, प्रहसन एवं अङ्क नामक रूपकों में केवल दो ही सन्धियाँ— मुख और निर्वहण— आचार्यों द्वारा विहित हैं। इसी प्रकार व्यायोग तथा ईहामृग में मुख, प्रतिमुख और निर्वहण तथा समवकार और डिम में विमर्श को छोड़कर केवल चार ही सन्धियों का विधान नाट्यशास्त्रीय

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१ नाट्यदर्पण, प्रथम विवेक, पृष्ठ ६२
२ अवान्तरार्थविच्छेदे बिन्दुरच्छेदकारणम्। दशरूपक–१.१७
३ "अफलादिति बीजवत् समस्तेतिवृत्तव्यापकत्वमाह" ना०द०पृष्ठ ७७
४ औत्सुक्यमात्रमारम्भः फललाभाय भूयसे। दशरूपक १.२०
५ प्रयत्नस्तु तदप्राप्तौ व्यापारोऽतित्वरान्वितः। वही १.२०
६ उपायापायशङ्काभ्यां प्राप्त्याशा प्राप्तिसम्भवः। वही १.२१
७ अपायाभावतः प्राप्तिर्नियताप्तिः सुनिश्चिता। वही १.१२
८ समग्रफलसम्पत्तिः फलयोगो यथोदितः। वही १.२२

आचार्य करते हैं। उक्त समस्त रूपकभेदों में तत्तत् सन्धि से सम्बद्ध अवस्था का ही (न कि अर्थ-प्रकृति का भी) अभाव स्वीकार करने में किसी प्रकार की व्यावहारिक कठिनाई नहीं दिखाई पड़ती है। इस प्रकार अधोलिखित आधारों पर दशरूपककार का उक्त विवेचन सर्वथा अग्राह्य है:—

१ स्वयं दशरूपककार ने गर्भसन्धि के विवेचन के प्रसङ्ग में पताका के अवश्यम्भावित्व का खण्डन किया है[१], जबकि उनके अनुसार प्राप्त्याशा एवं पताका के मिश्रण से ही गर्भसन्धि का निर्माण होता है।

२ पताका नामक अर्थप्रकृति कथावस्तु का अनिवार्य अङ्ग नहीं है वरन् इसका प्रयोग तभी किया जाता है जबकि नायक अपने उद्देश्य की प्राप्ति के लिये सहायक की अपेक्षा रखता हो[२] किन्तु इसके अभाव में भी पाँच सन्धियाँ देखी जाती हैं।

३ पताका केवल गर्भसन्धि में प्रारम्भ हो यह कोई आवश्यक नहीं है। यह मुख-सन्धि से आरम्भ हो कर अवमर्श-सन्धि पर्यन्त व्याप्त हो सकता है।[३]

४ बीज को मुख सन्धि तक ही सीमित नहीं किया जा सकता है। यह समस्त इतिवृत्त में व्याप्त रहता है।[४] अतः इसका सम्बन्ध केवल मुखसन्धि के साथ दिखाना उचित नहीं।

५ बिन्दु केवल एक बार ही नहीं अपितु अनेक बार, जब भी मुख्य कथा का विच्छेद हो, प्रयुक्त किया जा सकता है। यह इतिवृत्त की समाप्ति तक रहता है[५]। अतः बिन्दु का सम्बन्ध किसी भी सन्धि से हो सकता है, केवल प्रतिमुख से नहीं।

उपर्युक्त कमियों के कारण दशरूपककार द्वारा प्रतिपादित यह गणितीय सिद्धान्त अग्राह्य, भ्रामक एवं सदोष है।

धनञ्जय तथा धनिक के उपर्युक्त सिद्धान्त का खोखलापन उस समय और अधिक सुस्पष्ट हो जाता है जब हम इसे कतिपय व्यायोगों के सन्दर्भ में चरितार्थ करने का प्रयास करते हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में सभी नाट्यशास्त्रीय आचार्य एकमत हैं कि व्यायोगों में गर्भ एवं विमर्श

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१ गर्भस्तु दृष्टनष्टस्य बीजस्यान्वेषणं मुहुः।
द्वादशाङ्गः पताका स्यान्न वा स्यात्प्राप्तिसम्भवः॥ द०रू०, १.३६

२ "यदि फलसाधने साहाय्यापेक्षाणां नायकानां वृत्तं निबध्यते तदा पताका भवति।"
ना० द०, पृष्ठ ७०

३ "आविमर्शं पताका....... परार्थकृत्॥ १.२९........ आविमर्शमिति यदा मर्यादायामाङ् तदा मुखप्रतिमुखगर्भान्, यदि पुरभिविधौ तदा विमर्शमभिव्याप्य विरमति"॥ ना०द० पृष्ठ ७०

४-५ हेतोश्छेदेऽनुसन्धानं बहूनां बिन्दुराफलात्॥ ना०द० १.३२..... ...
आफलादिति बीजवत् समस्तेतिवृत्तव्यापकत्वमाह। ना०द०, पृष्ठ ७७

सन्धियों का अभाव होता है।[1] स्वयं धनञ्जय भी इस मान्यता से सहमत हैं।[2] ऐसी स्थिति में धनञ्जय का यह सूत्र स्वीकार करने पर कि "सन्धियों का निर्माण क्रमशः एक एक अर्थप्रकृति एवं एक-एक अवस्था के योग से होता है" गर्भ एवं विमर्श सन्धियों से रहित व्यायोगों में गर्भ एवं विमर्श सन्धियों के घटकभूत पताका एवं प्रकरी का अभाव होना चाहिये पर लक्ष्यभूत व्यायोगों में ऐसा पाया नहीं जाता है।

सर्वप्रथम महाकवि भास विरचित मध्यमव्यायोग को ही लें। इस रूपक में घटोत्कच द्वारा माता के आहारार्थ नीयमान मध्यम ब्राह्मणकुमार की रक्षा के लिये भीम का आत्मबलिदान चित्रित है। वृद्ध ब्राह्मण केशवदास के कुल का पीछा करता हुआ घटोत्कच ब्राह्मण से अपनी माता के उपवास-पारण हेतु एक पुत्र माँगता है। ब्राह्मण के तीन पुत्रों में मध्यम पुत्र को ही उसके साथ जाने का अवसर प्राप्त होता है। तदनन्तर परलोक-यात्रा से पूर्व अपनी प्यास बुझाने के लिये गये हुये उसके विलम्ब को देखकर घटोत्कच उसे मध्यम कहकर पुकारता है जिसे भीम अपने लिये ग्रहण करते हुये उसके पास पहुँचते हैं और मध्यम ब्राह्मणकुमार के स्थान पर स्वयं उसके साथ जाने का निश्चय करके उसके साथ मल्लयुद्ध करते हैं। अन्ततः भीम उसे पराजित कर अपने कथनानुसार उसका अनुसरण करते हैं। हिडिम्बा पति भीम को देखकर पुत्र को उनका परिचय देती है। तब तक पहुंचे हुये ब्राह्मण कुल को भीम हिडिम्बा और घटोत्कच सहित आश्रम के द्वार तक पहुँचाने जाते हैं। प्रस्तुत कथानक में ब्राह्मण केशवदास का वृत्तान्त आदि से अन्त तक व्याप्त होने के कारण आधिकारिक है और भीम तथा हिडिम्बा से सम्बद्ध वृत्तान्त परार्थपरक होने के कारण प्रासङ्गिक तथा रूपक में दूर तक व्याप्त होने के कारण पताका[3] कहा जा सकता है। प्रो० ए० डी० पुशालकर[4] तथा प्रो० ध्रुव[5] ने तो भीम तथा हिडिम्बा की कथा को आधिकारिक तथा वृद्ध केशवदास के वृत्तान्त को प्रासङ्गिक इतिवृत्त माना है पर इन विद्वानों का यह मत ग्राह्य नहीं इसलिये कि तब रूपक का अङ्गीरस श्रृङ्गार या अन्य कोई कोमल रस होता, कोमल वृत्ति कैशिकी का प्रयोग होता तथा नायक भीम और नायिका हिडिम्बा होती और ये सारे ही वैशिष्ट्य रूपक के व्यायोगत्व के विरुद्ध पड़ते हैं। जो भी हो इस रूपक में प्रासङ्गिक वृत्तान्त की सत्ता निर्विवाद है। ग्रन्थ का नाम है "मध्यमव्यायोग" और दशरूपककार की उक्त

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१ क– "गर्भविमर्शरहितो" भावप्रकाशन, पृष्ठ २४८
ख– "गर्भविमर्शविवर्जितः"। ना०द०, पृष्ठ २१८
ग– "विमर्शगर्भरहितः" रसार्णवसुधाकर। पृष्ठ २८७
घ– "गर्भविमर्शराहित्यम्", प्रतापरुद्रयशोभूषण, पृष्ठ १२८
ङ– "हीनो गर्भविमर्शाभ्याम्"। सा०द० ६.२३

२ "हीनो गर्भविमर्शाभ्याम्"— दशरूपक ३.६०

३ सानुबन्धं पताकाख्यं प्रकरी च प्रदेशभाक्। दशरूपक १.१३

४ A.D.Pushalkar : Bhāsa—A Study (1940) p. 201,

५ वही पृष्ठ २०३

प्रक्रिया को स्वीकार करने पर गर्भ तथा विमर्श सन्धियों से रहित व्यायोग में प्रासङ्गिक इतिवृत्त के लिये अवकाश ही कहाँ है ? ऐसी स्थिति में दो ही विकल्प हैं– प्रथम तो यह कि मध्यम व्यायोग व्यायोग नहीं है तथा द्वितीय यह कि धनञ्जय तथा धनिक द्वारा प्रतिपादित धारणा क्षोदक्षम नहीं है । रूपक का नाम तथा अन्य आचार्यों से दशरूपककार का वैमत्य देखते हुये द्वितीय विकल्प ही ग्राह्य जान पड़ता है ।

इसी प्रकार १२ वीं शताब्दी के उत्तरार्ध की रचना[१] वत्सराज-प्रणीत किरातार्जुनीय व्यायोग में भी प्रकरी वृत्तान्त की योजना मिलती है । इस व्यायोग में कौरवों के वध के उद्देश्य से अर्जुन पाशुपत अस्त्र की प्राप्ति हेतु हिमालय पर शिव की आराधना में तपस्यारत हैं । उनके धैर्य की परीक्षा हेतु, पुत्र-दर्शन हेतु तथा अर्जुन को आश्वासन एवं आशीर्वाद प्रदान करने हेतु देवराज इन्द्र प्रच्छन्न वेश में वहाँ आते हैं और उनके धैर्य से प्रसन्न होकर अपना वास्तविक रूप प्रकट करके उन्हें आशीर्वाद तथा आश्वासन देकर चले जाते हैं । इसी समय दो किरात भयंकर सूकर से भयभीत हो रक्षार्थ अर्जन के पास जाते हैं और अर्जुन वेदव्यास के अनुचर सिद्धादेश के कहने पर सूकर पर बाण चला देते हैं । इसी समय एक अन्य बाण सूकर के शरीर में लगकर अदृश्य हो जाता है । अर्जुन जब अपना बाण लेने मृत सूकर के शव के पास पहुँचते हैं तो बाण को लेकर किरातवेशधारी शिव के साथ उनका वाग्युद्ध होता है । उसके अनन्तर दोनों का मल्लयुद्ध होता है और युद्ध के मध्य ही अर्जुन को शिव का अभिज्ञान हो जाता है और तब अर्जुन प्रसन्न शिव से उनका महास्त्र प्राप्त करते हैं । स्पष्ट है कि प्रस्तुत व्यायोग में इन्द्रवृत्तान्त परार्थपरक होता हुआ भी स्वार्थपरक भी है। साथ ही रूपक में थोड़ी ही दूर व्याप्त होने के कारण प्रकरी नामक प्रासङ्गिक इतिवृत्त कहा जा सकता है ।

बारहवीं शताब्दी के उत्तरार्ध में ही प्रह्लादनदेव द्वारा प्रणीत पार्थपराक्रम[२] नामक व्यायोग में प्रकरी नामक प्रासङ्गिक वृत्तान्त की योजना कवि द्वारा की गयी है। प्रस्तुत व्यायोग में अर्जुन कौरव दल को पराजित कर विराट की अपहृत गायों को वापस लाते हैं । यही इस व्यायोग का आधिकारिक इतिवृत्त है । पूरा कथानक इस प्रकार है— बृहन्नटरूपधारी अर्जुन दुर्योधन द्वारा अपहृत विराटराज की गायों को वापस लाने के लिये उनके पुत्र कुमार उत्तर को रथ में बैठाकर स्वयं सूत बनकर रणभूमि की ओर चल पड़ते हैं पर युद्धभूमि में कौरव दल के योद्धाओं को देखकर उसके छक्के छूट जाते हैं और वह रथ की रश्मि स्वयं ले लेता है। अर्जुन के बहुत समझाने

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१ क– The किरातार्जुनीय व्यायोग, is a व्यायोग ...... by वत्सराज who calls himself the minister of परमर्दिदेव of कालिञ्जर who reigned from A.D. 1163–1203. *Sanskrit Drama* पृष्ठ २६५

ख– स्थापक:— वीररसैकवासनावासितोऽयं कालिंजराधिपतिस्त्रैलोक्यवर्मदेव: कविवत्सराज-विरचितं किरातार्जुनीयं नाम व्यायोगमभिनेतुमादिशति । किरातोर्जुनीय, पृष्ठ ५

२ पार्थपराक्रम of प्रह्लादनदेव falls in the period between A.D. 1163 and a half century later. *Sanskrit Drama* पृष्ठ २६४-६५

पर भी जब वह युद्ध के लिये तैयार नहीं होता तो स्वयं युद्ध का निश्चय कर अर्जुन रथ को युद्धभूमि से दूर एक शमी वृक्ष के पास ले चलने को कहते हैं। वहाँ अर्जुन रथ पर बैठे ही बैठे ध्यान लगाते हैं और उसी समय आकाशमार्ग से रथ पर बैठे हुये दिव्य पुरुष का आगमन होता है। वह पुरुष अर्जुन को हनूमान् से युक्त पताका वाले साङ्ग्रामिक रथ, देवताओं द्वारा प्रशंसित प्रभाव वाले गाण्डीव धनुष तथा युद्ध के प्रारम्भ में ओंकार शब्द का उच्चारण करने वाले देवदत्त नामक शंख को ग्रहण करने के लिये कहता है। अर्जुन प्रणामपूर्वक धनुष को ग्रहण करते हुये शिव तथा विष्णु की जयकार करते हैं। रथ पर से ऊपर उठता हुआ पुरुष अर्जुन को "आपका कल्याण हो" ऐसा आशीर्वाद देकर अन्तर्धान हो जाता है। पुरुष के मुख से अर्जुन नाम सुनकर उत्तर उन्हें पहचान लेते हैं। इसके अनन्तर युद्ध में अर्जुन की विजय तथा अपहृत गायों की वापसी तथा विराट को अपने घर में प्रच्छन्न वेष में स्थित पाण्डवों का अभिज्ञान रूपक में चित्रित है। इस रूपक में दिव्य पुरुष से सम्बद्ध उक्त वृतान्त स्वार्थपरता से रहित होने के कारण दशरूपककार के अनुसार भले ही प्रासङ्गिक इतिवृत्त की सीमा से बाहर हो जाये (क्योंकि उनके अनुसार तो "स्वार्थपरता" प्रासङ्गिक इतिवृत्तमात्र का लक्षण है[1] और प्रकरी इस प्रासङ्गिक इतिवृत्त का एक भेद है तो स्वार्थपरता से विहीन कैसे हो सकती है?) किन्तु भरतमुनि, अभिनवगुप्त तथा नाट्यदर्पणकार द्वारा प्रदत्त प्रकरी के लक्षण[2] को देखते हुये तो यह प्रकरी ही कहलायेगा इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं।

चौदहवीं शताब्दी के मोक्षादित्य[3] द्वारा प्रणीत भीमविक्रम नामक व्यायोग में भीम अनेक राजाओं को बन्दी बनाने वाले जरासन्ध का वध करते हैं तथा बन्दी राजाओं को उसके कारागार से मुक्त करते हैं। यही इस व्यायोग का आधिकारिक इतिवृत्त है। व्यायोग में हिडिम्बा और घटोत्कच पाषाण की वर्षा करने वाली तथा जरासन्ध के दुर्ग की रक्षा करने वाली जरा नामक राक्षसी को छलपूर्वक अन्यत्र पहुँचा देते हैं जिससे नायक भीम के लिये दुर्गभङ्ग सुकर हो जाता है। हिडिम्बा और घटोत्कच से सम्बद्ध यह वृत्तान्त पूर्णरूपेण परार्थपरक होने के कारण उक्त प्रकार से प्रकरी नामक प्रासङ्गिक इतिवृत्त है।

चौदहवीं शताब्दी के ही[4] विश्वनाथ द्वारा विरचित सौगन्धिकाहरण नामक व्यायोग में द्रौपदी के अनुरोध पर भीम द्वारा कुबेर के जलाशय से सौगन्धिक पुष्पों का आहरण चित्रित है जो व्यायोग का आधिकारिक इतिवृत्त है। अपने उद्देश्य के लिये प्रस्थित भीम की गन्धमादन

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१ प्रासङ्गिकपरार्थस्य स्वार्थो यस्य प्रसङ्गतः। दशरूपक १.१३

२ क- फलं प्रकल्प्यते यस्याः परार्थं केवलं बुधैः।
अनुबन्धविहीनं तां प्रकरीमिति निर्दिशेत्॥
—ना०शा० १९.२५

ख- परार्थमेव केवलं सर्वमनुतिष्ठतीति प्रकरी। ना०शा० १९.२५ अभिनवभारती

ग- प्रकर्षेण स्वार्थानपेक्षया करोतीति प्रकरी- नाट्यदर्पण, पृ० ७६

३ *Sanskrit Drama*—by A.B.Keith, पृष्ठ २६६

४ वही

पर्वत पर हनूमान् से भेंट होती है। हनूमान् द्वारा मार्ग अवरुद्ध होने के कारण दोनों में पर्याप्त वाद-विवाद होता है। अन्त में हनूमान् उसकी भ्रातृवत्सलता (अपने प्रति प्रेम) से प्रसन्न हो अपना परिचय देते हैं और उनकी सहायतार्थ दो मन्त्र देते हैं। उनके अन्तर्धान हो जाने पर भीम सरोवर के रक्षकों के साथ युद्ध करते हैं और सबको पराजित कर यक्षपति कुबेर को युद्ध के लिये ललकारते हैं किन्तु प्रसन्न कुबेर उन्हें अपने पास बुलवाते हैं। इसी समय युधिष्ठिर, नकुल, सहदेव तथा द्रौपदी के साथ वहाँ आ पहुँचते हैं। कुबेर की आज्ञा से कञ्चुकी पुष्प लाकर देता है जिसे कुबेर भीम को तथा भीम द्रौपदी को देते हैं। इस व्यायोग में हनुमान्-वृत्तान्त परार्थपरक होने के साथ ही स्वार्थपरक भी है क्योंकि हनूमान् के भी भ्रातृदर्शन रूप प्रयोजन की सिद्धि प्रसङ्गतः हो जाती है। साथ ही रूपक में कुछ दूर तक व्याप्त है अतः पताका नामक इतिवृत्त है।

शतानन्दसूनु द्वारा विरचित भीमपराक्रम नामक व्यायोग का प्रतिपाद्य है भीम द्वारा मगधराज जरासन्ध का वध जो कि व्यायोग का आधिकारिक इतिवृत्त है। युधिष्ठिर जरासन्ध का वध करके निर्विघ्न राजसूय यज्ञ करने की योजना बना रहे थे पर इसी समय वे जरासन्ध के यहाँ से सन्देश पाते हैं कि या तो वे जरासन्ध को कर दें या द्वारका में शरण प्राप्त करें। पाण्डव उसकी इस चुनौती को स्वीकार करते हैं और स्नातक के वेश में कृष्ण, भीम तथा अर्जुन मगध के लिये प्रस्थान करते हैं। जरासन्ध उनको बिना पहचाने हुये उनका आतिथ्य करता है पर ये लोग उसके आतिथ्य को अस्वीकार कर देते हैं क्योंकि वह पुरुषमेध जैसा निन्दनीय कार्य करने वाला है। अन्त में श्रीकृष्ण तथा जरासन्ध के बीच यज्ञ की पवित्रता के विषय में वाद-विवाद होता है। इसी समय युद्ध-दर्शन की लालसा से सशिष्य पधारे हुये कलहप्रिय नारद को दोनों ही पक्ष उक्त वाद-विवाद में निर्णायक स्वीकार करते हैं। इस वाद-विवाद में विजय प्राप्त करने वाले श्रीकृष्ण पूर्वप्रतिज्ञा के अनुसार जरासन्ध से युद्ध की मांग करते हैं। युद्ध में भीम जरासन्ध का वध करते हैं और बन्दी राजाओं को मुक्त करते हैं। इस प्रकार इस व्यायोग में दूर तक चलने वाला नारद-वृत्तान्त पताका नहीं तो क्या कहा जायेगा क्योंकि नारद के कथनों से जहाँ एक ओर जरासन्ध स्नातक वेषधारी अतिथि रूप में प्राप्त भीमादि के साथ युद्ध में सम्प्रवृत्त होता है[1] वहीं इस युद्ध-दर्शन से नारद के भी नेत्र सफलश्रम होते हैं।[2] इस प्रकार इस व्यायोग में नारद-चरित मुख्यकथा में उपकारी होता हुआ मुख्य कथा से स्वयं भी उपकृत हो रहा है।

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१ नारद—बार्हद्रथ !

कृतापराधान् स्वगृहेऽप्यरातीन्
जिघांसतो नास्ति नृपस्य दोषः।
उपागतान् हन्ति गुहोपकण्ठं
कण्ठीरवः किं न करीन्द्रयूथान्॥ भीमपराक्रम ७४

२ नारद— धर्मात्मजस्य स मखः सुकरोऽस्तु मा वा
किं तेन मे मधुरिपोः खलु भार एषः।
उद्दामभीममगधेश्वरसंविमर्द —
संदर्शनेन सफलश्रममस्तु चक्षुः॥ भीमपराक्रम ४५

गोविन्दकृत विनतानन्द व्यायोग में तो पताका एवं प्रकरी दोनों ही प्रकार के प्रासङ्गिक इतिवृत्त की योजना की गयी है। इस व्यायोग में माता विनता को कद्रू एवं उसके पुत्रों (नागों) की दासता से मुक्त करने के लिये गरुड सर्पों द्वारा माँगे गये अमृत को लाकर उन्हें देते हैं और माता सहित उनकी दासता से मुक्त हो जाते हैं। यही इस व्यायोग का आधिकारिक इतिवृत्त है। रूपक के अन्तर्गत कलहप्रिय नारद का आगमन बिल्कुल आरम्भ में ही हो जाता है। गरुड को उकसाना ही उनका ध्येय होता है। इस प्रकार नारद से सम्बद्ध यह वृत्तान्त पताका कहा जा सकता है क्योंकि मुख्य वृत्तान्त में सहायक होता हुआ यह वृत्तान्त कलहप्रिय नारद के अपने स्वार्थ की भी सिद्धि करता है साथ ही रूपक में बहुत दूर तक व्याप्त भी है। अमृतार्थ प्रस्थान के पूर्व गरुड सूर्य तथा अपने अग्रज अरुण के दर्शनार्थ जाते हैं तथा दोनों से ही विजयी होने का आशीष प्राप्त करते हैं। इस वृत्तान्त में सूर्य अथवा अरुण के किसी भी स्वार्थ की सिद्धि नहीं होती अतः पूर्णरूपेण परार्थपरक होने के कारण यह वृत्तान्त प्रकरी कहा जा सकता है।

इस प्रकार से पताका प्रकरी अथवा दोनों की योजना यदि एक या दो व्यायोगों में उपलब्ध होती तो इसे संयोग, अपवाद अथवा कवि का प्रमाद कहकर इसकी उपेक्षा की जा सकती थी किन्तु दशरूपककार से पूर्ववर्ती एवं परवर्ती इतने कवियों द्वारा स्वकृत व्यायोगों में बिना अपवाद के दशरूपककार द्वारा प्रतिपादित उक्त सिद्धान्त का अतिक्रमण तथा साथ ही भरतमुनि आदि आचार्यों का उक्त सिद्धान्त से वैमत्य यह सिद्ध करने के लिये पर्याप्त है कि सन्धि के घटकों से सम्बद्ध दशरूपककार की उक्त धारणा कथमपि क्षोदक्षम नहीं है। आशा ही नहीं पूर्ण विश्वास है कि उनके सिद्धान्त का अतिक्रमण न केवल व्यायोगों में अपितु अन्य रूपकों में भी उपलब्ध होगा जिसका सङ्केत दशरूपककार गर्भसन्धि के लक्षण में "पताका स्यान्न वा" कहकर स्वयं करते हैं।

BAISWARI FUTURE TENSE MORPHOLOGY

G. P. Srivastava

1. Baiswari is a dialect of Awadhi—a sub-language of Hindi, which is chiefly spoken in the districts of Rae Bareli, Unnao, Lucknow and in some parts of Fatehpur[1] in Uttar Pradesh. Once Baiswara area was under the control of Bais Thakurs. So the area was known as Baiswara and the variety of speech spoken in the area as Baiswari. Now at present the area under question is linguistically classified as a part of Western-Central Awadhi[2], a variety of Awadhi of Hindi language.

2. On the structural grounds, the future tense in Baiswari dialect, relatively, produces less alternants. Only the composite group FIP (Future, First person, plural) shows maximum allomorphic productivity in verb. It is useful to mention here that every alternant of future tense verb exhibits tense-person-number categories combined. The occurrence of these alternants is such as we cannot always segment the composite shape for different categories separately. Therefore, two alternative ways of the analysis have been suggested here. One, easily consumable logic behind the segmentation of forms showing the composite grammatical features together, and the next to try to assign a separate shape for a separate category wherever possible. The primary aim of the present two-fold analysis is to discuss the structure of the future tense inflection of the dialect clearly.

3. The future tense category of this dialect assumes almost a simple pattern except F1P and F3S (Future third person, singular). The group F1P shows rather a complicated structure. Therefore, on the basis of allomorphic variations found in the different formal groups of

1. Srivastava : 1965 and 1971.
2. Saksena : 1937:19

verb, basad on the number-person-tense, can roughly be divided into two parts: (a) the formal groups of FIP and F3S and (b) other formal groups except F1P and F3S. The composite group F1P shows maximum number of allomorphs. But the group F3S has a single allomorph. Other formal groups of future tense show a regular pattern of change where the formulation of a rule is easier. In some cases the free-variation of forms has been noted which has been pointed out wherever found necessary. Allomorphs of every group have been numbered for the use of our easy description. Some of the allomorphs are conditioned by certain socio-linguistic factors. So, they have emerged as separate forms in the dialect.

F1S

4. {ihõ} =	-ihõ	-ihā̃w	-h	-hā̃w
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

4.1. {ihõ} : This form represents F1S and can occur with verbs in different allomorphic shapes.

/–inhõ ~ -inhā̃w / ~ / hõ ~ -hā̃w/ are allomorphs of {ihõ}.

4.2. {ihõ 1} =/ -ihõ / : This allomorph occurs with those verbs which do not have a front high vowel at the final position, e.g., /katarihõ/ '(I) shall cut', /hā̃sihõ/ '(I) shall laugh', /useihõ/ '(I) shall boil'.

4.3. {ihõ 2} = / -ihā̃w/ : This alternative form occurs almost in those environments in which / -ihõ/ occurs.

But the form / -ihā̃w/ is mostly used by the uneducated and village people of the area.

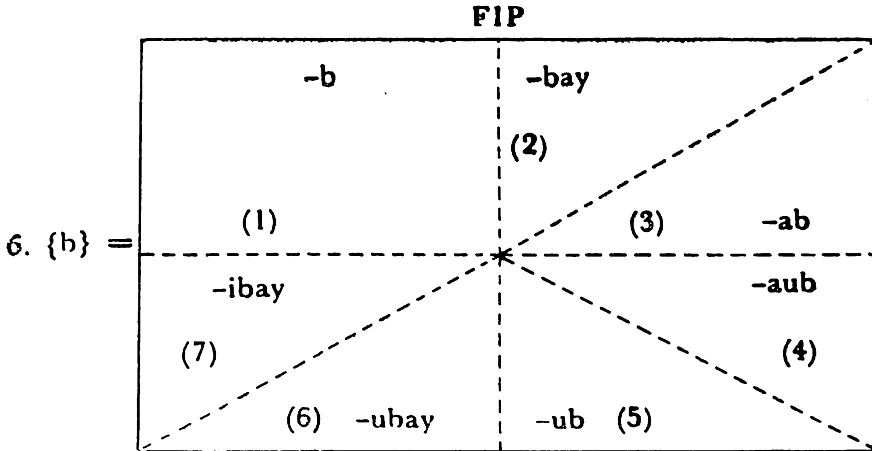
4.4. {ihõ 3} = / -hõ/ : This form occurs with the verbs having front high vowel finally, e.g. /pi : hõ/ '(I) shall drink', /si :hõ/ '(I) shall sew' etc..

4.5. {ihõ 4} = / -hā̃w/ : This allomorph occurs in all those situations in which the form /-hõ/ occurs. In this way we find that both the forms can freely occur in the dialect. The difference is only in the usage of the forms, i.e., the form / -hõ/ occurs mostly in the speech of educated persons while the forms / -hā̃w/ is used by the uneducated folk of the area.

5. Future, first person, plural form of the verb shows seven variations. Here, too, we find some socio-linguistic factors which limit the occurrence of some variants. Here both the factors, structural and socio-linguistic, have been taken into account to clarify the analysis.

FIP

6. {b} =



6. 1. {b} : This morphemic shape F1P, e.g./ ja :b/ '(we) will go', /k'a :b/ '(we) will eat'.

/ -b ~ -bay ~ -ab ~ -aub ~ -ub ~ -ubay ~ -ibay/ are the allomorphs of {b}. The description of these allomorphs is given below.

6. 2. {b1} = / -b/ : This allomorph may be affixed to the verbs having back open long vowel at their final position, e.g. / ja :b/ '(we) will go', /ag' a :b/ '(we) will satiate', /naha :b/ '(we) will take bath'. But some verbs which have a front mid long vowel finally can also accept this allomorph, e.g. /de :b/ '(we) will give'.

Exceptions have also been noticed with some verbs having back open long vowel as their final sound, e.g. /na : –, pa : –, ga : –, use–/ etc.. Such verbs, instead, take the allomorph /–ub/.

6. 3. {b2} = / –bay/ : It is mostly suffixed with the verb bases having a consonant finally, e.g. /calbay/ ' (we) will go', /kasbay/ ' (we) will tight (something)', / g 'usbay/ '(we) will enter' etc. But some verbs which are having front close or back open long vowel, also accept this allomorph e. g. /pi : bay/ '(we) will drink', / ji :bay/ ' (we) will survive'. This allomorph, in many cases, is in free variation with / –b/, /ja : bay ~ ja : b/ '(we) will go', /k'a : bay ~ k'a : b/ '(we) will eat' etc.. But some verbs show exception to it, e.g. / so :–, bata :–, a :–/. Such verbs take the allomorph / –ubay/ instead.

6. 4. {b3} = / –ab/ : This form mostly occurs with the verbs having a consonant ending and with a few verbs having a vowel ending (except the

vowel /a/). This allomorph also does not occur with those verbs which are having a long-vowel ending, e. g. /bẽ :cab/ '(we) will sell', /ugab/ '(we) will grow; rise', /pi: sab/ '(we) will grind', /park'ab/ '(we) will examine', /aud'ab/ '(we) will turn upside down'.

6.5. {b4} = /–aub/ : This alternant occurs with some verbs ending with a consonant. It has a restricted occurrence in the dialect. Some examples are :– /kuraub/ '(we) will gather or pour (something)', /ã̄caub/ '(we) will clean hand (after taking meals)'.

6.6. {b5} = /–ub/ : It occurs with the vowel-ending verbs except those which are having /–o/ sound finally. Most of the verbs which are having the open back vowel or the sounds /o/ or /e/ at their ending position accept this allomorph, e. g. /a : ub/ '(we) will come', /bataub/ '(we) will tell, inform', /d'o : ub/ '(we) will wash', /use : ub/ '(we) will boil'.

6.7. {b6} = /–ubay/ : This allomorph occurs mostly after the back vowel phonemes and denotes future, first person, plural. It is in free variation with /–ub/.

6.8. {b7} = /–ibay/ : It can occur with the verbs which do not have consonant cluster or / i / phoneme at their final position. This form is mostly used by the uneducated women, specially of rural areas, of the dialect. But some of the verbs do not accept this allomorph even though they fulfil its requirements, e.g. /u : b–/ '(to) bore', /aũd' –/ '(to) cover, turn upside down', /ḍu : b–/ '(to) sink', etc.

7. The inflectional forms for future, second person, singular/plural number (F2S/F2P) are mostly conditioned phonologically. In fact we have four allomorphs in each of the composite groups—F2S and F2P. It has been observed that two forms of them, in each group (No. 1 & 3), are mostly used by the educated class of people and the forms (No. 2 and 4) are usually used by the uneducated people of the area.

F2S

8. {ihe}=	–ihe	–ihay	–he	–hay
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

8.1. {ihe} : This morpheme represents the composite grammatical unit F2S, e. g. /nacihe/ '(you, sg.) will dance',

/–ihe ~ –ihay/ ~ /–he ~ –hay/ are allomorphs of {ihe}. Here we can, on the structural grounds, reduce the number of allomorphs to two only, i. e. /–ihe ~ he/. But the other two alternative forms, i. e. /–ihay ~ hay/ show some extra-linguistic reasons which differ from the former one. So they can also be considered in our description here.

8.2. But the same situation can be analyzed in a different way with a greater logic for getting the same result. One can observe that the verb forms which are having /i/ sound at their final position can take the allomorph /–he ~ –hay/, and those having a consonant or some vowel, other than /i/ finally, can take /–ihe ~ –ihay/ Therefore, when the phonological situation /i+i/ occurs, by the way of assimilation, it changes into /i : /. Thus the allomorph for F2S which occurs after the verb forms having /i/ sound at their end, will obviously be /–he ~ –hay/. Now the allomorphs of group F2S are discussed below :—

8.3. ihe 1 = /–ihe/ : It is the base form of this group which occurs with those verbs of the dialect which do not end with the sound /i/ or /i :/, e. g. /nacihe/ '(you, sg.) will dance', /cuihe/ '(you, sg.) will drop, leak (in metaphorical use)'.

8.4. ihe 2 = /–ihay/ : This allomorphic shape mostly occurs in the speech of uneducated people of lower class of society, e. g. /nahaihe/ '(you, sg.) will take bath', /bataihe/ '(you, sg.) will tell, inform'. But it can be freely used in the speech of other class people also. The phonological environment for this allomorph is the same as that of /–ihe/.

8.5. {ihe 3} = /–he/ : This form occurs with the verbs which are having /i/ phoneme finally, e. g. /si :he/ '(you, sg.) will sew', /ji :he/ '(you, sg.) will survive', /pi :he/ 'you, sg.) will drink'.

8.6. {ihe 4} = /–hay/ : This alternant occurs with those verbs which are having the similar phonemic environments as those of the form /–he/. But the socio-linguistic environment is as such as this form is mostly used by the uneducated lower class of people in the Society.

9. It has been observed that in popular practice, the forms of F2S have developed a pejorative meaning also which attach a diminutive sense when they are used. It is, therefore, the forms for F2P are used instead of F2S. This socio-linguistic change in the usage of forms is also found in other dialects/sub-languages of Hindi. But the forms described above are not fully lost with their meanings. Therefore, the description of those allomorphs has

been retained here on the basis of dialect's established course than the emerging tendency in it.

F2P

10. {iho} =	-iho	-ihaw	-ho	-haw
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

10.1. {iho} : This morpheme represents future, second person, plural (F2P). It has four varients which occur almost in the similar environments as those of the varients of F2S. The allomorphs and their description are given below.

/-iho ~ ihaw/ ~ /-ho ~ haw/ are the allomorphs of {iho}. Here too we can repeat the same logic for reducing the number of allomorphs to two as discussed in (8. 2.).

10.2. {iho 1} = /-iho/ : It is the base allomorph for the group F2P which occurs in the same environment as that of /-ihe/ of F2S. It occurs with those verbs which are not having /i/ or /i : / phoneme finally, e. g. /gaiho/ '(you) will sing', /paiho/ '(you) will get', etc.

10.3. {iho 2} = /-ihaw/ : This allomorph is mostly used by the uneducated people of the area, but it can sometimes also be used by other section of the people, e. g. /jaihaw/ '(you) will go', /soihaw/ '(you) will sleep'.

10.4. {iho 3} = /-ho/ : It occurs with the verbs having / i / or /i :/ sound at their final position, e. g. /kiho/ '(you) will do', /ji : ho/ '(you) will survive'.

10.5. {iho 4} = /-haw/ : This form, as /-ihaw/, is usually used by the uneducated people of the dialect. But the phonemic environment of its usage is the same as that of /-ho/, e. g. /pi : haw/ '(you) will drink', /si : haw/ '(you) will sew'.

F3S

11. {i:} =	-i:

11.1. We have seen that every composite group discussed so far, has several varients. But the group F3S contains only one shape, e. g. /i : / to

represent it, e. g. /ro: i : / '(third, sg.) will weep', /pii : / '(third, sg.) will drink'. Since the morpheme for future third person singular has only one shape and can occur with all the verbs, nothing much can be discussed about it.

F3P

12. {ihẽ}=

-ihẽ	-ihãy	-hẽ	-hãy
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

12.1. {ihẽ} : This composite morpheme occurs for future third person plural number in the dialect. It has four allomorphs. The distributional conditions of the allomorphs are similar to those of the forms of the groups P2S and P25.

/-ihẽ ~ -ihãy/ ~ /-hẽ ~ -hay/ are the allomorphs of (ihẽ). Here again we find almost the same situation about the number of allomorphs as found in those of P2S and P2P. Therefore, we can retain the same argument here also and can decide upon two allomorphs only, e. g. /-(i) hẽ ~ -(i) hãy/. But the number of allomorphs discussed below is the result of the discussion given earlier (see 9.).

12.2. {ihẽ 1} = /-ihẽ/ : It is the principal allomorph of the group under discussion. It occurs with those verbs which are having consonants at their final position. But it can also occur with some verbs ending with a vowel other than the phoneme /i/ or /i :/, e. g. /haṭihẽ/ '(they) will get away, (get out)', /calihẽ/ '(they) will walk, go'.

12.3. {ihẽ 2} = /-ihãy/ : This allomorph occurs in similar phonemic and socio-linguistic conditions as that of the number (2) allomorphs of the groups F1S, F2S and F2P, i. e. it occurs with the verbs having a consonant or a vowel other than /i/ or /i :/, e. g, /sarihãy/ '(they) will rot', / jaihãy/ '(they) will go', /poihãy/ '(they) will make bread'.

12.4. {ihẽ 3} = /-hẽ/ : It occurs with those verbs which have /i/ or /i :/ at their end, e. g. /pi : hẽ/ '(they) will drink', etc. .

12.5. {ihẽ 4} = /-hãy/ : This form occurs in the similar condition as that of the allomorph /-hẽ/. The difference between the two is due to the change in the socio-linguistic environment. This form is mostly used by the uneducated people closely related to the rural life.

13.

	Singular (S)	Plural (P)
1	-ihõ (1) | -ihãw (2) | -hõ (3) | -hãw (4)	-b (1); -bay (2); -ab (3); -aub (4); -ub (5); 6-ubay; -ibay (7)
2	-ihe (1) | -ihay (2) | -he (3) | -hay (4)	-iho (1) | -ihaw (2) | -ho (3) | -haw (4)
3	i:	-ihẽ (1) | -ihãy (2) | -hẽ (3) | -hay (4)

14. The analysis of the future tense morphology presented above gives only an idea of the tense forms of the verb in the dialect which occur in the different composite shapes. But if we look at the different plural shapes given in the chart above we can easily realize the plural number shape separately from them. Most of the forms show a regularity in the occurrence except the forms of F1P and F3S. This type of alternative pronunciation of forms can easily be found in the different Indo-Aryan dialects. The extended pronunciation of a vowel in a form is a popular tendency in the eastern dialects of Hindi. So in Baiswari it is very well found.

15. Looking at the alternative forms of F1P with a different dimension one can easily decide that the number of allomorphs can be reduced to two, i. e. /-b ~ bay/, only for this grammatical group (F1P). We can see that any of these two shapes is found as a part of the allomorphs discussed earlier for F1P. Now the rest of the parts of other allomorphs may be taken as the morphophonemic change which is due to the particular forms (verbs) combined to them. It may be noted here also that the singular forms of future tense verbs have been taken as the base forms to their respective classes for our analysis, which intrinsically represent future tense and the person categories concerned. In the form /-b/, the plurality may be assigned by /∅/ form. But the other allomorphs of {b} may be segmented further to assign separately for future tense, number, and person categories.

16. Similar arguments for the number of allomorphs may be given for other composite groups discussed earlier. In fact we can reduce the number of allomorphs, discussed earlier, in other groups also, if the occurrence or loss of a vowel at the onset position of allomorphs could be taken as morphophonemic change, for example, the allomorphs /-ihõ ~ -ihãw/ of P1S may be reduced to /-(i) hõ ~ -(i) hãw/. Here, in such examples, the element /-(i)/ in the forms may be taken as a morphophonemic change which occurs due to the preceding form. In this case we can segment /-h / for future tense and the rest of the part of the forms cited above, e. g. /-õ ~ -ãw/ as first person singular. This type of analysis may be accepted to other composite groups of future tense also, save the group F3S which carries only a single allomorph.

17. Again the shape /-o/ of the composite group F2P, i. e. /-iho/ represents plurality and the remaining shape, i. e. /ih-/ may be said as an allomorph of F2S {ihe}. The shape /ih-/ of the first two allomorph (i. e. 1 and 2) of F2P is identical with that of /-ih/ of F2S form /-ihe/, and the remaining two allomorphs (i. e. 3 and 4) of F2P, i. e. /-ho ~ -haw/ have the shape /h-/ to represent F2S.

On the other hand, considering all the allomorphs of the group F2P, the plural shape in the form for F2P may be divided as /-o / and /-aw/. Thus there are two allomorphic shapes for F2S, viz. /-ih ~ -h/ and two shapes for plurality as discussed above.

In the composite grammatical group F3P the shapes /-ẽ/ and /-ãy/ of {ihẽ} may be assigned to plurality and the remaining part i. e. / ih-/ and /h-/ are the allomorphs of F3S. The allomorphic shapes of F2S found in the group F2P are by the way homophonous with those found in F3P.

Now in this way we may conclude that in Baiswari dialect the composite future tense forms of verbs have five shapes for plurality, viz., /-o ~ -aw ~ -e ~ -ay ~ -ø / and the remaining seven shapes in F1P (see 6.), two shapes in F2P (see 10.) and two shapes in F3P (see 12.) occur for F1S, F2S and F3S respectively.

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बाइबिल में संस्कृत शब्द[1]

भोलानाथ तिवारी

'बाइबिल' यूनानी भाषा का शब्द है, जिसका प्राचीन अर्थ 'पुस्तक' था, बाद में यह शब्द ईसाइयों की धर्मपुस्तक के लिए प्रयुक्त होने लगा और आज भी प्रायः पूरे विश्व में 'बाइबिल' नाम से यही अर्थ लिया जाता है। सामान्यतः, जिसे हम बाइबिल कहते हैं, उसके अन्तर्गत दो पुस्तकें हैं। प्रथम का नाम *Old Testament* या 'पुरानी पोथी' तथा दूसरी का *New Testament* या 'नई पोथी' है। पुरानी पोथी हिब्रू-भाषा में लिखी गई थी, जिसमें सृष्टि की उत्पत्ति तथा मूसा के ईश्वर-दर्शन आदि की कथाएं वर्णित हैं। नई पोथी की भाषा यूनानी है,

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१ प्रस्तुत लेख में कुछ पुस्तकों के नाम बार-बार लेने पड़ेंगे, अतः उनका संक्षिप्त नाम रख लेना अधिक सुविधाजनक होगा जैसे—

क. *Old Testament* = बाइबिल की पुरानी पोथी या पुरानी पोथी।

ख. *Encyclopaedia Bibilica* (*London, 1799*) ४ भाग;
सम्पादक : *T. K. Cheyne* तथा *J. S. Black* = इ० बि०।

ग. *A Dictionary of the Bible* (*Newyork 1898*) ५ भाग;
सम्पादक : *James Hastings* = डि० बा०—हैस्टिंग्स।

घ. *Dictionary of the Bible* (*London 1863*) ३ भाग;
सम्पादक : *W. Smith* = डि० बा०—स्मिथ।

ङ. *The Science of Language*, १ भाग (*London, 1873*);
लेखक : *Max Müller* = सा० ले०।

च. *Dissertatio de Ophir*; लेखक : *Reland* = डी० ओ० रेलैण्ड।

छ. *Indisch Alterhumskunde* लेखक : *Lassen* = इ० आ०।

ज. *Erdkunde*; लेखक : *Ritter* = इ० रि०।

इनमें क, च, छ तथा ज को लेखक ने मूलतः नहीं पढ़ा है। उनके उद्धरणों तथा अनुवादों से काम चलाया गया है।

जिसमें ईसा की उत्पत्ति तथा उनके उपदेश आदि हैं। प्रस्तुत लेख का सम्बन्ध हिब्रू-भाषा म लिखित *Old Testament* या 'पुरानी पोथी' से है।

'पुरानी पोथी' आद्यन्त कोई एक पुस्तक नहीं है। इसमें छोटी-मोटी ३६ पुस्तकें सङ्गृहीत हैं। संसार की अन्य धर्मपुस्तकों की तरह पुरानी पोथी भी प्रक्षिप्तांशों से भरी पड़ी है। सन् १६११ ई० में प्रथम बार इसके पाठों का अध्ययन कर शुद्ध पाठ प्रकाश में लाया गया, जो ए० वी० (Authorised Version) के नाम से प्रसिद्ध है। सन् १८८१ ई० में इसका फिर संशोधन किया गया और आर० वी० (Revised Version) नाम से प्रामाणिक पाठ प्रकाशित किया गया। अब तक यही पाठ सबसे अधिक शुद्ध माना जाता है।

पुरानी पोथी में (शुद्ध पाठ के अनुसार) कुल ५,६४२ शब्द हैं।[1] इन शब्दों में कुछ के सम्बन्ध में रूप तथा अर्थसाम्य के कारण, उनके 'संस्कृत' होने का अनुमान किया जाता है, किन्तु केवल रूप और अर्थसाम्य के आधार पर ही किसी भाषा में किसी अन्य भाषा से शब्दों का उधार लिया जाना सिद्ध नहीं किया जा सकता। यदि किया भी जाय, तो वह सर्वथा अवैज्ञानिक होगा। उदाहरण के लिए, भोजपुरी तथा अवधी बोली का शब्द 'नीयर' या 'नीयरे' ले लें, जिसका अर्थ 'समीप' होता है। अंग्रेजी 'नीयर' (Near) शब्द का भी बिल्कुल यही अर्थ है। यहाँ रूप और अर्थ की एकता देखकर 'नीयर' का अंग्रेजी से हिन्दी में, या हिन्दी से अंग्रेज़ी में लिए जाने का निर्णय देना भूल होगी; क्योंकि मूलतः इनका एक दूसरे से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है। संयोग से ही यह बाह्य और आन्तरिक साम्य हो गया है। आधुनिक भाषाविज्ञान के शैशवकाल में संसार की विभिन्न भाषाओं के इसी प्रकार के शब्दों को एकत्र कर, अनेक कोष बनाये गये थे और लोग इसी आधार पर सभी भाषाओं को एक भाषा से निकली सिद्ध करना चाहते थे। कहना न होगा कि बाद में इस प्रकार के प्रयत्न हास्यास्पद समझकर छोड़ दिए गए। आशय यह कि इस प्रकार के उधार शब्दों की सिद्धि के लिए रूप और अर्थसाम्य से अधिक आवश्यक उन शब्दों के उधार लिये जाने की आवश्यकता तथा सम्भावना का विवेचन है। अतः, यहाँ शब्दों को देखने के पूर्व उतने प्राचीन काल में उन शब्दों के संस्कृत से हिब्रू-भाषा में जाने की सम्भावना पर विचार कर लेना अधिक उचित होगा।

'पुरानी पोथी' में ऐसा वर्णन आता है कि 'टायर' (Tyre) के राजा हिरम (Hiram) तथा सालमन (Soloman) के नौकरों का जहाज़ी बेड़ा प्रति तीसरे वर्ष किसी ओफिर (Ophir) नामक देश या स्थान से सोना, कुछ बेशकीमती पत्थर तथा अल्मग (Almug) लकड़ी ले आया करता था। उसी बेड़े पर हाथीदाँत, बन्दर तथा मोर आदि और भी चीज़ें आती थीं। पुरानी पोथी के अध्येताओं के समक्ष यह एक पुराना प्रश्न है कि यह ओफिर किस देश या स्थान का नाम था। यहाँ हम लोगों को भी प्रस्तुत विषय को स्पष्ट करने के लिए इस प्रश्न को उठाना होगा।

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१. सा० ले०, पृ० ३०९

विद्वानों ने ओफिर (Ophir) के सम्बन्ध में काफी छानबीन की है और तरह-तरह के अनुमान लगाये हैं। यों तो, यह विवाद इतना बड़ा है कि एक पुस्तक की अपेक्षा रखता है, किन्तु यहाँ सङ्क्षेप में हम इस पर विहङ्गम दृष्टि डाल सकते हैं।

व्युत्पत्ति की दृष्टि से 'ओफिर' शब्द हिब्रू-भाषा या सेमेटिक परिवार का नहीं है। ऐसी परिस्थिति में 'ओफिर' स्थान को खोजने के प्रमुख दो आधार हो सकते हैं। प्रथम आधार उस शब्द का हो सकता है और दूसरा ओफिर से लाई जाने वाली चीज़ों का। दूसरे शब्दों में यदि किसी स्थान की भाषा में वहाँ के स्थान के लिए 'ओफिर' या इससे मिलता-जुलता कोई शब्द हो, तो 'ओफिर' के वहाँ होने का अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है। दूसरे यदि किसी स्थान पर उक्त जहाज़ी बेड़े में आने वाली चीज़ें (सोना, बेशकीमती पत्थर, अल्मग लकड़ी, हाथीदाँत आदि) उपलब्ध हों तथा उनके भेजे जाने की सम्भावना हो, तो भी उसी स्थान को 'ओफिर' माना जा सकता है। किन्तु इस विषय पर विचार करने वाले विद्वानों ने इन दोनों का यथोचित सहारा नहीं लिया है, इसी कारण बहुतों के निष्कर्ष बिलकुल बेतुके तथा हास्यास्पद हो गये हैं।

रीड (Wrede) के अनुसार ओफिर (Ophir) हिम्यारिटिक (Himyaritic) शब्द है, जिसका अर्थ 'लाल' है और मह्र (Mahra) लोग लालसागर को 'बहर ओफिर' कहते हैं। अतः 'ओफिर' कहीं लालसागर के आस-पास है।[1] कल्मेट (Calmet) ने कुछ ऐसे ही अधकचरे आधारों पर 'ओफिर' का स्थान आर्मेनिया में माना है।[2] वाल्टर रैले 'ओफिर' को मलूका-द्वीपसमूह का एक द्वीप (*History of World*, Book I, Chapt viii) मानते हैं।[3] माण्टेनस (Arias Montaneous) पीरू में स्थित 'परवेम' (Parvaim) से कुछ ध्वनिसाम्य देखकर 'ओफिर' को कहीं पीरू में (Bochart लिखित Phaleg की भूमिका) मानते हैं।[4] वस्तुतः, ये चारों मत एक ही श्रेणी के हैं, और बहुत साधार न होने के कारण विचारणीय नहीं हैं।

मतों का दूसरा वर्ग पूर्वकथित दोनों आधारों पर स्थित होने के कारण अधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण है। इस वर्ग में भी प्रधानतः चार मत हैं। प्रथम मत के अनुसार 'ओफिर' अफ्रिका में है। इस मत के प्रधान पोषक हुएट (Huet), ब्रूस (Bruce), राबर्टसन (Robertson), क्वात्रमेयर (M. Quatremere) तथा टीनेण्ट (J. E. Tenent) आदि हैं। दूसरे मत के अनुसार 'ओफिर' अरब में है। इस मत के पोषकों में मिकेलिस (Michaelis), नेबुर (Neibuhr), गासैलिन (Goossellin), बिन्सैण्ट (Vincent), वाइनर (Winer), फूर्स्ट (Furst), नॉबेल, (Knobel), क्राफर्ड (Crawfurd) तथा कैलिश (Kalisch) आदि अधिक प्रसिद्ध हैं। तीसरे

१-४. डि० बा०—स्मिथ में ई० टी० बी० ट्विस्लैटन (Twisleton) द्वारा (Ophir) पर लिखे गये लेख का प्रारम्भिक भाग।

मत वाले भारत को या भारत में 'ओफिर' मानते हैं। इनमें रेलैण्ड (Reland)[1], लैस्सेन (Lassen), रिटर (Ritter)[2], बर्थ्यू (Bertheau), थेनियस (Thenius), इवाल्ड (Ewald), मैक्समूलर[3] आदि अधिक प्रसिद्ध हैं। चौथा मत बोचर्ट (Bochart), अनविले (Anville) तथा जैसेनियस (Gesenius) का है। इन लोगों के अनुसार दो ओफिर हैं। इनमें जैसेनियस का कहना है कि भारत और अरब दोनों के ही ओफिर होने के बराबर प्रमाण मिलते हैं, अतः किसी एक के सम्बन्ध में निर्णय नहीं दिया जा सकता है।[4]

अफ्रिका, अरब तथा भारत के पक्ष में दिये जाने वाले दूसरे वर्ग के तर्कों में प्रधान तर्क इस प्रकार हैं :

क. अफ्रिका के पक्ष में दिये जाने वाले तर्क :

१. अरब और भारत की अपेक्षा अफ़्रिका में सोना अधिक होता है, अतः वहां से सोना लाये जाने की सम्भावना अधिक है।

२. अफ्रिका के पश्चिमी किनारे पर अरेबियन्स सोफाला (Arabians Sofala) बन्दरगाह है। इस सोफाला से 'ओफिर' शब्द के निकलने की सम्भावना हो सकती है। मिल्टन ने अपने 'पैराडाइज़ लास्ट' में कुछ इसी प्रकार के विचार प्रकट किये हैं। सोफाला के पास सोने का मिलना इस बात को और पुष्ट करता है।

३. पुरानी पोथी में 'ओफिर' से लाई जाने वाली चीज़ों में एक 'मोर पक्षी' है। इसके लिए Tukki या Tukkiyim शब्द का उसमें प्रयोग हुआ है। अफ्रिका के पक्ष वाले विद्वान् इस शब्द का अर्थ 'मोर' न लेकर 'तोता' लेते हैं। सोफाला के पास तोते मिलते भी हैं। इस प्रकार, इससे भी अफ़्रिका के सोफाला के पास ओफिर का होना सिद्ध होता है।

४. पुरानी पोथी में 'ओफिर' से बन्दर तथा हाथीदांत भी आने का वर्णन मिलता है। ये दोनों ही चीजें अफ्रीका में पाई जाती हैं।

अतः 'ओफिर' अफ्रिका में था।

ख. अफ़्रीका के बाद अरब के पक्ष में दिये जाने वाले तर्क लिये जा सकते हैं :

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१. इस विषय पर इनकी 'डी० ओ०—रेलैण्ड' पुस्तक प्रसिद्ध है।
२. रिटर ने इस विषय पर 'इ० रि०' के १४ वें भाग में, जो सन् १८४८ ई० में छपा था, ८० पृष्ठों (३५१ से ४३१ तक) का एक बड़ा तर्कपूर्ण लेख लिखा था और लेस्सेन की राय को ठीक मानते हुए Ophir को सिन्धु नदी के मुहाने के पास सिद्ध किया था। लेस्सेन ने अपने मत का प्रतिपादन ई० आ०—लेस्सेन B. i. के पृ० ५२९ पर किया है।
३. सा० लैं०, पृ० १८९।
४. ये चारों मत 'डि० बा०—स्मिथ' में हैं।

१. अरब के तीन स्थानों के नाम क. अफर (Aphar), जिसका नाम अब जफर या सफर है, ख. दौफिर (Doffir) तथा ग. ज़फ़र या ज़फ़री (Zafari), जिसे आजकल दफर (Dofor) कहते हैं, 'ओफिर' से मिलते-जुलते हैं, अतः इनमें से किसी एक स्थान पर 'ओफिर' रहा हो सकता है ।

२. पुरानी पोथी के जेनिसिस के दसवें अध्याय (छन्द २९) में जो वर्णन है, उससे स्पष्ट अरब की ओर सङ्केत है ।

३. अगाथार शाइड्स (Agathar Chides), अर्तेमिडोरस (Artemidorus) तथा एल्डर (Pling, the Elder) आदि ने अरब में सोना मिलने का ज़िक्र किया है । अतः वहां से सोना आना सम्भव है ।

४. यूपोलेमस (Eupolemus) नामक ग्रीक लेखक ने लिखा है कि एरीथ्रेयन सागर (Erythraen sea) में ओफिर एक द्वीप था, जहाँ सोना मिलता था । एरीथ्रेयन सागर अरब के आस-पास के समुद्र का नाम था । अतः, यदि ठीक अरब नहीं, तो अरब के पास ही कहीं ओफिर था ।

५. इतने पर भी यदि यह न माना जाय कि अरब में सोना होता था तो अरब अन्य देशों से एकत्र कर उनका व्यापार करता रहा होगा ।

अतः ओफिर अरब में या अरब के पास था ।

अफ्रिका और अरब के तर्कों को देखने के बाद अब भारत लिया जा सकता है :

१. काप्टिक भाषा में भारत का नाम सोफ़िर (Sofir) मिलता है । इस 'सोफ़िर' शब्द से ओफ़िर का निकलना असम्भव नहीं है ।

२. पुरानी पोथी के बहुत से पुराने अनुवादकों द्वारा 'ओफिर' के स्थान पर 'सोफिर' (Sophir, Sophira) शब्द का प्रयोग किया गया है । जोसेफस (Josephus) ने भी यही किया है । और, जोसेफस तो स्पष्टतः कहता भी है कि यह भारत का एक अङ्ग था ।

३. पुरानी पोथी का अनुवाद करने वाले अरब के पुराने विद्वानों ने कम से कम तीन स्थानों पर 'ओफिर' का अनुवाद 'भारत' किया है ।

४. ओफिर से आने वाली सभी चीजें सोना, बेशकीमती पत्थर, चन्दन, मोर, बन्दर, हाथीदाँत आदि भारत में उपलब्ध हैं तथा पुराने ज़माने में बाहर भेजी भी जाती रही हैं ।

५. जैसा कि आगे हम देखेंगे, इन चीजों में चन्दन, मोर, बन्दर तथा हाथीदांत के पुरानी पोथी में पाये जाने वाले नाम हिब्रू के नहीं हैं, अपितु, भारतीय भाषाओं के हैं ।

६. भारत के पश्चिमी किनारे पर सिन्धु नदी के मुहाने के आसपास बहुत प्राचीन काल से 'आभीर' जाति के रहने का वर्णन मिलता है । 'आभीर, शब्द से बिगड़ कर 'ओफिर'

होने की सम्भावना है। इसके अतिरिक्त, गोवा के पास सुपारा (Supara), उपारा (Upara) नामक कोई पुराना स्थान भी था। इसका भीं विकसित रूप 'ओफिर' हो सकता है। इसके आसपास बन्दर मिलते ही हैं। कश्मीर की ओर मिलने वाला सोना सिन्धु नदी के रास्ते इधर आता रहा होगा।[१] यहीं गुजरात में मोरों के पाये जाने का भी पुराना वर्णन मिलता है।[२] मालाबार का चन्दन भी यहाँ से बहुत दूर नहीं है। इस प्रकार, इसके पक्ष में काफी सारी सम्भावनाएं हैं।

अब अफ्रिका, अरब और भारत के तर्कों का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन किया जा सकता है। अफ्रिका का जहाँ तक सम्बन्ध है, वहाँ सोना अवश्य अधिक होता है, किन्तु तुकी (Tukki) जिसे अधिकांश विद्वानों ने 'तोता' न मानकर 'मोर' माना है, वहां नहीं मिलता है। 'ओफिर' से आने वाली चीज़ों में 'चन्दन' प्रमुख है, पर वह भी अफ़्रिका में नहीं होता। तीसरी बात यह भी है कि यदि अफ़्रीका में ओफिर होता, तथा वहाँ से आने वाली चीजों के लिये हिब्रू नाम न होता, तो अवश्य ही अफ़्रिकी नामों का प्रयोग किया गया होता। पर ऐसा नहीं है। वस्तुओं के नामों में एक भी नाम अफ़्रीकी भाषाओं का नहीं है, अतः ओफिर का अफ़्रिका में होना असम्भव है।

अब अरब का प्रश्न उठाया जा सकता है। खनिजविद्याविशारदों का कहना है कि अरब में कहीं भी सोना नहीं है और पहले कभी होता रहा हो, ऐसी सम्भावना नहीं है। यदि वहाँ कभी सोना निकाला गया होता, तो खानों के अवशेष अवश्य मिलते।[३] चन्दन, हाथीदाँत, मोर आदि के तो अरब में होने की और भी सम्भावना नहीं है। अतः, 'ओफिर' का अरब में होना प्रायः असम्भव है। इसके अतिरिक्त, स्वयं अरब के पुराने अनुवादकों ने भी 'ओफिर' का अनुवाद 'भारत' किया है। सबसे बड़ी बात तो यह है कि ओफिर से आने वाली वस्तुओं के नाम व्युत्पति की दृष्टि से अरबी के नहीं हैं, और यह सम्भव नहीं है कि वे लोग चीज़ें तो अरब से लेते और नाम भारत से, जैसा कि हम आगे देखेंगे। निष्कर्षतः अफ़्रिका की भांति ही अरब में भी 'ओफिर' के होने की सम्भावना नहीं है।

भारत के सम्बन्ध में उपर्युक्त प्रकार की कोई भी कठिनाई नहीं है। वें सभी चीजें यहां उपलब्ध हैं, तथा जातकों से सिद्ध हैं कि उनका व्यापार भी होता था। 'ओफिर' नाम भी 'आभीर' या 'सुपारा' से उद्भूत हो सकता है, तथा उन सभी चीजों के हिब्रू या पुरानी पोथी में प्रयुक्त नाम भी भारतीय हैं, अतः यह प्रायः निर्विवाद रूप से कहा जा सकता है कि 'ओफिर' भारत में ही था। मैक्समूलर का भी यही मत है।[४]

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१. डि० बा० हैस्टिंग्स, J. M. Price द्वारा लिखित Ophir पर लेख।

२. *Animal Kingdom* London,) 1829) में इसके लेखक ने भारत को (Cradle of peacock) कहा है।

३. डि० बा०—स्मिथ में Ophir पर लेख।

४. सा० लैं०, पृ० १८९-९०

उपर्युक्त निष्कर्ष के आधार पर हम कह सकते हैं कि ओफिर भारत में था और उस समय यहूदियों का भारत से व्यापार होता था और सोना, मोर, चन्दन, बन्दर आदि अनेकानेक चीज़ें भारत से वहाँ जाती थीं। ऐसी स्थिति में शब्दों के लेन-देन की सम्भावना बहुत है।

अब हम अपनी समस्या पर आ सकते हैं।

बाइबिल में प्रयुक्त संस्कृत-शब्दों में पहला शब्द ओफिर (Ophir) है। इस पर हम ऊपर विचार कर चुके हैं। यों तो अरबी, अफ़्रीकी तथा फोनेशियन नगरों या स्थानों के नामों से इसके सम्बन्ध स्थापन का काफी प्रयास किया गया है। इसके अतिरिक्त रीड इसे हिम्या-रिटिक शब्द; कल्मेट आर्मेनियम शब्द; तथा रैले, मालूकी और माण्टेनस पीरू का मानने के पक्ष में रहे हैं। किन्तु, ऊपर हम सिद्ध कर चुके हैं कि 'ओफिर' भारत में था और इसके गुजरात के पास होने की सम्भावना अधिक है, अतः जैसा कि रिटर[1] एवं लेस्सेन[2] ने सिद्ध किया है तथा मैक्समूलर[3] ने भी माना है, ओफिर शब्द मूलतः संस्कृत-शब्द 'आमीर' का ही विकसित रूप है।[4]

'ओफिर' से आने वाली चीज़ों में एक का नाम 'अलगम' (Algum) या अलमग (Almug) है। बिलियम ड्रैकने इस विषय पर लिखते हुए[5] प्राचीन विद्वानों की रायें दी हैं। अफ़्रिका में इसकी स्थिति सिद्ध करने वाले इसे अफ़्रिका की कोई सुगन्धित लकड़ी मानते हैं, यद्यपि इन लोगों ने लकड़ी का कोई नाम नहीं दिया है। कुछ अन्यों ने इसे साइडर (Cider) माना है। डॉ० शॉ के अनुसार अलगम साइप्रस को कहते हैं। हिल्लर ने कोई नाम तो नहीं दिया है, किन्तु वे इसे कोई गोंदवाली (Gummy) लकड़ी मानते हैं। जोसेफ़स इसे पाइन मानने के पक्ष में हैं। कुछ अन्य लोग इसे कोरल लकड़ी मानते हैं। बाइबिल-विश्कोश[6] में जेरोम (Jerome) तथा शेन (Cheyne) ने कुछ और भी मत दिये हैं।

'अलमग' के सम्बन्ध में ये सारे मत अब अशुद्ध सिद्ध हो चुके हैं। हिब्रू के चोटी के विद्वान् इसे चीन या भारत से आने वाली 'चन्दन' या 'लाल चन्दन' की लकड़ी मानते हैं। 'अलमग' को चन्दन मान लेने पर इसकी व्युत्पत्ति की समस्या सामने आती है। इसे सभी मानते हैं कि यह हिब्रू का शब्द नहीं है, किन्तु इसके आगे इसकी व्युत्पत्ति के विषय में दो एक विद्वानों ने ही लिखा है। कुछ इसका सम्बन्ध पुराने पेड़ Elamuaku से जोड़ते हैं। संस्कृत में 'चन्दन' के लिए अनेक शब्दों में एक शब्द 'वल्गुम' भी है। मैक्समूलर के अनुसार अलमग का पुराना रूप

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१. इ० रि०, भाग १४।
२. इ० आ०—लैस्सेन।
३. सा० लै०, पृ० १९२।
४. Delitszch का भी यही मत है। (इ० वि०)
५. डि० बा०-स्मिथ में Algum पर लेख।
६. इ० बि० भाग १, १२० वां स्तम्भ।

'वल्गुम'[1] ही था । यह 'वल्गुम' ही व्यापारियों के साथ जाकर 'बल्गम' या 'अल्गम' (Algum) हो गया । पुरानी पोथी के आरम्भिक अंशों में 'अल्गम' ही मिलता है, पर बाद में अल्मग (Almug) के दर्शन होते हैं । विपर्यय के कारण यह रूप-परिवर्तन हुआ है । इस प्रकार 'अल्गम' या 'अल्मग' शब्द संस्कृत का मूलतः 'वल्गुम' ही है । लेस्सेन तथा रिटर आदि चोटी के विद्वान् भी यही मानते हैं ।

'ओफिर' से लाई जाने वाली चीज़ों में 'बन्दर' भी था । इसके लिए पुरानी पोथी में कोफ (koph) शब्द मिलता है । ऊपर के अन्य शब्दों की तरह 'कोफ' भी हिब्रू का शब्द नहीं है । पोस्ट[2] इसकी व्युत्पत्ति के सम्बन्ध में निश्चय के साथ नहीं कहते । डुमिशेन[3] (Dumichen) इसे हीरोग्लाइफिट शब्द Kafa से सम्बद्ध मानते हैं । किन्तु जब यह ओफिर से जाता था तथा ओफिर निश्चित रूप से भारत में ही था तो इसके किसी अन्य भाषा के होने का प्रश्न ही नहीं उठता । स्पष्टतः, यह संस्कृत शब्द 'कपि' है । विलियम ड्रेक[4] तथा कई अन्य विद्वान् भी यही मानते हैं । आगे ड्रेक ने तो यहाँ तक कहा है कि अंग्रेजी, Apc, जर्मन Affe, ऐंग्लो-सेक्शन Apa आदि प्रायः सभी यूरोपीय भाषाओं में 'बन्दर' के लिए प्रयुक्त शब्द मूलतः संस्कृत 'कपि' से ही विकसित हैं । इस प्रकार, पुरानी पोथी का koph शब्द संस्कृत 'कपि' ही है ।

इ० वि० के अनुसार पुरानी पोथी में हाथी के लिए कोई भी शब्द नहीं है । हाँ, हाथीदाँत के लिए 'शेनहैबिम' (Shenhabbim) शब्द आया है और वह भी केवल दो स्थानों पर । शेष स्थानों पर इसके लिए 'शेन' शब्द ही प्रयुक्त हुआ है । यह 'शेन' या 'शेनहैबिम' भी सुन्दर-सुन्दर वस्तुएं बनाने के लिए ओफिर से लाया जाता था । 'शेन' शब्द हिब्रू का है; जिसका मूल अर्थ दाँत होता है । ऐसा लगता है कि पहले ये लोग 'हाथीदाँत' से या 'हाथी' से परिचित नहीं थे और इनके यहाँ जब 'हाथीदाँत' लाया गया, तो दाँत के लिए इनका अपना शब्द 'शेन' था, अतः 'हैगिम' शब्द उधार लेकर उसमें 'शेन' जोड़कर 'शेनहैबिम' यौगिक शब्द बनाकर इन्होंने अपना लिया । हाथीदाँत के लिए यह 'शेनहैबिम' शब्द लम्बा था अतः धीरे-धीरे इसका एक भाग छूट गया[5] और बाद में केवल 'शेन' ही प्रयुक्त होने लगा । ऐसी परिस्थिति में 'हैबिम' शब्द ओफिर की किसी भाषा का होना चाहिए, जिसका अर्थ 'हाथी' रहा होगा । इस सम्बन्ध में विद्वानों ने तरह-तरह के अनुमान लगाये हैं । कील (Keil) के अनुसार इसका सम्बन्ध काप्टिक शब्द Eboy से है । हेनरी रालिन्सन (Henary Rawlinson) असीरियन शब्द

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१. सा० लै०, पृ० १८९ ।

२. डि० बा०—हैस्टिंग्स में Koph पर लेख ।

३. सा० लै०, पृ० १९० ।

४. डि० बा०—स्मिथ में koph पर लेख ।

५. जैसे हिन्दी में रेलगाड़ी की जगह रेल, मोटरकार की जगह मोटर या कार, या बाइसाइकिल की जगह साइकिल आदि हो गया है ।

Habba से इसका सम्बन्ध मानते हैं। इन मतों के साथ राइट[1] (Wright) ने इस पर विचार किया है, किन्तु वे परिणाम पर नहीं पहुँच सके हैं। 'डि० बा०—हैस्टिंग्स' में पोस्ट भी किसी निर्णय पर नहीं पहुंचे हैं। 'ओफिर' के भारत में सिद्ध होने पर (और विशेषतः जब इसका सम्बन्ध अरबी या किसी अफ़्रीकी भाषा से सिद्ध नहीं है) अवश्य ही यह 'हैबिम' भारतीय शब्द होगा। मैक्समूलर ने इसका सम्बन्ध संस्कृत शब्द 'इभ' से माना है।[2] लैस्सेन तथा जैंसे-नियम का भी यही मत है। रालिन्सन के उपर्युक्त मत में कुछ सचाई अवश्य है, किन्तु यह भी अब निश्चित हो चुका है कि असीरियन भाषा में भी यह शब्द भारत से ही गया है, और इस प्रकार स्वयं Habba शब्द संस्कृत 'इभ' से ही उद्भूत है।[3] इस प्रकार पुरानी पोथी का 'हैबिम' शब्द संस्कृत शब्द 'इभ' का ही परिवर्तित रूप है।

तुखिम (इसकी दो वर्त्तनियाँ हैं : १ Tukhim, २. Tucciyyim) शब्द का प्रयोग पुरानी पोथी में दो बार हुआ है। यह भी ओफिर से लाया जाता था। व्युत्पत्ति की दृष्टि से 'तुखिम' हिब्रू-शब्द नहीं है। ओफिर को अफ़्रिका सिद्ध करने वाले हुएट (Huet) आदि ने इसका अर्थ 'तोता' माना था, फिर भी वे किसी अफ़्रीकी भाषा में तोते के लिए प्रयुक्त शब्द से इसका सम्बन्ध स्थापित न कर सके। कील (Keil) आदि ने स्पेन के किसी Tucca स्थान से सम्बन्ध जोड़ते हुए इसका अर्थ 'गाइना फाउल' माना था, किन्तु बाद में यह सिद्ध हो गया कि Tucca के आस-पास १००० मील तक कहीं भी 'गाइना फाउल' नामक चिड़िया नहीं पाई जाती।[4] इस प्रकार, यह कल्पना भी कल्पना ही सिद्ध हुई। हिब्रू के अधिकारी विद्वान् इसका अर्थ 'मोर' लेते हैं। व्युत्पति की दृष्टि से इस सम्बन्ध में दो मत प्रामाणिक हैं। कैल्डवेल[5] इसका सम्बन्ध तमिल भाषा के Tokei शब्द से मानते हैं। तमिल में तोकी या तोगी का पुराना अर्थ मोर था, किन्तु आज केवल 'मोर की पूंछ' ही रह गया है। टीनैण्ट[6] तथा गुण्डर्ट (Gundert)[7] आदि भी इस मत के पोषक हैं। मैक्समूलर का अनुमान है कि संस्कृत शब्द 'शिखिन्' से ही यह शब्द मूलतः निकला है, किंतु वे तमिल शब्द से भी इसके सम्बन्ध को असम्भव नहीं मानते।[8] मेरे विचार में कैल्डवेल का मत ही ठीक है। इस प्रकार, यह शब्द संस्कृत का भले न हो, किन्तु है भारतीय।

पुरानी पोथी का अन्तिम संस्कृत शब्द 'कर्पस' है। लेस्सेन ने सर्वप्रथम इधर विद्वानों का ध्यान आकृष्ट किया। आरम्भ में इसका अर्थ कोई रंग (प्रधानतः हरा) लिया जाता रहा।

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१. डि० ब०—स्मिथ में Shenhabbim पर लेख।
२. सा० ले०, पृ० १९०।
३. डि० बा०–स्मिथ में इस विषय पर राइट का लेख।
४. डि० बा०–स्मिथ में 'तुखिम' पर लेख।
५. सा० ले०, पृ० १८९ से १९१।
६. डि० बा०–स्मिथ में 'तुखिम' पर लेख।
७. सा० लै०, पृ० १९० और आगे।
८. वही

किन्तु, बाद में यह तय हो गया कि यह 'रूई' या 'कपड़ा' है। कहना न होगा कि यह संस्कृत शब्द 'कर्पास' है। इ० बि०, डि० बा०–स्मिथ तथा डि० बा०–हैस्टिंग्स आदि में भी इसे संस्कृत शब्द 'कर्पास' से ही सम्बद्ध माना गया है। नार्मन[1] तथा टर्नर ने तो यहाँ तक लिखा है :

'Karpas'...the Heb. word which appears also in Arab., Arm., Gr., and Lat. is derived from Pers. Kirpas and ultimately from Sans. 'Karpasa'............

अतः, पुरानी पोथी का 'कर्पस' भी संस्कृत ही है।

इस प्रकार, हम देखते हैं कि बाइबिल की पुरानी पोथी में संस्कृत के 'आभीर', 'वल्गु', 'कपि', 'इभ' तथा 'कर्पास' शब्द 'ओफिर', 'अल्गम' या 'अल्मग', 'कोफ', 'हैबिम' तथा 'कर्पस' के रूप में विराजमान हैं।

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१. इ० बि० में Cotton पर लेख।

अथर्ववेद संहिता में पशुपालन

शशि तिवारी

वैदिक आर्य आर्थिक विकास की उपयोगिता से परिचित थे। एतदर्थ उन्होंने उसके सभी प्रमुख अङ्गों को अपनाया था; किन्तु निश्चित रूप से उनके साम्पत्तिक विकास के विशेष साधन कृषि और पशुपालन ही थे। वैदिक ग्रन्थों से वेदकालीन आर्थिक जीवन से सम्बद्ध कई तथ्यों के सङ्केत प्राप्त होते हैं। इनमें भी विविध विषयों की विवेचना करने वाली अथर्ववेद संहिता अपेक्षाकृत अधिक सामग्री प्रस्तुत करती है। ऋक्संहिता में प्रतिबिम्बित आर्यों के आर्थिक जीवन का ही अधिक विकसित और व्यवस्थित रूप इसमें दिखाई देता है। ऋग्वैदिक आर्यों की संस्कृति पशुपालों और ग्रामों की संस्कृति थी। उन्होंने पशुओं को अपना अभीष्ट और परम धन माना था। बार-बार मन्त्रों में पशुप्राप्ति की कामनाएँ की थीं। वे कृषि भी जानते थे; परन्तु कृषि उनकी जीविका का गौण साधन था और पशुपालनप्रधान पशुपालन का स्पष्ट प्रभाव उनके सामाजिक और सैनिक सङ्गठन पर भी पड़ा था। उदाहरण के लिए एक गोष्ठ में रहने वाले लोग एक गोत्र के हो गये थे और गोधन ही उनके जनजातीय युद्धों का मुख्य कारण हुआ करता था।[१] परन्तु अथर्ववेद के अध्ययन से स्पष्ट होता है कि अथर्ववैदिक आर्यों ने एक ओर जहाँ अपने आर्थिक साधनों में कृषि को महत्त्वपूर्ण और प्रधान स्थान दिया था, वहीं दूसरी ओर उन्होंने पशुपालन को भी सम्पत्ति और समृद्धि के प्रमुख साधन के रूप में अङ्गीकार किया था। यहाँ अथर्ववेद-संहिता के आधार पर केवल पशुपालन की स्थिति अध्येय है।

अथर्ववैदिक आर्यों ने अपने कृषि-प्रधान जीवन में पशुओं की उपयोगिता से परिचित होने के कारण ही अनेक बार उनकी समृद्धि की कामनाएँ की हैं। पशुसंवर्धन (२.२६) और पशुपोषण (३.२८) सूक्तों में पशुओं की वृद्धि, स्वास्थ्य और सुरक्षा की प्रार्थनाएँ हैं। उनकी कामना है कि पुरुषों के साथ-साथ पशुओं का भी अविनाश हो।[२] मनुष्यों के स्वास्थ्य के साथ

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१. द्रष्टव्य; प्रचीन भारतीय राजनीतिक विचार एवं संस्थाएँ, डॉ० रामशरण शर्मा, दि मैकमिलन कम्पनी आफ इंडिया लिमिटेड, १९७७, पृ० २७३

२. सा नो मा हिंसीत् पुरुषान् पशूंश्च। ३.२८.६

ही पशुओं का स्वास्थ्य और रोगराहित्य भी काम्य है।[1] आर्यों ने अनेक रूपों वाले पशुओं से परिपूर्ण होने की अभिलाषा व्यक्त की है।[2] सविता देवता से कहा गया है कि वे गोष्ठ में सब पशुओं की वृद्धि करें।[3] पशुओं की पुष्टि की कामना उनसे लभ्य 'पयः' की आकाङ्क्षा से सम्बद्ध है।[4]

पशुओं के स्वामी 'पशुपति' रुद्र माने गये है।[5] अन्य अनेक देवताओं का भी पशुओं से सम्बन्ध है। अग्नि की स्तुति है कि वे पार्थिव पशुओं को जानते हैं, जो पशु उत्पन्न हो चुके हैं और होने वाले हैं, वे उन सबके स्वामी हैं।[6] पूषा देव नष्ट हुए पशुओं को पुनः प्राप्त कराते हैं।[7] सविता देवता प्रतिदिन प्रभूत गवादि पशुओं को प्रेरित करते हैं।[8]

अथर्ववेदसंहिता में अनेक पशुओं का नामतः वर्णन है। उन्हें मुख्य रूप से दो कोटियों में रखा गया है– ग्राम्य और आरण्य।[9] आरण्य पशुओं में सिंह, व्याघ्र, मृग, पागल कुत्ते, भालू, भेड़िया[10], हाथी[11], चीता या लकड़बग्घा[12], आदि और ग्राम्य पशुओं में सूकर[13], गर्दभ[14], बन्दर और कुत्ता[15], उष्ट्र[16], अज[17], अश्व, अवि[18], वृष, ऋषभ, गाय आदि विशेषतया उल्लिखित हैं।

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१. यो गोषु यक्ष्मः पुरुषेषु यक्ष्मस्तेन त्वं साकमधराङ् परेहि। १२.२.१
२. त्वं नः पृणीहि पशुभिर्विश्वरूपैः। १७.१.६
३. पशूनां सर्वेषां स्फातिं गोष्ठे मे सविता करत् १९.३१.१
४. पुष्टिं पशूनां परि जग्रभाहं चतुष्पदां द्विपदां यच्च धान्यम्।
पयः पशूनां रसमोषधीनां बृहस्पतिः सविता मे नि यच्छात्॥ १९.३१.५
५. रुद्रं पशुपतिश्च यः। ११.६.९
पशुपते नमस्ते। ११.२.९
य ईशे पशुपतिः पशूनाम् २.३४.१
६. त्वमीशिषे पशूनां पार्थिवानां ये जाता उत वा ये जनित्राः २.२८.३
७. पुनर्नो नष्टमाजतु सं नष्टेन गमेमहि ७.९.४
८. अयास्मभ्यं सवितर्वार्याणि दिवोदिव आ सुवा भूरि पश्वः ७.१४.३
९. वि ग्राम्याः पशव आरण्यैर्वि...... ३.३१.३
१०. ये त आरण्याः पशवो मृगा वने हिताः सिंहा व्याघ्राः पुरुषादश्चरन्ति। उलं वृकं पृथिवि दुच्छुनामित ऋक्षीकां रक्षो अप बाधयास्मत् १२.१.४९
११. यथा हस्ती हस्तिन्याः पदेन पदमुद्युजे ६.७०.२
१२. या हस्तिनि द्वीपिनि या हिरण्ये ६.३८.२
१३. २.२७.२
१४. ८.६.१०
१५. ३.९.४; ४.३७.११
१६. २०.१२७.२
१७. ४.१४.६
१८. ३.२९.३; ५.३१.५

जलजन्तुओं में घडियाल, अजगर, कछुए, मछलियों आदि का नाम प्राप्त होता है।[1] इनमें क्रूर और विषैले अर्थात् हिंसक पशुओं को पृथ्वी से दूर रखने की प्रार्थनाओं द्वारा उनकी परिहार्यता व्यञ्जित होती है।[2] आर्थिक विकास में उपयोगी साधन होने के कारण कतिपय पशु अथर्ववैदिक आर्यों के लिए धनवत् इष्ट और पूजनीय थे, अतः उनको ही प्रधानतया उनके ग्राम्य या पालतू पशु माना जा सकता है। इनमें भी मवेशियों का अपेक्षाकृत विशेष स्थान था, क्योंकि वे पालनकर्ताओं के भोजन, व्यवसाय और धार्मिक कृत्यों के प्रमुख साधन थे। अथर्ववेद के एक मन्त्र में ग्राम में होने वाले विश्व रूप 'सात' पशुओं का सामान्य रूप से उल्लेख हुआ है।[3]

१. गाय

पालतू पशुओं में गायों का सर्वाधिक महत्त्व था। ये आर्यों की विशेष सम्पत्ति थी।[4] उन्हें सम्पत्ति का घर कहा गया है।[5] उनका पालन-पोषण करना वे अपना पवित्र कर्तव्य समझते थे, क्योंकि वे उन्हें अघ्न्या और वन्दनीया मानते थे।[6] दुग्ध आदि भोज्य पदार्थ, कृषि के लिए बैल, खाद आदि साधन तथा यज्ञिय सामग्री इत्यादि की आवश्यकता-पूर्ति गायों पर ही निर्भर थी। तभी गायों को इन्द्र से समीकृत किया गया है।[7] अथर्ववेद-संहिता के कई सूक्तों में प्राप्त गायों की स्तुति और उनके स्वरूप तथा माहात्म्य का विशद वर्णन तत्कालीन जीवन में उनकी महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थिति का परिचायक है।

गोपति की कामना है कि गाएँ उसके पास स्थिरभाव से रहें, जिनसे वह दूध को संचित करता है, घृत से स्वशरीरादि के बल को पुष्ट करता है और सन्तान का पालन-पोषण करता है।[8] अथर्ववैदिक ऋषि की दृष्टि में गाय ही पुष्टिकारिणी, रस और सहस्र धनों की दात्री हैं।[9] वह घृतादि से तृप्त करती है।[10] गायें ही मनुष्यों को तेजोयुक्त, बलिष्ठ, मांसल और सुरूप

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१. शिशुमारा अजगराः पुरीकया जषा मत्स्या रजसा येभ्यो अस्यति ११.२.२५

२. कर्शफस्य विशफस्य द्यौः पिता पृथिवी माता।
यथाभिचक्र देवास्तथाप कृणुता पुनः॥ ३.९.१

३. ये ग्राम्याः पशवो विश्वरूपास्तेषां सप्तानां मयि रन्तिरस्तु। ३.१०.६
सायणभाष्य : गोश्वाजाविपुरुषगर्दभोष्ट्राख्या॥

४. गावो भगो गाव इन्द्रो म इच्छात्। ४.२१.५

५. धेनुं सदनं रयीणाम्। ११.१.३४

६. बालेभ्यः शफेभ्यो रूपायाघ्न्ये ते नमः। १०.१०.१

७. इमा या गावः स जनास इन्द्रः। ४.२१.५

८. सं सिञ्चामि गवां क्षीरं समाज्येन बलं रसम्।
संसिक्ता अस्माकं वीरा ध्रुवा गावो मयि गोपतौ॥ २.२६.४

९. इह पुष्टिरिह रस इह सहस्रसातमा भव। ३.२८.४

१०. घृतेनास्मान्त्समुक्षत। ७.७५.२

बनाती हैं, घर को कल्याणमय बनाती हैं; इसीलिए सभाओं में उनकी प्रशंसा होती है।[1] वे मनुष्यों के अतिरिक्त पशुओं के पोषणार्थ भी प्रार्थनीय हैं।[2] एक मन्त्र में गाय से प्रार्थना की गई है कि, 'तुम पुरुषों के लिए कल्याणकारिणी बनो। गायों और अश्वों के लिए कल्याणकारिणी बनो। तुम इस सब भूमि के लिए कल्याणकारिणी बनो और हमारे लिए कल्याणकारिणी बनो'।[3] इसी प्रकार कामना है कि वे सर्वदा दूध, घी और मधु दुहें'।[4]

गायें अनेक रूप और रङ्ग की थीं। एक मन्त्र में वर्णन है कि प्राणियों को बनाने वालों ने विविध रूपों वाली गायों को बनाया था।[5] अन्यत्र भी उन्हें 'पुरुरूपा:'[6] कहा गया है। श्वेत गाय को 'कर्की' संज्ञा दी गयी है।[7] इन्द्र के लिये सर्वप्रथम दुही जाने वाली और अमृत रूप दूध देने वाली गाय को 'गृष्टि:' बताया गया है।[8] कीथ और मैकडॉनल ने इससे 'युवा गाय' का ग्रहण किया है।[9] गायें तीन जातियों की बताई गयी हैं—विलिप्ती, सूतवशा और वशा।[10] सातवलेकर ने इनसे क्रमश: अधिक घी देने वाली, नौकर से वश में होने वाली और सबके वश में होने वाली गायों का अभिप्राय लिया है।[11] संहिता के दो सम्पूर्ण सूक्तों[12] में 'वशा गौ:' की स्तुति है। एक अन्य सूक्त[13] में शुद्धा और यज्ञिय 'शतौदना गौ:' की संस्तुति और वर्णन प्राप्त है।

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१. यूयं गावो मेद यथा कृशं चिदश्रीरं चित् कृणुथा सुप्रतीकम्।
भद्रं गृहं कृणुथ भद्रवाचो बृहद् वो वय उच्यते सभासु। ४.२१.६
२. पशून् यमिनि पोषय। ३.२८.४
३. शिवा भव पुरुषेभ्यो गोभ्यो अश्वेभ्य: शिवा।
शिवास्मै सर्वस्मै क्षेत्राय शिवा न इहैधि॥ ३.२८.३
४. तेभ्यस्त्वं धुक्ष्व सर्वदा क्षीरं सर्पिरथो मधु। १०.९.१२
५. यत्र गा असृजन्त भूतकृतो विश्वरूपा:। ३.२८.१
६. ४.२१.१
७. कर्की वत्सामिह रक्ष वाजिन्। ४.३८.६, ४.३८.७
देखिए-- *Hymns of the Atharvaveda*, M. Bloomfield (S.B.E. 42), 1967, P. 414; *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, Macdonell and Keith, Vol. I, P. 140.
८. केवलीन्द्राय दुदुहे हि गृष्टिर्वशं पीयूषं प्रथम दुहाना ८.९.२४
९. *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, Vol. 1, P. 229.
१०. त्रीणि वै वशाजातानि विलिप्ती सूतवशा वशा। १२.४.४७
११. अथर्ववेद का सुबोध भाष्य, श्रीपाद दामोदर सातवलेकर, पारडी, १९५८, भाग ४ काण्ड १२, पृ० ९०
१२. १०.१०, १२.४
१३. १०.९

वरुण ने अथर्वा ऋषि को जो गाय दी थी, वह सुष्ठु दोग्ध्री, सदाक्षीरा और चितकबरे वर्ण वाली (पृश्नि) थी।[1] सम्भवतः व्यक्तिगत रूप से गायों के नाम भी रखे जाते थे।

गायों के पालन-पोषण के सम्बन्ध में मन्त्रों में कतिपय सङ्केत उपलब्ध होते हैं, जिनसे ज्ञात होता है कि गाएँ अपने लिये निश्चित स्थानों पर ही रहती थीं जिनको गोष्ठ, सदः या व्रज कहते थे।[3] प्रायः सभी पालतू पशु गोष्ठ में ही रहते थे।[4] गाएँ अन्य गायों और वत्सों के साथ संघरूप में (संहिताः) और मिलकर (संजग्माना:) ही गोष्ठ में रहती थी।[5] वे अपने निवास-स्थान और नामों को जानती थी।[6] एक सूक्त[7] में 'गोष्ठ' का वर्णन करते हुए उसे गायों का पालन-पोषण करने वाला कहा गया है[8] और कामना की गई है कि गाएँ गोशाला में प्रेम से पुनः पुनः प्राप्त हों, वहीं पर मशक की भांति फूलें और वही अभिवृद्धि को प्राप्त हों तथा मेरे लिए सम्प्रीति से युक्त हों'।[9] गाय के स्वरूप और शरीराङ्गों की दिव्य और आध्यात्मिक व्याख्या एक सूक्त[10] में दर्शनीय है। अन्यत्र गाय को सुष्ठु दोग्ध्री, सदा बछड़ेवाली, वश में रहकर दुहने वाली, बुद्धिमती और द्युलोक (की कामधेनु) से भी उत्कृष्ट कहा गया है[11], जिससे अथर्ववैदिक आर्यों द्वारा अभीप्सित गाय के स्वरूप की अभिव्यञ्जना होती है। गाएँ उत्तम बछड़े और बछियों से संयुक्त होती थीं, इसीलिए उन्हें 'प्रजावतीः' विशेषण दिया गया है।[12] वर्णन है कि वे उत्तम, हरे भरे यवादि तृणों के लिये इच्छुक होती हैं, सुखपूर्वक शुद्धजल का पान करती हैं और स्वच्छन्द विचरण करती हैं।[13] अन्यत्र भी उन्हें उत्तम तृण[14] और घास[15] खाने वाली बताया

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१. कः पृश्निं धेनुं वरुणेन दत्तामथर्वणे सुदुघां नित्यवत्साम्। ७.१०४.१
२. विश्वनाम्नीः। ७.७५.२
३. इमं गोष्ठमिदं सदः। ७.७५.२, अयं घासो अयं व्रजः। ४.३८.७
४. इमं गोष्ठं पशवः सं स्रवन्तु। २.२६.२
५. ७.७५.२, ३.१४.३
६. पदज्ञा स्थ रमतयः। ७.७५.२
७. ३.१४
८. वो गोष्ठ इह पोषयिष्णुः। ३.१४.६
९. इहैव गाव एतनेहो शकेव पुष्यत।
इहैवोत प्र जायध्वं मयि संज्ञानमस्तु वः। ३.१४.४
१०. ९.७
११. अयं धेनुं सुदुघां नित्यवत्सां वशं दुहां विपश्चितं परो दिवः। ९.४.२१
१२. ४.२१.१, ७.७५.१
१३. प्रजावतीः सूयवसे रुशन्तीः शुद्धा अपः सुप्रपाणे पिबन्तीः। ७.७५.१
१४. सूयवसाद् भगवती हि भूयाः। ७.७३.११
१५. अयं घासो अयं व्रजः। ४.३८.७

गया है। चरकर वे गोशाला में वापस आ जाती हैं।[1] वे अपने सदन में बैठती हैं।[2] उषाकाल में वे दूध दुहाती हैं।[3] पहचान के लिए गायों के कानों के ऊपर लोहे की शलाका से चिह्न बनाने का उल्लेख प्राप्त हैं।[4]

गायों की सुरक्षा और समृद्धि के लिए वैदिक आर्य सतत प्रयत्नशील और जागरूक थे। एतदर्थ देवताओं से अनेकशः प्रार्थनाएँ की गई हैं। एक प्रार्थना में कहा गया है कि जो गाएँ इन्द्र देते हैं, वे न तो नष्ट होती हैं, न उन्हें चोर अधिकृत करता है और न ही शत्रु उन्हें पीड़ित करते हैं।[5] अन्यत्र अभिलाषा व्यक्त की गई हैं कि चोर उसे चुराने में समर्थ न हों और पापी हिंसक भी उस पर अधिकार करने में समर्थ न हों।[6] मन्त्रों में गायों की पुष्टि और चिकित्सा के लिये देवताओं का आह्वान किया गया है।[7] गोपालन के पीछे अथर्ववैदिक आर्यों की दृढ़ धारणा थी कि गायों की पुष्टि से ही उनकी पुष्टि सम्भव है।[8]

२. बैल

कृषि की प्रधानता होने के कारण अथर्ववैदिक पशुपालन में 'बैल' का विशेष महत्त्व था। कृषिसाधन योग्य हल के प्रयोग के लिए आवश्यक पशु 'बैल' को मन्त्रों में 'वाह' (३.१७.६) कहा गया है। यह खेत की जुताई में सहायक होने के अतिरिक्त गाड़ी खींचने में भी उपयोगी होता था। गाड़ी खींचने में समर्थ बैल को अनड्वान् (४.११.१०) कहते थे। ऋक्संहिता के समान ही अथर्ववेद संहिता में भी बैल अथवा सांड़ के लिए वृषभ[9], वृषन्[10] और ऋषभ[11] शब्द बहुप्रयुक्त हैं। बछड़ों का पिता और अहिंसनीया गायों का पति 'ऋषभ' हजारों प्रकार की पुष्टि के लिए प्रार्थनीय है।[12] उसे इन्द्र के स्वरूप को धारण करने वाला कहा गया है।[13] उसे रूपों को बनाने

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१. आ गावो अग्मन्नुत भद्रमक्रन्त्सीदन्तु गोष्ठे रणयन्त्वस्मे। ४.२१.१
२. असदन् गावः सदने। ७.९६.१
३. इन्द्राय पूर्वीरुषसो दुहानाः। ४.२१.१
४. लोहितेन स्वधितिना मिथुनं कर्णयोः कृधि।
अकर्तामश्विना लक्ष्म तदस्तु प्रजया बहु॥ ६.१४१.२
५. न ता नशन्ति न दभाति तस्करो नासामामित्रो व्यथिरा दधर्षति।४.२१.३
६. मा व स्तेन ईशत माघशंसः। ४.२१.७, ७.७५.१
७. वायुरेनाः समाकरत् त्वष्टा पोषाय ध्रियताम्।
इन्द्र आभ्यो अधि ब्रुवद् रुद्रो भूम्ने चिकित्सतु॥ ६.१४१.१
८. सुयवसाद् भगवती हि भूया अधा वयं भगवन्तः स्याम। ७.७३.११
९. ऋ० सं० १०.१०२.६, १०.१०२.९, १०.१०३.१; अथर्व ४.२४.३, १०.५.१८ इत्यादि।
१०. ऋ० सं० १०.१०२.१२, १०.११५.२; अथर्व० ८.५.१२, ९.१.१० इत्यादि।
११. ऋ० सं० ६.२८.८, १०.१६६.१; अथर्व० ३.६.४, ४.२४.४, ९.४.१ इत्यादि।
१२. पिता वत्सानां पतिरघ्न्यानां साहस्ते पोषे अपि नः कृणोतु। ९.४.२
१३. इन्द्रस्य रूपमृषभो वसानः। ९.४.७

वाला और पशुओं का जनक भी बताया गया है।[1] ऋषभ की महिमा का वर्णन करते हुए कहा गया है कि सहस्रशः तेजों से युक्त और दुग्धदाता ऋषभ गायों में सब प्रकार के धनों को विधृत करता है।[2]

३. अश्व

अथर्ववैदिक आर्यों के पालतू पशुओं में अत्यधिक बलवान्, चपल और शीघ्रगामी होने के कारण अश्व का महत्त्व था। यह उनके रथ खींचता था और सवारी के काम भी आता था। अपनी तीव्रगति के कारण यह विशेष लोकप्रिय और उपयोगी था। घोड़े के लिए अथर्वमन्त्रों में मुख्य रूप से अश्व[3] वाजिन्[4] और अर्वन्[5] शब्दों का प्रयोग हुआ है। इसके निवास के लिए स्थान होते थे, जहाँ यह घास खाता था।[6] घोड़ा बाँधने के लिए रस्सी का प्रयोग किया जाता था, जिसे 'अश्वाभिधानी' कहा गया है।[7] सम्भवतः गाय और उसके वत्सों की सुरक्षा के लिए भी अश्वों की सवारी का उपयोग किया जाता था, इसीलिए एक मन्त्र में एतदर्थ 'वाजी' से प्रार्थना है।[8] वाजीसूक्त[9] में अश्व के द्रुतगामी होने की अभिलाषा की गई है, 'हे अश्व! रथ में संयोजित होकर तुम वायु के समान वेगवाले हो। इन्द्र को प्रेरणा देने में मन के समान वेगवाले होकर गतिशील हो। सर्वधन के स्वामी मरुत् तुम्हें संयोजित करें। त्वष्टा देव तुम्हारे पैरों में वेग भरें।[10] इससे प्रतीत होता है कि अश्व दौड़ में भाग लेते थे। दूसरे मन्त्र में कहा गया है कि जो वेग तुम्हारे हृदय, बाजपक्षी, वायु और परितोगामी सूर्य में है, उसी वेग से वेगशाली होकर युद्ध में पार लगाने वाले तुम विजय करो।[11] इससे युद्ध में अश्वों की आवश्यकता का बोध होता है। अतः पालनकर्त्ताओं द्वारा सामाजिक और राजनैतिक जीवन में अश्व की महत्ता स्वीकार्य थी।

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१. त्वष्टा रूपाणां जनिता पशूनाम्। ९.४.६
२. साहस्रस्त्वेष ऋषभः पयस्वान् विश्वा रूपाणि वक्षणासु बिभ्रत्। ९.४.१
३. १९.५५.१
४. ६.९२.१
५. ६.९२.२
६. अश्वायेव तिष्ठते घासमस्मै। १९.५५.१
७. अभि तं निर्ऋतिर्धत्तामश्वमिवाश्वाभिधान्या। ४.३६.१०
८. कर्कीं वत्सामिह रक्ष वाजिन्। ४.३८.६, ७
९. ६.९२
१०. वातरंहा भव वाजिन् युज्यमान इन्द्रस्य याहि प्रसवे मनोजवाः।
युञ्जन्तु त्वा मरुतो विश्ववेदस आ ते त्वष्टा पत्सु जवं दधातु॥ ६.९२.१
११. जवस्ते अर्वन् निहितो गुहा यः श्येने वात उत योऽचरत् परीत्तः।
तेन त्वं वाजिन् बलवान् बलेनाजि जय समने पारयिष्णुः। ६.९२.२

अश्व का सम्बन्ध इन्द्रदेव से अधिक माना गया है । इन्द्र ही अश्वों के स्वामी है ।[1] घोड़ों के पालन में कुशल होने से इन्द्र को 'हरिपा:'[2] विशेषण दिया गया है ।

४. भेंड़, बकरी आदि अन्य पालतू पशु

अन्य पालतू पशुओं में अपेक्षाकृत अधिक उपयोगी भेंड़ और बकरी माने गये है । इनके नाम का कई बार साथ-साथ उल्लेख हुआ है ।[3] एक सूक्त में अज को बलि के लिए वेदि पर ले जाने का वर्णन है ।[4] इसकी आध्यात्मिक व्याख्याएँ भी की गई हैं ।[5] 'अजश्रृङ्गी' ओषधि बड़ी ही वीर्यशालिनी बताई गई है ।[6] अन्यत्र श्वेत पैरो वाली भेंड़ की चर्चा प्राप्त है ।[7] अन्य पालतू पशुओं में ऊँट, कुत्ता, गधा, हाथी आदि का नामत: उल्लेख तो अवश्य प्राप्त है, किन्तु अथर्ववेद संहिता के मन्त्रों के आधार पर इनके पालन और उपयोग आदि पर प्राय: कोई विशेष प्रकाश नहीं पड़ता है ।

अन्तत: कहा जा सकता है कि अथर्ववैदिक आर्यों के पशुपालन का प्रधान उद्देश्य जीवन-निर्वाह के लिए बहुविध साधन जुटाना ही था । पशु उनके धन थे, तो पशुपालन उनका प्रमुख उद्योग । निश्चय ही इसके द्वारा उनके भोजन, युद्ध, धर्म, व्यवसाय, यातायात, व्यवहार और व्यवस्था सम्बन्धी अनेक कृत्य पर्याप्त रूप से प्रभावित हुए थे ।

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१. इन्द्र स्वातर्हरीणाम् । २०.६४.५
२. २०.३१.३
३. यथा वृकादजावयो धावन्ति बहु बिभ्यती: । ५.२१.५; ७.६०.५; ८.७.२५ इत्यादि ।
४. आ नयैतमा रभस्व सुकृतां लोकमपि गच्छतु प्रजानन्... । ९.५.१
५. अथर्ववेद का सुबोध भाष्य, सातवलेकर, १९६६, भाग ३, काण्ड ९, पृ० ४५
६. एयमगन्नोषधीनां वीरुधां वीर्यावती । अजश्रृङ्गी... । ४.३७.६
७. अविस्तस्मात् प्र मुञ्चति दत्त: शितिपात् स्वधा । ३.२९.१

BRĀHMAṆISM IN JAPAN : A STUDY IN CULTURAL CONTACT

Upendra Thakur

While speaking of religion we have to remember that besides Buddhism, which influenced almost all the spheres of Japanese life, Brāhmaṇism also played a very significant role in moulding Japanese character and culture. The new teachings of the Shingon sect originated in India much before it was introduced in China in the eighth century A. D. The Shingon or esoteric principles are based on Tantric rituals which were practised in India by the followers of the Brahmanical religion since early times. We have mention of certain aspects of esoterism in the *Ṛgveda* which also refers to various mysterious formulae. It is true, Tantra, as an independent cult, did not emerge on the religious scene in India before the fifth and sixth centuries A. D.[1], nontheless the Tantric phase of Buddhism became pronounced from the time of Asaṅga who introduced esoteric elements in Buddhism in the third-fourth centuries A. D. It is popularly believed that the Tantras were the common heritage of both Brāhmaṇism and Buddhism[2], and though China received esoterism in the fourth century A. D., it actually flourished there from the eighth century onward. From there it reached Japan through Saicho (Dengyo Daishi) and Kūkai (Kobo Daishi).[3] Moreover, esoteric Buddhism of the Tendai and the Shingon sects is closely related, and both flourished in Japan for about three hundred years. The occult and secret teachings of Buddhism, in the course of time, strongly influenced Buddhist art in Japan.[4]

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1. B. Bhattacharya, *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterisms*, p. 147.
2. S. B. Dasgupta, *Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, p. 3.
3. Alicia Matsunaga, *Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation*, pp. 193-94.
4. *Pageant of Japanese Art* (*Sculpture*), p. 30.

The Shingon Buddhists are advised to attain supernatural power through the practice of secret formulae which is closely connected with symbolic diagram called *Mandara* (Skt. *Maṇḍala*). This consists of two parts—(i) the Konga-Kai *Mandara* (Skt. *Varjadhātu Maṇḍala*), also known as the *Maṇḍala of the Daimond World* and (ii) the Taizo-Kai *Mandara* (Skt. *Gandhadhātu Maṇḍala*) or the *Maṇḍala of the Matric World*. The central deity in the *Mandara* is Dainichi Nyori (Mahāvairocana Buddha) or the Supreme Buddha. In the usual rectangular arrangements of the two *Mandara*-s, Dainichi Nyorai is sorrounded by hundreds of deities "who represent his various cosmic attributes".[1] The *Mandara* is invariably associated with the depiction of numerous heavenly figures which in turn inspired the painters of the Heian period and the succeeding ages to draw images of various deities. In other words, *Mandara* figures in the course of centuries enriched Japanese iconography, and a large number of Brāhmaṇical gods and goddesses were introduced in Japan in succeeding periods which revolutionised the very Japanese concept of art.[2]

Besides the *Mandara*, there is a manual in Japan used by the *Mantrayāna*-monks for learning the *Mudrā*-s for which is known as *Shingon-mikkyo-zu-in-shu* ("a collection of the drawings of *mudrā*-s of Mantrayāna"). *Mudrā*-s in Japanese tradition evoke the presence of the divine in the mind of the initiate. According to the *Daini chikyo* (a Japanese work), *mudrā*-s endow the thoughts, consecrations, *mantra*-s—all that is beyond form with a visible evanescence, to crystallize a state of meditation. In fact, all that was transmitted from Kashmir, Kanchi and Nalanda to Japan was touched by the breath of the spirit and form that is Japan.[3]

The Chinese carried Buddhist thoughts and ideas in purely Indian form when they adopted Buddhism as their faith. At the outset the Chinese Buddhism was essentially Indian in character, following the same procedures as prescribed in Indian texts in matters of image-worship. The Brāhmaṇical deities accepted in Indian Buddhism naturally found their way to China as a part of Buddhist pantheon, and the mode of worship of these divinities was exactly the same as followed by the Buddhists in India. A stage, however, came when the Chinese transformed the Indian elements in Buddhism in their own way,[4] with the result that the character and role of the Buddhism-

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1. *Pageant of Japanese Art* (Painting), p. 163.
2. Takasaki Sawa, *Art in Japanese Esoteric Buddhism*, p. 56.
3. *Hindutva*, Vol. III, 1977, No. 3, pp. 15-16.
4. Shoko Watanbe, *Japanese Buddhism*, p. 10.

oriented Brāhmannical gods and goddesses who found their way to Japan from China slightly changed, 'hued in Chinese dye'.[1] These Brāhmaṇical deities in the course of time again passed through another phase of transformation to suit the Japanese thoughts and ideas, and many of these transformed deities gained highly revered positions which they had never before attained either in India or in China. In fact, several minor Brāhmaṇical gods and goddesses who were too insignificant to merit careful attention in India, attained a considerably exalted position in Japanese Buddhist pantheon. Most of such deities as have gone into oblivion in the very land of their inception have been accorded a permanent place in that far-off land, and are even now worshipped in the various temples with great reverence along with Buddhist divinities. But, all told, the fact remains that these deities, in spite of their significant position are, to some extent, subservient to their Buddhist counterparts whom they are supposed to protect as the acolytes of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas and also as the guardians of the Buddhist faith. It is commonly believed in Japan that the Brāhmaṇical deities, if worshipped properly, bestow quickly material benefits and other favours in day to day life on their devotees rather than any spiritual gain. This has made these gods and goddesses very popular in Japan as the common people are more interested in worldly or material benefits than in the so-called abstract spiritual achievement.[2]

It would thus be seen that there was no change in the basic attitude of the Indian Buddhists towards the Brāhmaṇical divinities. Indian Buddhist thoughts and ideas were directly carried to China from India and as such the Chinese Buddhism in the beginning was essentially Indian in character. However, the image-worship in China followed the procedures as prescribed in Buddhist texts of India. This naturally led to the adoption of those Brāhmaṇical deities in China who were already incorporated in Buddhist pantheon in India, and thus they also came to be duly honoured and worshipped in Indian fashion.

Of the various Brāhmaṇical deities who were widely worshipped in Japan side by side with the Buddhist deities mention may be made of Indra (*Taishaku-tan*, Varuṇa (*Sui-ten*), Yama (*Emma*), Agni (*Ka-ten*), Mahākāla (*Daikoku-ten*), Sarasvati (*Benzai-ten or Banten*), Gaṇeśa (*Shō-ten* or *Kangi-ten*), Brahmā (*Bon-ten*), Vāyu (*Hu-ten*), Vaiśravaṇa or Kubera (*Bishamon-ten*), Maheśvara (*Makei-shura-ten*), Īśāṇa (*Ishana-ten*), Nīlakaṇṭha (*Shokyo-Kannon*),

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1. P. N. Baski, *Hindu Divinities in Japanese Buddhist Pantheon* (MS) Chaps. I-II, p. 57.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

Mahākāla (*Daikoku*), Pṛthvī (*Ji-ten*), Sūrya (*Nit-ten*), Candra (*Gat-ten*), Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu (*Naraen-ten*), Kumāra or Kārttikeya (*Kumāra-ten*), Lakṣmī (*Kichito-ten* or *Kissho-ten*) and many other minor deities. But, as we have noted above, the primary role of these Brāhmaṇical deities in Japan was to protect the Buddha and the Buddhist world. Although the iconography of the Buddhist deities was invariably represented in set forms in strict accordance with the prescriptions laid down in the sacred texts, this was not so in respect of the depictions of the subservient and comparatively less important Brāhmaṇical deities. For instance, Indra, the king of gods, in spite of his subordinate status, played a very important role in Buddhism as its virtual protector. In China and Japan he is widely worshipped as a guardian deity of whom we have innumerable images in both countries portrayed with usual *vajra* (thunderbolt) and guarding the entrance of some monastery or temple.[1] Taishaku-ten, the Japanese name of Indra, is derived from the Chinese Ti-shih-t'ien. He is variously known in Japan as Shakudaikanin (*Śakra devānām*), Makaba (*Maghavan*) Basaba (*Vāsava*), Shashibachi, Kausika and Sengan ('the thousand eyed' : *sahassa natta*). The different Japanese texts such as *Dainichi-kyō* (the *Mahāvairocana Sutta*), the *Sonshō-Bucchō-Shūyuga-Hō-Kigi*, the *Seiryo-ki*, the *Shosetsu Fudo-ki* and the *Kongo-kai-Shichi-shū*, are unanimous in placing Indra in eastern gate, wearing jewelled crown and ornaments and holding *vajra* in his hand.

Besides him, Agni is also one of the twelve guardian-deities in Japan who is everywhere depicted as guarding the south-east corner. He naturally finds his place in Japanese *Mandara*[2] which has remarkable similarity with the representation of Agni in some Indian sculptures.[3] But, compared to his inferior position in Hindu pantheon in early periods he seems to have occupied a somewhat respectable position in Tāntric Buddhism in Japan. He is in fact one of the four gods who protect the inner-hall of the Kongō-kai-Mandara. He is depicted as an old hermit with two or even four arms, his whole body is encircled with fire, and he is occasionally seen riding a blue sheep.[4] This conception of Agni by the Japanese sculptors has some similarities with the representation of Agni in some Indian sculptures.

The worship of Yama seems to have been incorporated in the cult of Jū-ō or Ten kings which probably originated in China during the rule of the Six Dynasties (260-589A. D.), shortly after the introduction of Buddhism

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1. Alicia Matsunaga, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation* pp. 25-27.
2. *The Butsuzo-Zu'en*, p. 142.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 142.

there. Both the benign and dreadful aspects of Yama, recognised in Buddhist-pantheon in India, were also accepted in Chinese and Japanese Buddhism. He is Yama-ten (Enma-ten or Emma-ten), i. e., Yama-deva when benign and Emma-o when dreadful as the Judge of the Dead. In China and Korea there were special shrines called Jūo-den or 'the Hall of the Ten kings' or 'House of the Dead'. In Japan such shrines as are dedicated to Yama are called Emma-dō, 'Hall of Yama' with drawings or paintings of Ten kings inside the hall. As one of the ten kings he is known in Japan as Emma-ō, the king of hell or Byōoō-ō, the king of equality.[1] But, the most interesting thing to note in this connection is that the festival of Citragupta (Faizan-Fukun), another form of Yama, was held very often in Japan in the middle of the Heian period (794-1185 A. D.).[2] The Ten Kings became so popular since the introduction of Buddhism that by the end of the Heian period they came to be considered as the manifestation of various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.[3] The popularity of this cult continued unabated in the succeeding periods of Kamakuru (1185-1333 A.D.) and Muromachi (1333-1575 A D.). However, the descriptions of various images of Yama in Japanese temples and the very many legends associated with them clearly show that Yama in the course of centuries was completely Japanised by absorbing the local beliefs.[4]

Like other Brāhmaṇical deities Varuṇa also played a somewhat minor role in Indian Buddhism, and he is the only *digpāla* (a guard of directions) who plays a uniform role both in Indian and Japanese Buddhism. In Japanese mythology he belongs to the eminent group of Twelve Deva Kings (*Juni-ten*). Located in the Ryokai Mandara he is seen guarding the inner hall of the Kongo-Kai Mandara.[5] One of the popular deities in Japan, he is seen frequently in the *Mandara*-s as a Dragon (Nāga ?) king. According to Hajime Nakamura "Sui-ten (Water-god) is a Shintoist name. But the god widely worshipped by people in down-town Tokyo was originally Varuṇa (Water-God in India) and was introduced into the Buddhist pantheon by esoteric Buddhism, and then adopted by Shintoists, though Shintoists may hesitate to agree with this explanation".[6] We have some idea of his icono-

1. *Ibid.*, p. 143. For other details, see D. N. Baksi, *op. cit.*, p. 94 ff.
2. *The Butsuzo-Zuten*, p. 142.
3. *Ibid.*,
4. For details see D. N. Baksi, p. 97 ff.
5. *The Butsuzo-zuten*, p. 145.
6. Hajime Nakamura, *Japan and Indian Asia*, p. 5. For other details, see *The Butsuzo-zuten*, p. 145.

graphy from the *Daran—hū-kyō* (Chapter XI)[1] according to which his image should be carved out of white sandal wood with a height of five inches in the form of a Tennyō (Devī) with three eyes, heavenly crown and garments, and a *cintāmaṇi* jewel held by his two hands. But, according to another text, *Dainichi-kyō*, Sui-ten, the Dragon (serpent) king holds the characteristic fire coloured strings each of which has half portion of *Vajra* in one and a ring in the other end. However, the Japanese image of Varuṇa is seen riding a tortoise holding a Nāga-string in the left hand (sometimes in the right hand also), his right hand generally holding a sword. For performing the ritual of Sui-ten-ho his image is made independently which is supposed to remove the danger from water such as ship-wreck, drowning, flood etc.[2]

The other god, who plays a significant part in the religious life of the Japanese people is Maheśvara (*Makeishura-ten*), otherwise called Śiva of whom various forms have been conceived in Japan. He is depicted as having two, four, eight and eighteen arms and riding a cow (bull ?).[3] Mahākāla (*Daikoku*), the terrific god (another form of Śiva), whose images abound in the temples of Tibet and China enjoys an exalted position as a household deity in Japan[4] whose association with wealth and prosperity gave rise to a strange but interesting custom known as *Fuku-nusubi* ("fortune-stealing"). This custom started with the belief that he, who stole divine figures (gods and goddesses) was assured of good fortune, if not caught in the act of stealing. In the course of time stealing of divine images became so common a practice in Japan that the *Toshi-no-ichi* or the 'year-end-market' held in the Asakusa Kannon temple became the main venue of the sale and disposal of such images by the fortune-seekers. Many small stalls were opened where articles including images of Daikoku or Mahākāla were sold on the eve of New Year celebration, and there also the fortune-seekers stole away the Daikoku images for clandestine business.[5]

In ancient times, the Japanese warriors went to war in helmets bearing Sanskrit *bījas* as benediction for victory. Such helmets can still be seen at the Reihokan Museum at Koyasan. The Tokonoma or alcoves in Japanese parlours often have a smiling image of Daikoku or Mahākāla, clad in Japanese roles, and standing on two bags of rice representing affluence. Mahākāla, as we know, symbolised the Great Time (*mahā*=great and *kāla*=

1. *The Butsuzo-zuten*, p. 145; D. N. Baksi, *op. cit.*, p. 105.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 145.
3. *Butsuzo-zuten*, pp. 151-52; Also cf. N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, p. 110.
4. *Butsuzo-zuten*, p. 156; D. N. Baksi, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-26, 132-41.
5. Mock Joya, *Things Japanese*, p. 652.

time) : the time of affluence, in contradistinction to *a-kāla* (famine) : the negation (*a*) of good time (*kāla*). The Japanese also maintain the *bījākṣara* of Mahākāla as a *Siddhamnāgari* monogram. The traditional pilgrims climbing the holy Mount Ontake wear *tenugui* on white Japanese scarves with the sacred mantra *Oṃ*.[1]

Viṣṇu, one of the Purāṇic trinity, though immensely popular in India, did not find any important place outside the texts and *Mandara*-s in Japan, though the Japanese *Naraen-ten* (Nārāyaṇa) also called *Kengō-rikishi* or *Kongō-rikishi*,[2] has many common features with Brāhmaṇical Viṣṇu (Bishinu-ten in Japanese). Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, according to Japanese conception, possesses unusual physical strength, generally rides Karura (Garuḍa), has one face, with two arms or three faces with two arms, the left face assuming the face of an elephant or lion and the right one having the form of a bear. He is shown having four or eight arms only in rare cases. In the *Karura-ō-Oyobi-Shoten-Mitsugon Kyō* he is also referred to as Vijaya, having three faces and four arms, with a halo of green colour behind his head. Karura (Garuḍa) received treatment in Japan apart from his position as Naraen-ten's mount, and the *Śeṣaśayana* aspect of Nārāyaṇa is nowhere referred to in the Japanese text.

Gaṇeśa or Sho-ten (also Vināyaka in Japanese) on the other hand, seems to have been a widely worshipped god in Japan with whom is associated the Chinese-Japanese conception of the elephant-headed male-female embracing Vināyaka. One of the most popular deities in Japan, Gaṇeśa, like other Brāhmaṇical deities, travelled to Japan through China. Variously known as Dai-shokangi-ten (abbreviated as Kangi-ten), Sho-ten, Ganabachi (Gaṇapati) and Bināyaka-ten (Vināyaka), he is without doubt the product of the introduction of Tāntricism in China and Japan (806 A. D. onward) which envisaged an elephant-headed Yoginī form of female-Vināyaka giving birth to a new concept of Vināyaka couple, both elephant headed—a unique development in the religious history of Japan.[3]

Images of Sho-ten or Vināyaka have been conceived in Japan—(i) a single elephant-headed image with two arms, (ii) a single elephant-headed image with four arms, (iii) a single elephant-headed image with six arms, (iv) a single elephant-headed image with three faces and four arms, (v) a

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1. Lokesh Chandra, *Hindutva*, Vol. VIII, June 1977, No. 3, p. 20.
2. *Takaaki* Sawa, *Art in Japanese Esoteric Buddhism*, pp. 27-30.
3. Alice Getty, *Gaṇeśa*, p. 29; T. A. G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, pp. 44-45; for other details D. N. Baksi, pp. 164-68.

single human-headed two-armed image with an elephant's head (sometimes dragon's head) in the crown, (vi) twin elephant-headed images in an embracing form, (vii) twin-images, one with the usual elephant's head and the other with the head of a bear and (viii) a single pig-headed image.[1]

A study of the available evidences would show that the introduction of Tantra in China (and thence to Japan) gave birth to the conception of an elephant-headed Yoginī form of female Vināyaka (Vināyakī or Gaṇeśānī), giving rise, in turn, to the concept of a Vināyaka-couple—male god and his female counterpart both elephant-headed. It is really strange to find that though the Japanese (*Darani-shū-kyō*[2] (*Dhāraṇi-Samuccaya*) originated in India, the concept of this twin form of Gaṇeśa (with Gaṇeśānī) could not develop in India proper.

The popularity of this god can be judged from the fact that there are about 250 temples in Japan in which the images of Sho-ten or Kongi-ten are worshipped either as a single image or double-bodied images. The embracing forms of images are, however, kept inside a long box and worshipped secretly through the help of the priests. They are not exposed to the public view. The popularity of his worship continued throughtout the centuries, as he was supposed to be the Lord and Giver of Wealth. According to popular belief, if properly worshipped, this god bestows fortune and money on his devotees. In the Hozan-ji temple on Mt. Ikoma in Nara, Sho-ten is worshipped mainly by the merchants. In Osaka we have the biggest temple of Sho-ten where, besides devotees, a permanent priest offers prayer daily. Moreover, the priests also separately offer prayers to him to remove obstacles in way to success.[3] In the Japanese text *Daisho-kangi-Soshin-Binayaka-Tongyo-Zohon-Giki* (Vol. I)[4] he is also called *Daijizai-ten* (Maheśvara)—a conception which we come across also in the *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa*[5] where Gaṇeśa is given fifty different appelations, one of which says that 'Śiva' and 'Śaṃkara' are but the two appelations ascribed to Gaṇeśa which is further corroborated by the

1. For description of the various forms of images in Japanese texts see Shino Kissho, *Bukkyo Sonzō Kōwa*, p. 225ff; D. N. Basi, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-79.
2. Also called *Dharanijikkyo* or *Buttetsu-Darani-shū-kyo*. This is the oldest text describing double-bodied Ganeś-Atikūṭa. An Indian monk translated this Sūtra into Chinese (653-54 A.D.). It contains descriptions of various *mudrā*-s, *dharanī* or *mantra*-s or "shell formulae" some of which are believed to have been preached by the Buddha himself.
3. Shoko Watanbe, *Japanese Buddhism*, p. 78; D. N. Baksi, p. 181 ff.
4. A. C. Vidyabhusana, *Lakṣmī-o-Gaṇeśa*, pp. 106.07.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-07.

Agni Purāṇa (chap. 71) wherein Mahādeva is said to be one of the many appelations of Gaṇeśa.

Skanda-Kārttikeya also appears to have been one of the extremely popular deities in Japan. Variously known as Kumāra-ten (Kumāra-Kārttikeya), Kenda (Skanda) or Ida-ten he is regarded as the son of Daijizai-ten (Maheśvara) in Japanese mythology. Though his images were extensively made in China, they are not so common in Japan.[1] He is usually seen riding a peacock and having six faces and two or more arms.[2] While Kenda or Skanda is mentioned as the 'Devil God' in the *Konko-myo-kyo* (*Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra*), we have no description of his image. The figure of Ida-ten is also very rare in Japan, and whatever images of this god we have they are depicted as wearing armours.[3] His figure is often placed inside the kitchens of the Zen Buddhist temples, such as one in the Sennyu-ji temple in Tokyo. He is popularly known in Japan for his being a swift runner.[4]

Sarasvatī is yet another Hindu deity extremely popular in Japan, and is known by various names such as Benzai-ten, Bezai-ten, Benteu, Benten, Sama, Benzamini, Myo-ongakuten, Meoongten, Myo'on-ten (goddess with sweet voice), Daiben, Dai-Benzai-ten (goddess of great intelligence), Dai-bentenno, Bion-ten, Ku-doku, Mio-on Ten-nio etc.[5] As noted earlier the images of goddesses came to be introduced in Buddhist worship during the Nara period (A. D. 645-794) in Japan, and the first such figures of Brāhmaṇical goddesses made in Japan were of Kichijo-ten (Śrīdevī or Lakṣmī) and Benzai-ten (Sarasvatī).[6]

The Indian concept of Sarasvatī being the consort of Brahmā is also retained in Japan. Generally considered as an extremely beautiful lady, she is supposed to be the ideal of feminine beauty, and the goddess of all kinds of flow such as music, wealth, fortune, beauty, happiness, eloquence and wisdom. This concept of the goddess, it appears, was irretrievably linked up with her personification with the famous Vedic river Sarasvatī, and her close affinity with Kichijo-ten or Lakṣmī probably made her popular as also a goddess of wealth, in common parlance in Japan. It is, however, interesting to note that while in India she is always depicted as a charming goddess of

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1. *The Butsuzo-Zuten*, p. 153.
2. *Ibid*,. p. 153. For his description in different Japanese texts, see D. N. Baksi, *op. cit.*, Chap. VII.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 153; Baksi, *op. cit.*, Chap. VII.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 153; Baksi, *op. cit.*, Chap. VII.
5. Masao Kichijo, *Bukkiyo Sonzo-Kowa*, *Mikkyo-dai-jiten*, *Dai-hyakkajiten* (*Great Encyclopaedia*) ? Anderson's *Catalogue*, p. 42.
6. Takaai Sawa, *Art in Japanese Esoteric Buddhism*, p. 29.

music, fine arts, and learning holding a *vīṇā* with her both hands, in Japan, she is sometimes portrayed as a ferocious gooddess too, embodying ugliness as well as beauty. Benten with a lute is a beautiful lady, but Benten with a sword is a brave lady like Itanuka[1] of whom the people are greatly frightened. There is an image of Benten in war-like posture, in Enoshima, holding a sword in her hand with a serpent and a tortoise sitting at her foot and two Deva kings standing on either side.[2] We have generally the temples of this goddess in Japan in an island or on a piece of land with water all around.[3] Here again the concept of the personification of this goddess with the river Sarasvatī seems to have played an important role as regards the selection of the site for her temple.

Of late veneration for this goddess has been growing more and more in Japan where she is worshipped in five major holy places—(i) Chikubushima island in Omi (Shiga Prefecture), (ii) Kinkazan in Rikuzen (Myagi Prefecture), (iii) Miyajima Island in Aki (Horoshima Prefecture), (iv) Amanogawa in Yamato (Nara Prefecture) and (v) Enoshima Island in Sagami (Kanagawa Prefecture). Of these the Miyajima and the Enoshima were converted into Shinto shrines in the Meiji period.[4] The goddess (Benten or Benzai-ten) of these holy places is called *Go-Benten* (or Five Bentens) and she is reverentially worshipped by people of all classes. In Osaka the worship of this goddess became so immensely popular that a new religious Buddhist cult came to be established there after the Second World War after the name of this goddess, popularly known as Benten-shu. We have a very interesting history of the establishment of this sect : "Benzaiten, a nickname for God, is the creator and sustainer of the universe. About 4,000 years ago, the author of the *Ṛgveda* mentioned Benzai ten (Sarasvatī) as God of gods and the ground of beings. The Foundress Lady Chiben had the revelation of Benzaiten on April 17,1934. She, as an incarnate body of God, started her ministry for salvation". All this undoubtedly shows that since early times this goddess has been immensely popular with the people of Japan, who even today, hold her in high esteem as the bestower of all kinds of happiness.[5]

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1. Kichijo Masao, *Bukkiyo-Sonzo-Kowa*, p. 255 ff.
2. Anderson's *Catalogue*, p. 76.
3. Kichijo Masao, *op. cit.*, p. 235ff; Noritake Tsuda, *Handbook of Japanese Art*, p. 427.
4. Kichijo Masao, *op. cit.*, p. 1979ff.
5. For other details see A. Matsunaga, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation*, p. 256; D. N. Baksi, *op. cit.*, (Chap. on Benzai-Ten. Sarasvati); The Mikkyo-dai-jiten (Enclopaedia of Esoteric Buddhism), p. 1979ff; Takaoi Sawa, *Art in Japanese Esoteric Buddhism*, p. 28ff; Masao Kichijo, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-40; *Butsuzo-zuten*, p. 138ff; *Daihyakkajiten* (*Great Encyclopaedia*), p. 255ff; Rajuken Sawa, Mikkyo-no-Bijutsu, p. 45; Noritake Tsuda, *op. cit.*, p. 128ff.

Even in the austerly simple lines representing Sarasvatī, there is the feeling of the Japanese world of "flowers and willows". This is an anthropomorphic delineation of Sarasvatī on the physical plane or the plane of *Kāya*. On the second or verbal plane (of *Vāk*) she is calligraphed in the *Siddham-nāgarī* script. Thus written, the syllable lives and breathes in an adoring, admiring heart. On the final plane of the *citta*, she is realised as a *samaya*, a vow, a resolve expressed as a fundamental form, and "form is emptiness, and emptiness is form" (*rūpam eva śūnyatā, śūnyatā eva rūpam*). Then purity and peace, simplicity and serenity become the artless art of life.[1]

Lakṣmī (Japanese : Kichijo-ten), the goddess of wealth, though in Buddhist garb, is extremely popular in Japan. She is variously known as Kichisho-ten or Kissho-ten or Makashiri (Mahā Śrī) and (in later times) as Lakushmi.[2] From the *Mikkyō-no-Bijutsu*[3] we learn that the image of Lakṣmī (Kichito-ten) was the first image of a female deity in Japan in the Nara period (645-794 A. D.) which for the first time witnessed the making of the images of the female-divinities like Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī (Benzai-ten) and Hārīti (Kishimojiu). Her importance can be judged by the description of her virtues in the *Daikisshōtan nyobon* chapter of the *Konko-myo-Saisho-o-kyo* (*Suvarṇa-Prabhāsa Sūtra*) which says that "from the earliest times in Japanese Budhism she was regarded as the principal image whenever this *Sūtra* was enshrined".[4] From the *Mikkyo-no-Bijutsu*[5] we learn that when the elegant image of Kichijo-ten was first made, it impressed the Japanese Buddhist monks so much so that they became ardent devotees of this goddess, and her popularity spread far and wide within a very short period. This is further confirmed by a passage in the *Nihon Ryoiki*.[6] The "dazzling beauty" of this goddess "aroused more than ordinary interest on the part of the priests. Needless to say, the popularity of Kissho-ten worship spread quickly. There is even an old story about a man who fell in love with a picture of this splendid beauty".[7]

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1. Lokesh Chandra, *op. cit-*, p. 21.
2. Taakaki, Sawa, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 28ff.
4. Alicia Matsunaga, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation*, p. 254.
5. P. 43.
6. The name *Nihon Ryoiki* means strange stories of Japan which was written in the Heian period (794-1185 A. D·).
7. Takaaki Sawa, *Art in Japanese Esoteric Buddhism*, p. 29.

In the Nara period the images of this goddess were made "both in icons and object d'art".[1] During this period her cult was widely popular, and her images either in icons or in painting seemed to be "more secular than religious".[2] Two images of this deity belonging to the Nara period are still preserved in the refectory of the Horyūji temple.and in the Hokke-do shrine of the Todai-ji temple. The Yakushi-ji temple contains yet another painted image of this period, and all these three temples were incidentally situated at Nara itself.[3] The Nara period is remarkable as it was at this time that the *Konko-myo-Saisho-O-Kyo* (*Suvarṇa-Prabhāsa Sūtra*) which describes Mahā-Śrī (*Makashiri*, i. e., Kichijo-ten or Lakṣmī) as "the bestower of happiness and prosperity" was widely recited by the Japanese people, with the result that since then the ritual of mass-worship (*kichijo-e*) has very often been practised in Japan.[4]

It was popularly believed in the Heian period (794-1185 A. D.) that Kichijo-ten was consort of Bishamon-ten or Kubera and her images were made in accordance with this prevailing belief.[5] The oldest image of Lakṣmī as wife of Kubera made during this period is still preserved in the Horyuji temple.[6] In the Japanese *mandara*-s or *maṇḍala*-s she is depicted in various forms. Sometimes she is represented as one of the attributes of Senju Kannon or the thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara, sometimes as a changed form of Dainichi Nyorai or Mahāvairocana, but she is generally seen beside Bishoman-ten. The *Daranijikkyo*[7] describes a separate *mandara,* called *Kichijo-ten Mandara.* In most of the Japanese texts[8] we have descriptions of this goddess, which, though sometimes slightly vary, mostly agree on her iconographic features. Of the many images of this goddess, one preserved in the Yakushi-ji temple (Nara prefecture) is very famous. It is painted in fine colours on fine hemp cloth. Another beautiful image made of wood (1078 A. D.) of the Heian period, is preserved in the Golden Hall of the Horyu-ji temple. Yet, another very famous sculptured image of this goddess is pre-

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1. *Pageant of Japanese Art* (*Painting*), p. 66.
2. Takkaki Sawa, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
3. Charles S. Terry, *Masterworks of Japanese Art*, p. 166.
4. The *Catalogue*, entitled *National Treasures of Japan*, Series I. For details see Alicia Matsunaga, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation*, pp. 156-66.
5. Takaaki Sawa, *op. cit.*, p. 29; Alicia Matsunaga, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-56.
6. R. Sawa, *Mikkyo-no-Bijutsu*, p. 43.
7. Tr. *Arikuta in 653-54 A.D.*
8. R. Sawa (ed.) *Butsuzo-Zuten*, p. 138; *Darani-Shu-Kyo* (Taisho collection, 18-876); *Bishamonten-Kyo* (*Kubera Sūtra*), *Kakuzen-Sho*; *Shosetsu-Fudo-Ki*, *Fuku-Veijaku Shinpen-Shingon Kyo* etc.

served in a Zushi or shrine of the Joruri-ji temple, Kyoto.[1] Made of Japanese cypress wood and standing on a beautiful lotus pedestal, this image is remarkable in that its different portions came to be made separately and later joined together to give it the full shape. Painted with different colours, the image is probably the finest among the Japanese sculpture. In the Kamakura period the technique of assembling the wood-blocks of various limbs seems to have been quite popular (1185-1333 A. D.). This graceful statue of exquisite beauty, according to some Japanese scholars, "is presented in the mode of a noble woman of the Fujiwara period".[2], though on a close study of the details it looks "more secular than religious".[3]

Besides the various Brāhmaṇical deities, the *rākṣasa*-s and the *asura*-s were also given due place in the Japanese pantheon. The term *rākṣasa* generally connotes a type of non-human beings with ferocious nature who took great pleasure in harassing the gods in the heaven and the sages in the forest. We come across many hymns in the *Ṛgveda* which speak of their cruelty and destructive disposition. *Nirṛti*, a form of *Rākṣasa*, is a Vedic deity who is conceived as a god of evil, and is, according to the Purāṇic mythology, the Lord of the south-west quarter of the world.[4] This demi-god was later incorporated into Buddhist pantheon which made him the Lord of the *Rākṣasa*-s who presided over the south-west or Nairṛta corner.[5]

In Japanese mythology *Rākṣasa* and *Nairṛtti* are known as *Rasetsu* and *Nirichi* (Niri-Teio) respectively. The latter is the king of the former (or devil). The *Kuyo-juni-daü tokuten hoonbon* contains a very interesting description of the Juni-ten or the Twelve Guardian deities of whom *Rākṣasa* or *Nairṛti* is also one of them. He is the lord of the blood-thirsty demons and presides over the south-west quarter of the world.[6] The place of the Rasetsu and Nirichi is usually in the outer hall (Ge-in) of the Kongo-kai and the Taizo-kai mandaras Deva Rasetsu is generally depicted as riding a lion and holding a sword in the right hand while the fingers of the left hand show a gesture, called *Ken-in* or *sword-gesture*.[7] From other texts, such as the *Sonsho-*

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1. *Pageant of Japanese Art (Sculpture)*, p. 130; *Art Treasures of Japan* (ed. Yashiro Yukio), Vol. II, p. 259, Pl. 253.
2. *Art Treasures of Japan*, Vol. II, p. 259.
3. Charles, S. Terry, *Masterworks of Japanese Art*, p. 166.
4. J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography* (2nd Edn.), pp. 65, 526.
5. For detailed description see *Nispannayogavah* of Abhayakara Gupta, (ed. B. Bhattacharya), p. 61.
6. Alicia Matsunaga, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation*, p. 22ṇ.
7. *The Butsuzo-zuten*, pp. 144-45.

Buccho-Shū-Yuga-Ho-Giki,[1] the *Kongo-Kai-shiohi-shū*[2] and the *Shosetsu-Fudo-Ki*[3] we get an idea of the iconographic features of this terrific god.

The well known Asura (*a-sura* meaning demon) of the Vedic mythology, when incorporated into Japanese Buddhist mythology as *Ashura* represented one of the eight classes of supernatural beings (*Hachi-bu-shū*, who guarded the Buddha. In the *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka Sūtra* or the *Lotus Sūtra* : Japanese *Hokkekyo*) we have mention of seven other demi-gods besides Ashura "in supernatural forms protecting Buddhism"[4]. Besides being a powerful guardian deity he is also regarded as the god of battle,[5] but surprisingly the fierce aspect of Asura as conceived in Brāhmaṇical mythology is almost absent in his Japanese depictions. On the other hand, he is a god of benevolent disposition in the Japanese mythology, and can fly through the air with a tremendous speed.[6]

Garuḍa, the mythical bird and mount of Lord Viṣṇu in Hindu mythology is known as Karura in Japanese mythology which is also associated with Naraen-ten or Nārāyaṇa as his vehicle. Almost all the Japanese texts describe Naraen-ten as riding on 'Karura with golden wings' (Kinshi-chāo). Karura is regarded as the king of birds whose food is *ryū* (Japanese) or snake or *nāga*. Sometimes he is depicted as a bird and often as a composite being with the human body having the head of a bird.[7]

In the Genzu and Sanzu *mandaras* Karura appears in human form but with the head of a bird having tuft hair and wings, his whole body being yellow and his hands holding a flute, sometimes he is depicted independently and is shown as standing on a lotus-leaf.[8] Thus, a comparative study of the descriptions of Garuḍa or Karura as given in different Japanese texts would show Karura (i) with human body and bird-head, (ii) as a figure of bird only, and (iii) with lower part like a bird and the upper part like a Deva-king. In Japan the images of Karura are made sometimes with four, and

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 145 (Taisho Collection).
2. *Ibid.*, (Taisho Collection, Iconography, 1-199).
3. *Ibid.*
4. *National Treasures of Japan*, Series I (*Sculpture*), p. 3.
5. *The Butsuzo-Zuten*, p. 124.
6. For other details see *Pageant of Japanese Art* (*Sculpture*), p. 96; *Art Treasury of Japan* ed. Y. Yukis, p. 78.
7. *The Butsuzo-zuten*, pp. 124, 125 and 153. For other details cf. *Shosetsu-Fudo-Ki*, *Kongo-Koen-Shifuu-Darani-Kyo*; *Karura-o-Oyobi-Shoten-Mitsugon-Kyo*.
8. *The Butsuzo-suten*, p. 125. For different description see the *Kongo-Koen-Darani-Kyo*.

sometimes with eight arms. In other words, the iconographic features of Karura as enumerated in Japanese texts are almost similar to those of Garuḍa in Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist mythologies in India with the only difference that Karura sometimes is depicted as playing on flute in Japan—a fantastic idea conceived by the Japanese Buddhists. A beautiful image of Karura made of clay-laquer, depicted as one of the eight guardians (*Hachi-bu-shū*) of Śākyamuni is still preserved in the Kofukuji temple in Nara. Here he is shown in human body with a height of 146 cm. and standing on a rock pedestal while its head, depicted nicely, represents the artistic combination of bird-head and human head.

From the above study it would be seen that co-existence of the native Shinto and Indian Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical deities in the same temple was, and is, a common feature in Japan. It is in this process that sometimes we find Shinto divinities revealing themselves as Buddhist–Brāhmaṇical deities which is clearly evident in the case of Shao-ten or Gaṇeśa. This trend was further responsible for the identification of Daikoku-Mahākāla with Okuni-Mushi-no-Kami laying greater importance upon the latter. In the course of centuries certain ideas relating to Shintoism were suitably changed in Buddhist-Brāhmaṇical fashion, and Shinto deities were given Buddhist garb with a view to impressing upon the people that they were no less powerful than their Buddhist counterparts. Interestingly, the Buddhist-Brāhmaṇical clergy did not oppose this trend as it helped them in spreading the new religion among the people.

Like Buddhism, Tantricism, an inseparable part of Brāhmaṇism, due to its syncretic tendency and universality, spread far beyond the boundaries of India. Nepal, Tibet and Burma could easily come under the ambit of Buddhist Tantricism due to the facilities of communication across the Himālayan passes to Nepal and Tibet and the routes to Upper Burma through Kāmarūpa and Arakan. It has been rightly pointed out that from eighth century A. D. Tantricism proceeded from the territory of Bengal and Assam in a veritable triumph to Tibet and China where it mingled with native cults. Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra went to China in about A. D. 720 and contributed largely towards the propagation of the Tantras. In Japan where only Mantrayāna, and not the Vajrayāna, obtained a footing, the Shingon sect takes its stand upon Tantras.[1]

According to Chinese and Japanese legends[2], Vairocana was the originator of Buddhist Tantricism in the pattern it spread to the Far East,

1. Winternitz quoted, *Studies in Asian History* (ed. K. S. Lal), p. 289.
2. Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*.

It seems, an Indian monk, who flourished in the eighth century A. D., was the real founder of this sect. We are told that he imparted this mystical doctrine directly to Vajrasattva who lived in an iron tower somewhere in South India. Nāgārjuna is also said to have "visited Vajrasattva in his inaccessible tower and learnt from him the esoteric doctrine of the *Maṇḍala* of the Two Parts—*Vajradhātu*, pictorially representing the metaphysical World of Wisdom or Complete Enlightenment and *Mahākaruṇa-Garbhadhātu*, pictorially representing the compassionate World of Matter, Body and Mind".[1] Nāgārjuna is further said to have transmitted it to Amoghavajra. This is the traditional geneology of the cult of Vairocana, "the mystic offspring of the latest Indian Tantric synthesis that traversed the whole continent of Asia and Bengal to Japan and from Jawa to Mongolia from the seventh to the ninth centuries A. D."[2] But, the rise and expansion of the religion and art of Mahāvairocana (the Golden Primordial Person) has not so far received adequate attention.

Thus, in China and Japan, Vairocana is regarded as the originator of the Tantric Yoga system transmitted through a succession of Indian leaders such as Vajrasattva, Nāgārjuna, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra in sequence. According to this new cult, Vairocana, unlike Śākyamuni and Amitābha, is not a saviour but personifies the creative spirit of the universe, and as a crowned sovereign of world and the cosmos, he is depicted seated on a lotus throne of a thousand petals, each of which is a universe with its Buddha, and "each of these universes itself contains a hundred million worlds or galaxies of Buddhist Tantrika worlds".[3]

In the Tāntric *maṇḍala* (magic diagrams of the cosmos), as in Chinese and Japanese paintings, Vairocana (or the metaphysical Buddha of Zenith) sits as the Resplendent Sun at the very centre, surrounded by the four primeval Buddhas as planets associated with the four directions. This cult of Vairocana was introduced in Japan in the Mantrayāna rather than Vajrayāna form in the ninth century A. D., and still survives in Tendai and Shingon Buddhism, especially in the latter. While in China the school of Buddhist Tantricism is known as Chen-Yen (*mantra*), in Japan it is known as *Shingon* which is derived from the Sanskrit word *mantra*. The Chinese teacher, Hui-Kuo who is said to have spread Buddhist Tantricism throughout China learnt his doctrine from the Indian monk Amoghavajra, and it

1. *Ibid.*, p. 290.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, p. 291.

was from this Chinese sage (Hui-Kuo : Japanese Kei-Kwa) that Kukai (Kobo Daishi) received the secret doctrines of the Tantric system, and brought from Tang the diagrammatic representations,—the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala and the Mahā Karuṇagarbha *Maṇḍala*, now preserved in the Jingo-ji (Kyoto) and the Kajimadera Nara. As we know, Kukai was the founder of the Shingon sect which exerted tremendous influence on the Japanese masses. Its Indian derivation is also clearly shown by the pictures of the seven great patriarchs of Shingon Buddhism in the Toji, Kyoto, including Nāgārjuna and Nāgabodhi that Kukai brought to Japan from China.[1]

The absolute monism, the emphasis on Yogic discipline of the body and mind and regulation and transmutation of the life of the senses, the freedom from ritualism, sacerdotalism and caste and the social egalitarian trend account for the popularity of Tantricism and it spread in countries outside India in the wake of Buddhism and its later forms. "The living faiths of Tibet, Nepal, China, Mongolia and Japan, and of Further India and Indonesia still bear the impress of the metaphysical notions, meditative practices and use of *mantra*-s, *yantra*-s and *mudrā*-s of medieval Indian Tantricism, while sculptures, banners, wall-paintings and *maṇḍala*-s reproduce in distant foreign lands the philosophy and iconography of Indian Tantrika images. Subtle metaphysics combined with bold imaginative figurations of emotions, powers, virtues and vices, consecration of daily life and behaviour through sublimation and symbolisation, expression of cosmic communion in and through deities including every kind of intention and experience, deities of grace and serenity mingling with apparitions of horror; those are the essential characteristics of Tāntrika religion and art, and nowhere have these flowered the noblest and the most beautiful as in Japan".[2]

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 293.
2. *Studies in Asian History*, p. 294.

SOME ASPECTS OF THERAVĀDA BUDDHISM IN CAMBODIA

Vijay Kumar Thakur

The sources of the history of Cambodia are mainly inscriptional which are generally religious in nature. As such it is neither possible to know the exact incidence of Buddhism among the Khmers in early period nor is it possible to know the form in which it was practised. The inscriptions, however, make it clear that Buddhism witnessed its full flowering in this period. From a study of these records it is obvious that many kings professed developed Mahāyāna Buddhism which was a little different from the Brāhmaṇical religion. This proximity made easier the accommodation of Mahāyāna Buddhism within the prevailing Hindu system of Cambodia.

Though it is difficult to find out the exact date of the entry of Buddhism into Cambodia, yet it is certain that this religion had already made its influence felt in this region by the fifth century A. D. This can be gathered from the fact that king Jayavarma of Funan, who ruled towards the close of that century, sent an embassy to China in A. D. 503, with presents including a Bubdha image.[1] An inscription of his son Rudravarman begins with an invocation to the Buddha.[2] Another reference to Buddhism in Cambodia is found in a record dating from the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century A. D. This inscription records the dedication of male and female slaves to three Bodhisattvas—Sastas, Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara, by one Pon Prajñā Chandra. The Boddhisattvas have been accorded the Khmer title *Vrah Kamratā añ* which is also borne by the Brāhmaṇical deities.[3]

1. R. C. Majumdar, 'Buddhism in South East Asia', *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXII, nos. 2 and 3, p. 298; B. V. Bapat (Ed.), *2500 Years of Buddhism* (1956), p. 91.
2. R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 298.
3. E. Aymonier, *Le Cambodge*, Vol. I (1900), p. 442.

Moreover, the Vat Prei inscription (Ba Phnom Dist) of Jayavarman, dated in A. D. 665, refers to the tus *Bhikṣu-s* Ratnabhānu and Ratnasiṃha whose sister's daughter was authorised and guaranteed the hereditary enjoyment of a religious property by king Jayavarman in the year 587ś=665A.D.[1] There is no reference to any Brāhmaṇical god, and the term *Bhikkṣu* suggests that the family was Buddhist. Thus Mahāyāna Buddhism had already made its beginning in Cambodia, but it had a chequered course of development.

For about two hundred years all traces of Buddhism were almost obliterated from Cambodia. The Chinese pilgrim I-tsing suggests that Buddhism flourished in Funan in early times but was then subverted by a wicked king whose identity is not established.[2] The religion was, however, revived but the epigraphic data as a whole, indicates that Buddhism was never a dominant religion in Kambuja till the time of Jayavarman VII (A.D. 1181-1201). Even the patronage of this great emperor could not establish Mahāyāna Buddhism as a state religion, rather it paved the way for Hīnayānism. It is worthwhile to mention in this context that during the reign of King Śrīndravarmadeva, a later Ktng, we find an inscription dated A. D. 1308, written in Pāli and referring to Hīnayāna form of Buddhism.[3] The description of Cambodian religion given by Cheu Ta-Kuan, who visited the country in A. D. 1296, makes it clear that Hīnayāna Buddhism was in a flourishing state at this time.[4]

Why did this change take place immediately after the reign of Jayavarman VII ? A study of the magnificent temples reveal, on the one hand, the architectural brilliance and on the other hand, a drain of economic resources for non-productive works in the classical period of Cambodian civilisation. Thousands of villages were assigned for the maintenance of these temples, while tens of thousand of officials, priests, slaves and hundreds of dancing girls and musicians were employed in their service, not to mention the army of labourers, masons, sculptors and decorators required for the constructional work. The reign period of Jayavarman VII, who is regarded as the greatest Khmer king, represented the apogee of Cambodia, but he impoverished the people with heavy taxation and insatiable demands for forced labour and

1. R. C. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja* (1953), no. 29, p. 37.
2. J. Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A. D. 671-695) I-tsing* (1896), p. 12.
3. R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 533.
4. *Idem, The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXII, nos. 2 and 3, p. 299.

military service for the construction and maintenance of these temples[1], which ultimately proved disastrous to the kingdom. Incidentally Jayavarman VII was the last great builder among Angkor kings. Even the hundreds of inscriptions found in Kambuja hardly contain anything of historical importtance; they were composed to eulogise and glorify the kings, their ancestors and the eminent ecclesiasts who served under them. It no where refers to the people or the condition of society and there is hardly any word to indicate the people's attitude towards the throne and the pampered priesthood. It was tacitly taken for granted that the king representing divinity was beyond criticism and the overgrown priestly corporation a necessity to keep up regular temple-worship, supposed to ensure welfare of the realm.[2] The skill, labour and resources of the subjects were exploited without any check and the sufferers could not raise their voice. A wide gap separated the top of the society from its bottom, where discontent, born of social injustice, went on increasing with the result that very often there were ominous spells of inaction and violent outbreaks making the broad based stability of the state an anachronism.

It was in such an atmosphere of pessimism that a new factor came to be introduced in the social life of this caste-ridden, priest-dominated country in the form of a new faith which quickly absorbed in its fold the long ignored inconsequential commonality, while royalty and nobility still clung to the state's venerable old traditions whose foundations were gradually being sapped one by one. And, within a very short period the new faith with a new message and hope as well as a new sense of directions became quite popular with the people who embraced it in large numbers.

We, however, do not know precisely how and when Cambodia was converted to Theravāda Buddhism, but probably the earliest evidence of its existence in this country comes from the time of Sūryavarman I dated in the year 944, 947 form Lopburi in the modern temple of Bang Palhin, but it was brought from Lopburi in Siam.[3] The inscription records an order of King Sūryavarman laying down the regulation that in all sacred places, temples, monasteries and hermitages, the ascetics, the *sthavira-s* (monks of the little vehicle) and the monks of Mahāyāna sect were required to offer to the king the merit of their austerities.[4] This evidence hardly indicates anything

1. D. G. E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia*, p. 111.
2. R. C. Majumdar, *Kambujadeśa*, p. 179; M. K. Sharan, *Studies in Sanskrit Inscriptions of Cambodia*, p. 216.
3. R. C. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, No. 139, p. 343.
4. *Ibid.*

other than the mere introduction of Theravāda Buddhism in this period. It, however, manifests itself clearly in an inscription in a private temple (C. A. D. 1230) in the reign of Indravarman II who was himself a Buddhist king.[1] Unlike other inscriptions this inscription is partly in Pāli and partly in Khmer and after an invocation to *Triratna* (i. e., the three gems—the Buddha, the *Dhamma* and the *Saṃgha*) it refers to the reigning king Śrī Indravarman who gave permission to a lady, a lay-devotee (*upāsikā*) to build a *vihāra* and instal a Buddha-image. The King then donated four villages to the temple and eight plots of land to the priests. This inscription is significant because it is written in the sacred language of Theravāda Buddhism and its text proclaims that the temple is intended for the worship of the Buddha-image (*Buddha-Pūjā*).[2] The inscription also makes it clear that Theravāda Buddhism was firmly rooted in Cambodia by this time and was so deeply entrenched in the soil within a century that King Jayavarman Parameśvara (A. D. 1327), in spite of his upbringing in the traditional faith and ideology of Angkor temples, chose to embrace this new faith which is evident from his advice to his son-in-law, Fa Ngun of Laos, to govern in accordance with Buddhist principles and his gift of a code of Pāli scriptures to him. The most significant development that took place during his reign was that the Sanskrit language had gone out of use and Pāli became the official language, although at Angkor the royal patronage was still being given to Sanskrit.[3] The wide popularity of Theravāda Buddhism towards the end of the fourteenth century is further attested by the eye-witness account of the Chinese envoys under the leadership of ChouTa-Kuan who happened to visit Cambodia at this time.[4]

The ground for this widespread popularity of Theravāda Buddhism was no doubt prepared by the autocratic regimes of the pre-Jayavarman VII kings and Jayavarman VII himself. But this was certainly not a cause of such proportions so as to complctly change the course of religious history of Cambodia; external factors were also responsible for the introduction and propagations of Theravāda Buddhism in Cambodia. Were the Siamese monks pioneers of Theravāda Buddhism in Cambodia ?[5] The matter

1. *Ibid.*, no. 188, pp. 533-35.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 533-35, verse 1.
3. J. F. Cady, *South East Asia : Its Historical Development*, p. 108.
4. D. G. E. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 115.
5. R. C. Majumdar takes it to be an unadulterated political development. According to him, the political dominance of the Thais (of Siam) in Cambodia established the supremacy of Hīnayāna Buddhism (*The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXII, nos. 2 and 3, p. 299).

becomes a little confusing due to an explicit hostility between the Siamese and Khmer monks on this point; while the Siamese monks assert their effective role in the propagation of Theravāda Buddhism in Cambodia, the Khmer monks are somewhat reluctant to give this credit to their Siamese counterparts. Presently, Theravāda Buddhism in Cambodia is roughly divided into two sects but they do not differ in doctrines but in certain forms of *Vinaya* observance. The older and more numerous of the two is *Mahānikāya* and the younger *Dhammayutta*. Surprisingly, both these sects regard certain Siamese texts as fundamental and amongst them the *Maṅgalattha - dippini*, composed by Śrī Mangala, a venerable monk well versed in three *Piṭakas* (C. A. D. 1469) and living at a solitary place at Mavapura (Chiengmai in northern Siam) is the most outstanding. The prestige this work enjoyed amongst the Buddhists of Cambodia bespeaks, no doubt, the continuing Siamese influence.

We possess certain definite facts regarding the Siamese origin (about the middle of the eighteenth century A. D.) of the *Dhammayutta* sect. It was founded by King Monkut of Siam, who is said to have met a Mon-monk by chance and came under his influence. It seems that Mongkut was himself some sort of a philosopher who did a lot of thinking over matters temporal. If tradition is to be believed, he was well-versed in western lore and doubts sometimes crossed his mind whether monastic life as it was in Siam could justify its existence in the modern world. It was the Mon-monk who is said to have dispelled his doubts. The King set before himself the task of reforming Siamese monasticism which finally resulted in the foundation of an altogether new sect of monks, called *Dhammayutta* (A. D. 1883). After a while it spread to Cambodia and Laos.[1]

The Buddhist monks of Cambodia are not ready to accept it and they deny Siamese influence on Cambodian Buddhism on the following grounds: (i) Chou Ta-Kuan refers only to Cambodian monks who fit in the description given by him;[2]

(ii) The *Maṅgalattha-dippini* is not a Siamese work. It was composed in Chiengmai when this region formed a part of Laos and may, therefore, be properly regarded as a Laotion rather than a Siamese work;[3]

1. Prince Dhaninivat, *A History of Buddhism in Siam*, pp, 32-33.
2. M. Macdonald, *Angkor*, p. 47.
3. P. K. Benedict, 'Language and Literature of Indo-China', *Far Eastern Quarterly*, Vol. VI, no. 1-4 (August, 1947), pp. 387-88.

(iii) It were not the Siamese monks who introduced Theravāda Buddhism in Cambodia, a few old inscriptions of this country testify to the existence of Theravāda Buddhism in Cambodia long before A. D. 1230.[1]

As is obivious these objections of the Cambodian monks are based on flimsy grounds and in the light of historical developments in this part of the world, these arguments can be outrightly rejected.[2]

The old faith, i. e. the Mahāyāna Buddhism, almost completely disappeared with the fall of old regime in A. D. 1431 and the manner in which it was suddenly finished is a sad commentary on the state of affairs obtaining in Cambodia in the first half of the fifteenth century A. D. With its numerous gods and their costly statues and images, its vast temple complex and numerous works of art, Angkor, the heart of Khmer civilisation lay paralysed under the threat of Siamese invasion. This was nothing new. In fact, there was an old rivalry between Siam and Cambodia and it was not for the first time that the two countries were poised for a showdown. Cambodia had many a time successfully thwarted the Siamese invasion and some of the action even took place on the Cambodian soil. But this time when the capital was faced with a threat of total annihilation the people behaved strangely and abnormally. They quickly evacuated the capital city as though it were a lost case. Not a single person came from amongst the masses to save the city and its hoarded monumental treasure as though the city with its religious monuments was none of their concern.[3] The only plausible explanation of this abnormal attitude of the people could be their total indifference towards the Mahāyāna religious establishments as well as their conviction that despite their best efforts the city could not be saved. In fact, the city with all its religious structures, stood for a scheme of life and system of faith on which the outlook of the Khmers had completely changed meanwhile. The most potent factors responsible for this change were the teachings of Theravāda Buddhism and by A. D. 1431 the Cambodians in general had adopted Buddhism of this school.

The Theravāda Buddhism which developed as a new faith had no alliance with the old regime and its almost obsolete traditions. It had a

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1. Cf. R. C. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, no. 139, 343.
2. Bapat says that *Dhammayutta* sect descended from the *Rāmaññ* sect of Lower Burma (P. V. Bapat, *op. cit*, p. 138). In Cambodia the difference between the two sects is confined mainly to the pronouncing of Pāli words and to very minor rules of conduct (*Ibid.*).
3. *Journal of Siam Saciety*, Vol. XXVII, p. 203.

completely independent existence and came to the people independently and continued on its own unlike the Mahāyāna Buddhism which had existed only under the patronage and allowance of the Brāhmaṇical state religion.[1] Consequently it was free to attack the evils of existing socio-religious set-up and thereby become the religion of the common masses. It struck at the very roots of caste, priesthood and the divinity of kingship by its simple message of the power of *Karma* (deeds) unheard of before by the Khmers. It unequivocally declared, "None is by birth a Brāhmaṇa : none by birth a non-Brāhmaṇa, by deed is one a Brāhmaṇa, by deed a non-Brāhmaṇa. By deed one is a farmer and by deed an artisan, a trader, a soldier, a celebrant and so a *rājan* (king)".[2] This new teaching that a man's rank in the society was to be judged solely on the basis of the merits of his deeds, and not on account of his birth, smashed the edifice of the Devarāja cult,[3] the priestly pretensions and the privileged position of the Brāhmaṇas,[4] The Brāhmaṇical civilization based on these principles now appeared to be in direct contrast with the true religion : a sham and delusion. Naturally, the architectural and artistic works, the seminaries of Sanskrit learning, the temples and images at Angkor—all these apparitions of Khmer civilisation raised no emotional response in the people's minds and they fled away from them at the first opportunity they got, like the early Christian converts fleeing from the pomp, shows and varieties of pagan civilisation.[5]

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1. In this respect it completely differed from Indian Buddhism which had originated against the existing socio-economic and religious structure that recognised a caste structure with Brāhmaṇas at the top. It is equally interesting to note that there is not a single record which could show any sign of bitterness between the Brāhmaṇical religion and Mahāyāna Buddhism (B. N. Puri, Buddhism in Ancient Kambujadeśa, '*The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIII, nos. 2 and 3, p. 313). The patronising nature of Brāhmaṇism was such that the Buddha was even accorded a place in the Brāhmaṇical trinity. The identification of Śaivism and Buddhism was total and the trinity came to be composed of Padmodbhava (Brahmā), Ambhojanetra (Viṣṇu) and the Buddha (R. C. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, no. 156, p. 399).
2. *Sutta-Nipāta*, pp. 650-55 (Cf. Coomarswamy and Horner, *The Living Thoughts of Gautama, the Buddha*, London, 1948).
3. The Devarāja cult had given some sort of spiritual sanction for divinity of the king and secured his hereditary position irrespective of his deeds (M. K. Sharan, *op. cit.*, pp. 257-58).
4. Political importance attached to the Devarāja cult guaranteed the continued influence of *Śaivite* Brāhmaṇa caste or *hotras* in the courts (*Ibid.*, p. 173). As soon as the Devarāja cult was smashed, the privileged position of these Brāhmaṇas also disappeared.
5. G. B. Walker, *Angkor Empire*, p. 55.

The new religion was very human in approach and it became popular because it took up cudgels to destroy the age old evils of the society and provide a healthier atmosphere for the common man. The Theravāda Buddhism delivered a message of liberation for those who were conditioned to look upon their kings as gods. To accept as divinely ordained the caste-ridden society and the social melieu it created, as well as to rely on the ministrations of the Brāhmaṇa priests for individual and collective welfare was a human monstrosity; the new order emphatically advocated the worth of man as man, laid stress on *bhavana* (becoming), i. e. the process of an 'individual's growing through self culture and self-knowledge from more to more', and for refuge in life's trials and tribulations, substituted for the old stone- the gods- the holy trinity of the Buddha, the *Dhamma* and the *Saṃgha*. This was a revolutionary teaching for the contempory socio-political life of Cambodia.

Equally revolutionary was the method of Propagation of Theravāda Buddhism. The new monk-preachers were completely different from the high-brow priests who used to teach the sanctions and injunctions of religion. The monks of the new order did not speak to them *ex-cathedra*, but as man to man. They were simple, sympathetic, helpful and intimate with common people, and their aim was to win the hearts of the masses. Their approah was down to the earth and their greatest achievement was the fact that they released the common man from the service of "the greedy gods" whose yoke had so long been a crushing burden both economically and spiritually. This ability to represent the masses, which was absent from the Mahāyāna Buddhism, strengthened the root of Theravāda sect in Cambodia.

Cambodia as a Buddhist country is perhaps the youngest in South East Asia and has a stronghold of Theravāda Buddhism, whicn is evident from the fact that this small country has at present as many as 2,800 monasteries with 82,000 monks and novices.[1] Further, more than 187 volumes, mostly on religious texts, have been published in the Cambodian language by the various libraries and institutions mostly established by the Government.[2] In pnom-penh arrangements were also made to instruct young monks in Pāli.[3] Undoubtedly, in recent years Cambodia has made tremendous progress towards the popularisation of Pāli studies and in the education of the monks.

1. P. V. Bapat, *op. cit.*, p. 434.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 434-35.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 434.

HAYAGRĪVA AS DEMON AND GOD IN INDIAN MYTHOLOGY*

Gaya Charan Tripathi

प्रलयपयसि धातोः सुप्तशक्तेर्मुखेभ्यः
श्रुतिगणमपनीतं प्रत्युपादत्त हत्वा ।
दितिजमकथयद् यो ब्रह्म सत्यव्रतानां
तमहमखिलहेतुं जिह्ममीनं नतोऽस्मि ॥

In the above *śloka* which is the concluding verse of the 8th *Skandha* of *Śrīmadbhāgavata-Purāṇa*, the author of the best and the foremost of the Purāṇas bows to the illusory Fish-form (i. e. Matsya Avatāra) of Lord Viṣṇu who assumed this form to kill a *daitya* who had taken away the four Vedas emerging from the mouths of Lord Brahmā while he was asleep in the waters of deluge, and restored them to Brahmā. He is further said to have preached in the same Fish-form the mysteries of the Veda to King Satyavrata while drawing his boat in the waters of the flood which had swept over the worlds.

Though the name of the *daitya* who was killed by the Fish or the *JIHMA-MĪNA* is not mentioned in the above *śloka* yet it is explicitly mentioned thrice in the foregoing *śloka*-s of the same *Adhyāya* (24). The *śloka*-s 8 and 9, for example, read :

कालेनागतनिद्रस्य धातुः शिशयिषोर्बली ।
मुखतो निःसृतान् वेदान् हयग्रीवोऽन्तिकेऽहरत् ॥
ज्ञात्वा तद् दानवेन्द्रस्य हयग्रीवस्य चेष्टितम् ।
दधार शफरीरूपं भगवान् हरिरीश्वरः ॥[1]

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* Revised version of a paper presented to the XXXI All India Oriental Conference at Jaipur, 1982.

1. *Śrīmadbhāgavat P.*, 8.24.8-9.

which unmistakably points out that the name of the demon under reference was Hayagrīva. He stole away the four Vedas which had come out of the four mouths of Lord Brahmā while he was feeling drowsy due to the approach of night. It may be recollected here that the day of Brahmā has an enormous extent of 14 *Manvantara*-s and that his night (the *Kālarātri*) is equally long. The day of Brahmā is connected with the activity of creation and the night with that of destruction or *pralaya*. Since the night has set in, the creation has been dissolved. There prevails now the phase of *pralaya*. Lord Brahmā is going to sink deep into a long lasting slumber. He is tired and drowsy which makes him unattentive and uncareful. The demon Hayagrīva utilises the opportunity and makes away with the four Vedas. Brahmā has, of course, nobody else to complain to about the loss of the Vedas except Lord Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu takes note of the situation but does nothing for the time being since the restoration of the Vedas is of no use to Brahmā at present, who is going to sleep any way. He (Viṣṇu) assumes the form of a Matsya after some time and moves about in the waters of deluge with the boat of Satyavrata. Shortly before Brahmā is about to wake up, he in his Fish-form kills the demon Hayagrīva, recovers the Vedas from him and gives them back to Brahmā :

अतीतप्रलयापाय उत्थिताय स वेधसे ।
हत्वाऽसुरं हयग्रीवं वेदं प्रत्याहरद् हरिः ॥[1]

It is clear from the above that Hayagrīva is a demon here who has stolen away the lore of Vedas from Brahmā, the creator or the Prajāpati. Since Prajāpati without Vedas is devoid of any power, especially the power of creation, the Vedas are to be recovered. The Vedas, according to the Orthodox view of the Hindus are the primeval source of creation :

यस्य निःश्वसितं वेदा यो वेदेभ्योऽखिलं जगत् ।
निर्ममे [तमहं वन्दे विद्यातीर्थमहेश्वरम्] ॥

It is through the Vedas that the Lord creates this world with names and forms (नामरूपात्मकं जगत्) and the activity of every individual :

सर्वेषां तु स नामानि कर्माणि च पृथक् पृथक् ।
वेदशब्देभ्य एवादौ पृथक्संस्थाश्च निर्ममे ॥[2]

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1. *Ibid.*, 8.24.57.
2. *Manusmṛti*.

A Prajāpati without the Vedas is, therefore, helpless. He cannot create; he is unable to carry out his cosmic duties. The recovery of the Vedas, therefore, is a cosmic necessity. Whosoever disrupts the cosmic course of events is to be eliminated. Hayagrīva is the one who dares to do it and hence he is killed by Viṣṇu, who is identical with Yajña (Sacrifice), the cosmic power controlling the universe.[1]

The demon Hayagrīva is mentioned very casually only once in the *Mahābhārata*. Here Kṛṣṇa in the course of narration of his previous heroic deeds, mentions that he killed in a particular birth (जन्मान्तर) or incarnation the demon Hayagrīva when the worlds were submerged in the waters of deluge :

एकार्णवे च स्वपता निहतौ मधुकैटभौ ।
जन्मान्तरमुपागम्य हयग्रीवस्तथा हतः ॥[2]

No mention of the fault of Hayagrīva is, however, made in this context.

The famous Kashmiri poet Bhartṛmeṇtha, who on the testimony of *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is supposed to be a court poet of King Mātṛgupta of 5th century, had composed a *Mahākāvya* named *Hayagrīva-Vadha*. The *Mahākāvya* has unfortunately not come down to us but we possess many quotations from this work in *Kāvyaprakāśa*, *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* and many *Sūkti* anthologies. According to an ancient saying, this work was so full of poetic beauty that King Mātṛgupta had provided a golden plate for keeping the *Kāvya* on it, lest its exuberating poetic 'juice' (रस) should drip on the ground. It is obvious from the very name of the *Kāvya* that Hayagrīva is conceived here as a demon or an undesirable person who is to be destroyed in the larger interest of the humanity. However, a highly interesting fact about *Hayagrīvavadha* mentioned by Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* is that the main hero of the poem is Lord *Śiva*, and not Viṣṇu. According to Mammaṭa the poet Bhartṛmeṇtha has paid too much attention to the description and depiction of the *Pratināyaka* or the villain Hayagrīva in this work so that he has come up more prominently than the actual hero, Lord Śiva which is a poetic blemish. Unless the work *Hayagrīvavadha* comes to light, it shall not be possible to know the actual literary source of this Kāvya and its story. However, it is clear that the story of *Hayagrīvavadha-Mahākāvya* falls in line with that of *Śrīmadbhāgavatam* in declaring Hayagrīva a demon.

It is surprising, however, that we have another tradition in our mythology which goes back right upto the Vedic times and is alive even to this day

1. For importance of Sacrifice in the Vedic religion, see H. Auguilar, *The Sacrifice in the Ṛgveda*, Delhi 1976.
2. *Mbh., udyoga P.* 130.50.

in the Āgamas and Tantras which recognises Hayagrīva as a *god* and prescribes Mantras and Dhyānas etc. for his worship. In this tradition Hayagrīva is a god mainly of knowledge and learning. He may be termed as a Vaiṣṇavite version of Lord Dakṣiṇāmūrti who has an explicit Śaivite character. There are *stotra*-s, *kavaca*-s and *paṭala*-s exclusively devoted to the worship of Hayagrīva. He is supposed to be the propagator of the *Hayaśīrṣapāñcarātra*, an authority on the Vaiṣṇava iconography. Important Tantric works like *Śāradātilaka, Merutantra, Siṃhasiddhāntasindhu, Mantramahodadhi* and others give formulae for the *dhyāna* and worship of Hayagrīva.

When we look to our epics and Purāṇic literature in search of tradition regarding the divinity of Hayagrīva, it is revealed that it has very old roots. Hayagrīva is mentioned as a form of Viṣṇu already in the *Mahābhārata*. Strangely enough, whereas in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* Hayagrīva, the demon, is to be killed by Viṣṇu because the demon has stolen the Vedas, in the *Mahābhārata* Viṣṇu himself assumes the form of Hayagrīva to recover the Vedas which have been stolen by the twin demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha. The story is narrated in the Adhyāya 347 of *Śāntiparvan* in detail. The demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha are born of the two sweat drops emerging from the body of Viṣṇu. They climb upon the thousand-petalled lotus where Brahmā is about to commence his activity of creation. Brahmā has already created the four Vedas by now. Madhu and Kaiṭabha are so fascinated with the Vedas that they forcibly take possession of the Vedas and jumping into the Ocean disappear in the underworld (रसातल). Brahmā lodges complaint with Viṣṇu who thereupon assumes a new form which has the head of Horse on its human trunk. This horse-head has been described as 'the abode of the Vedas' :

कृत्वा हयशिरः शुभ्रं वेदानामालयं प्रभुः ।[1]

The head is said to have a cosmic form. The earth is its forehead and the heaven and the underworld its two ears :

कर्णौवाकाशपाताले ललाटं भूतधारिणी ।[2]

With this new form, Viṣṇu enters into the *Pātāla* and sets out to sing and chant the melodies of *Sāmaveda* in a most captivating manner. The demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha thereupon throw the Vedas and come running to Hayagrīva to listen to the music. Hayagrīva, thereupon, rushes to grab the Vedas and taking them into his possession emerges from the waters. When Madhu and Kaiṭabha realise that they have been deceived by Viṣṇu,

1. *Mbh.*, XII.347.48 cd.
2. *Ibid.*, XII.347.50 ab.

they come to him who is sleeping on the serpent Ananta, and have a heated argument with him. Viṣṇu thereupon kills them with an unspecified another form, i. e. not with the form of Hayagrīva which he has in the meanwhile given up.

The legend as found in the *Mahābhārata* undoubtedly represents the oldest version of the story in which Hayagrīva is mentioned as a form of Viṣṇu. It may be noted that Hayagrīva here is not an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu has a usual human-form upto the shoulders. He puts a horse-head on it. Why he does so and what is the significance of the horse-head for the Vedic learning shall be clear if one investigates relevant references in the Vedic literature.

To start with, we may point to the very interesting and important fact mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* at four places[1] that *Dadhyaṅ* of the family of Atharvans preached the honey-lore (मधुविद्या) to the two Aśvins with the head of a horse :

दध्यङ् ह यन्मधु आथर्वणो वाम्

अश्वस्य शीर्ष्णा प्र यदीम् उवाच ।[2]

We know that Aśvins are especially connected with *madhu* or honey in the *Ṛgveda*. They have a bodily complexion like honey; they keep honey in their chariots; they have a leather container (*dṛti*) full of honey (दृतिं वहेथे मधुमन्तमश्विना, 4.45.3) and they are termed as मधूयु and माध्वी etc. etc. The Vedic science that they learn from *Dadhyaṅ*, therefore, is also *Madhu* or *Madhuvidyā*. The *Śatapatha Br.* in its last *Kāṇḍa*, or the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* makes a mention of Aśvins as recipients of "*Madhu*" from Dadhyaṅ :

इदं वै तन्मधु दध्यङ् आथर्वणो अश्विभ्यामुवाच ।
तदेतद् ऋषिः पश्यन्नवोचद् । आथर्वणाय अश्विना
दधीचे अश्व्यं शिरः प्रत्यैरयतम् ।[3]

1. *ṚV.*, I.116.12; 117.22; 119.9; X.48.2,
2. *Ibid.*, I.116.12,
3. II.5.16-18,

The story of the c u t t i n g o f t h e h o r s e-h e a d of *Dadhyań* mentioned in the above quotation has been given in detail at other places in the *ŚB*, especially in XIV. 1.1.18-20. Aśvins wanted to learn the *Madhuvidyā* from *Dadhyań* who was a master in it. *Madhuvidyā* is the lore with which one can join the severed head of the sacrifice (यथा यथैतद् यज्ञस्य शिरः प्रतिधीयते यथैष कृत्स्नो यज्ञो भवति). When Indra came to know of the intention of Aśvins, he came to the Seer and prohibited him on the punishment of cutting his head to teach the science of *Madhuvidyā* to the Aśvins.[1] When Aśvins came to learn the science from *Dadhyań*, he told them his problem. Thereupon Aśvins suggested that they would remove the original human head of *Dadhyań* and put the head of a horse on his trunk instead. He (the *Ṛṣi*) may then preach the science through his horse-head. If Indra cuts down the artificial horse-head, they would bring back the human-head of the *Ṛṣi* and join it with his trunk. So it happened and the Aśvins could learn the *Madhuvidyā* from *Dadhyań*. Indra, true to his threat, cut down the head of *Dadhyań*. But Aśvins, the divine physicians, made good his loss by joining the original human-head with his body. Why the Aśvins joined the head of a h o r s e and not of any other animal as a substitute for the human head of the *Ṛṣi* may have the reason that by virtue of their name (*Aśvin* means 'possessing horses') the two divine physicians are especially connected with horses.

With this newly acquired knowledge Aśvins go to Kurukṣetra where gods are offering a sacrifice. They tell the gods that they are performing a sacrifice w i t h o u t a n y h e a d and a headless sacrifice is of no use. When the gods want to know how their sacrifice is headless, they barter out an offering for themselves in exchange and in lieu of that, they make their sacrifice complete or, in the words of the *Brāhmaṇa*, 'they join the head of the sacrifice' :

तौ एतद् यज्ञस्य शिरः प्रत्यधत्तम् ।[2]

This 'head of the sacrifice' is the ritualistic explanation of the rite of *Pravargya* in the Soma-sacrifice. The rite of *Pravargya* is the head or the most important part of the soma-yāga.[3] If one does not know the significance and the mystery of *Pravargya*, he performs a headless sacrifice.[4] The *Bṛhadā*-

1. *ŚB*, XIV.1.1.19.
2. *Ibid.*, IV.1.5.15.
3. *Ibid.*, XIV.1.1.17.
4. Cf. also Sāyaṇa :
अपशीर्ष्णा (यज्ञेन) अपगतशिरस्केन प्रवर्ग्यरहितेन विभक्तेन यज्ञेन ...।

raṇyaka Upaniṣad explains the *Madhuvidyā* in detail. The *aśva* or horse according to it is the Sacrifice itself. It is called *Aśva* because it encompasses (*aś=vyāptau*) the whole universe. The *Pravargya* is the head of this sacrificial horse.[1]

Another reference in the *ŚB* states that once Indra was oppressed by the Asura-s. All his weapons against them failed. He then asked Viśvakarman to fashion a specially effective weapon to combat the Asura-s. Viśvakarman dug up that horse-head with which Dadhyaṅ had preached *Madhuvidyā* to the Aśvins. Since it was connected with the sacrificial lore and the foremost of the ritualistic mystery was explained through it, it was very efficacious against the demons. Viśvakarman thereupon fashioned a thunderbolt out of the bones of this head and Indra could slay all his enemies with this new weapon. The *Vajra* of Indra is made up of iron or gold in the *Ṛgveda*.[2] For the first time in the Brāhmaṇas it is said to be consisting of bones.

Later in the Purāṇas the legend of *Dadhyaṅ* develops in a most remarkable manner. Dadhīci is an epitome of selfless service and sacrifice to the cause of humanity. When Indra suffers defeat in a battle from the Asura Vṛtra, the gods come to *Ṛṣi* Dadhīci and request his bones for purpose of fashioning a weapon. Dadhīci gladly gives up his life for the sake of gods and Viśvakarman manufactures a thunderbolt out of his bones.[3]

The head of horse loses its importance as the base material for the divine thunderbolt but not for ritualistic lore. It remains sacred and important in the context of Vedas and Vedic learning. This is the reason why Viṣṇu puts the head of horse on his human trunk when he sets out to recover the Vedas through the enchanting Sāmavedic music. It is this captivating music coming out of a horse-head which makes Madhu-Kaiṭabha forget everything. The Kinnara-s or the divine musicians in later Hindu Mythology are also said to have alternatively the head or trunk of a horse.

The Hayagrīva form assumed by Viṣṇu in the *Mahābhārata*[4] is thus not an *Avatāra* in true sense of the term. It is a temporary form. The ultimate

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1. For details see G. C. Tripathi, *Vaidika Devatā : Udbhava aur Vikāsa*, Delhi, 1981-82, pp. 284-288.

2. Cf. त्वष्टा यद्वज्रं सुकृतं हिरण्ययं सहस्रभृष्टिं स्वपा अवर्तयत् ।

   ṚV., I.85.9. and *ṚV.*, I.52.8.

3. *Mbh. Vanaparvan*, 100.21; *Śalya*, 51.29-30; *Brahma-Pur*, Ch. 110; *Padma*, *Sṛṣṭi*, Ch. 19, *Bhāgavata*, VI.9-10.

4. *Śānti*, 347.

destruction of the demons Madhu-Kaiṭabha takes place with the normal form of Viṣṇu.

A beautiful wall-painting is there in the audience hall of the temple of Lakṣmī in the Jagannātha Temple of Puri. Hayagrīva is sitting on a lotus in the midst of Ocean and the four Vedas in form of tiny children are shown trying to climb to his lap whom he is protecting with his long arms. One of these four children is of black complexion, obviously symbolising *Atharva-veda.* The depiction here is that of Hayagrīva as the Saviour of the Vedas and might be taken as characteristic of the tradition prevalent in Orissa in the medieval times. Though in older versions of the myth Hayagrīva salvages the Vedas without killing any demon, yet he does get associated later with the killing of demons. It is this tradition which ultimately develops in the Purāṇa-s and makes Hayagrīva an incarnation of Viṣṇu. From an incarnation of Viṣṇu, Hayagrīva later develops into an independent Divinity. He becomes a deity whose worship should be performed for achieving Vedic and philosophic knowledge. In the famous Parakālaswāmy Maṭh at Mysore, which is a monastery belonging to the followers of Rāmānuja, the deity Hayagrīva is worshipped with great devotion and zeal. Same is the case with other Institutions and Establishments of Śrīvaiṣṇava-s in the South. It may not be out of place here to mention that the *'Purāṇa-puruṣa'* (personification of the Purāṇa-s) is also conceived of as having a horse-head. Hayagrīva as a killer of demons develops immensely in the Tibetan Buddhism. Lamas during their worship always carry a wedge in their hand with the head of Hayagrīva on it. This Hayagrīva-wedge is supposed to be an effective weapon in the hand of a worshipper to drive away the evil forces.

Hayagrīva is thus a god who unites Buddhism with Hinduism. Thre is a place named Hajo situated northwards at a distance of 20 Km. from Gauhati in Assam. There is a famous Hayagrīva temple here worshipped both by Hindus and Buddhists. On a certain occasion in the year the temple is thronged by thousands of Buddhist pilgrims from Bhutan. The icon is simply an image of Buddha with some human facial features distorted into that of acquine with the help of painting.

The learned author of *Bhāgavata,* however, did not like the idea of Viṣṇu having an additional incarnation of Hayagrīva. May be because he did not find any references to Horse in connection with Viṣṇu in the Vedas or may be that the idea of Viṣṇu having mainly t e n incarnations was so firmly rooted at the time of the composition of *Bhāgavata*—which may be 8th c. or so—that he relegated the Hayagrīva form to the sphere of Asuras.

He transformed the Divine-Form s a l v a g i n g the Vedas into a Demonic-Form s t e a l i n g the Vedas and got him killed by the Fish-Viṣṇu in his Fish-form is a fact which is not only not mentioned elsewhere but is also something which sounds rather queer since this is not a form suitable for carrying out a fight.

The paradoxical nature of Hayagrīva and the mutually contradictory narrations of the Purāṇas regarding his nature are seriously taken note of by the *Devībhāgavatam*, an Upa-purāṇa of later origin. It tries to bring sense into the legend of Hayagrīva by synthesizing the two opposite older versions : the one with Hayagrīva as a divine figure and the one with Hayagrīva as a demonic character. It narrates the story of a demon Hayagrīva[1] who pleases the Mother Goddess by his penance[2] and wishes to be immortal when she wants to grant him a boon. On being told by the Goddess that death is inevitable for everybody born on this earth, he wishes that he may only be killed by another Hayagrīva.[3]

In the meanwhile Viṣṇu is once asleep on his bow being tired after having a long fight with demons. The gods want to wake him up. God Brahmā creates white-ants (Vamrī) and asks them to cut the string of the bow so that the stick of the bow springs and Viṣṇu is woken. The ants gnaw the string but the bow springs up so vehemently that the head of Viṣṇu is cut off and hurled into the ocean. When the gods are lamenting, the Goddess Mahāmāyā appears before them and tells that this all has happened in a pre-destined manner. Now Tvaṣṭā shall join the head of a horse on the trunk of Viṣṇu so that he may become a Hayagrīva and may kill the demon Hayagrīva in this form.[4] So it happens. Tvaṭṣā joins the head of a horse with the trunk of Viṣṇu and the Hayagrīva form of Viṣṇu thus comes into being. There ensues a long fight between Hayagrīva, the Viṣṇu and

1. *Skandha* I, *Adh*. 5.
2. पुरा दैत्यो महाबाहुर्हयग्रीवोऽतिविश्रुतः ।
तपश्चक्रे सरस्वत्यास्तीरे परमदारुणम् ।।
Devībhāgavata, p. 1.5.86.
3. हयग्रीवाच्च मे मृत्युर्नान्यस्माज्जगदम्बिके ।
Ibid., 1.5.100.
4. हयग्रीवोऽथ भगवान् हनिष्यति तमासुरम् ।
पापिष्ठं दानवं क्रूरं देवानां हितकाम्यया ।।
Ibiid., 1.4.105.

Hayagrīva, the demon in which the demon is ultimately killed by the God.[1] The *Devībhāgavatam* thus beautifully solves the problem of the dual personality of Hayagrīva in Indian mythology.

The incident of the separation of the head of Viṣṇu from his trunk has an old history. It has been mentioned in *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*[2] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[3], *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa*[4] and *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*[5]. The story as narrated in the above texts is set purely within the framework of the Vedic ritual. Viṣṇu in all these references is identical with *Yajña* or Sacrifice. The head of Viṣṇu is identical with the rite of *Pravargya* since *Pravargya* is the most important rite of a *Somayāga*. *Pravargya* is also identical with the sun in the sky since in the ceremony of *Pravargya* milk is cooked in a round earthen vessel which starts glowing after sometime due to excessive heat. Viṣṇu is thus *Yajña*, the *Yajña* is identical with the Universe and *Pravargya* is identical with the head of Viṣṇu which is the sun. In other words, *pravargya* in the *Somayāga* occupies the same position as the sun in our Universe. We have already seen above that *Pravargya* is also the head of Horse (*Aśva*) which is identical with Sacrifice.

The story goes further in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*[6]. After the head of Viṣṇu is hurled asunder, the gods come to Aśvins. They request them, the divine physicians, to set back the head of Viṣṇu on his trunk. The Aśvins demand a share in the sacrifice and put back the *Pravargya* on the trunk of Viṣṇu who is identical with the sacrifice. With the joining of the rite of *Pravargya* to the Soma-sacrifice, the *Yajña* becomes complete in all respect :

तौ एतद् यज्ञस्य शिरः प्रत्यधत्ताम् यत् प्रवर्ग्यः ।
यत् प्रवर्ग्यं प्रविनक्ति यज्ञस्येव तच्छिरः प्रतिदधाति ।[7]

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1. इति श्रुत्वा वचस्तेषां त्वष्टा चातित्वरान्वितः ।
वाजिशीर्षं चकर्ताशु खड्गेन सुरसन्निधौ ॥
विष्णोः शरीरे तेनाशु योजितं वाजिमस्तकम् ।
हयग्रीवो हरिर्जातो महामायाप्रसादतः ॥
कियता तेन कालेन दानवो मददर्पितः ।
निहतस्तरसा संख्ये देवानां रिपुरोजसा ॥
Ibid., 1.5.108-110.

2. 4.5.9.
3. 14.1.1.13.
4. 7.5.6.
5. 5.1.1-7.
6. 5.1.7.
7. *Taitt. Br.*, 5.1.7.

It is not mentioned in any of the above mentioned Brāhmaṇas what type of head Aśvins actually put on the trunk of Viṣṇu, the Sacrifice. However, the story at this stage gets connected with the *Dadhyaṅ*-Aśvin story. Since in the legend of *Dadhyaṅ*, the Aśvins put the head of a horse (being *Aśvins* !) on the body of *Dadhyaṅ* for learning Madhuvidyā, in the story of *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* they are supposed to do the same with Viṣṇu. The *Devībhāgavata*, at least, takes it in this way and develops the concept of the Hayagrīva form of Viṣṇu.

It might have been clear from the above that the divine form of Hayagrīva is a natural development of the older ritualistic notions connected with the Head of Horse as a preacher of Vedic knowledge whereas the concept of Hayagrīva as a demon is a later and irregular ramification of the myth and hence does not develop further.

The above investigation into the origin and development of the concept of Hayagrīva is a nice example of the process through which ritualistic notions and speculations give rise to significant legends and sometimes even culminate in the concept of a divinity which gradually acquires a distinct personality with a specific function and develops into an object of religious worship.

श्रुतिसम्मतो विवर्तवादः

रामनारायण त्रिपाठी

जगदुत्पत्तिविषये बहुधा वदन्ति वादिनस्तत्र मुख्यरूपेण चत्वार आरम्भसङ्घातपरिणामविवर्तवादा वैशेषिकबौद्धसांख्यवेदान्त्यभिमताश्चर्चाविषयाः प्रसिद्धाः सन्ति । उक्तञ्च सर्वज्ञात्ममुनिना संक्षेपशारीरके—

आरम्भवादः कणभक्षपक्षः सङ्घातवादस्तु भदन्तपक्षः ।
सांख्यादिपक्षः परिणामवादो वेदान्तपक्षस्तु विवर्तवादः ।।[1]

तत्र विवर्तवाद एव श्रुतिसम्मत इत्यद्वैतवादिनः सन्तिष्ठन्ते । श्रुतिरेव 'वाचारम्भणं विकारो नामधेयं मृत्तिकेत्येव सत्यम्'[2], 'त्रीणि रूपाणीत्येव सत्यम्[3], रूपेष्वपि सत्यं सन्मूलाः सौम्येमाः प्रजाः सदायतनाः सत्प्रतिष्ठाः'[4] इत्यादिवाक्यैर्विकारस्य घटादिपदार्थस्य शब्दालम्बनमात्रोक्त्या मृत्तिकेत्येवकारणमात्रस्य सत्त्वोक्त्या स्वयं विवर्तवादं स्थापयति । ननु 'सच्च त्यच्चाभवत्'[5] 'तदात्मानं स्वयमकुरुत'[6] 'तदैक्षत बहु स्यां प्रजायेयेति । तत्तेजोऽसृजत'[7] इत्यादिश्रुतिषु चिदात्मनो जगद्रूपेण परिणामश्रवणात् परिणामवादोऽपि श्रुतिसम्मतो भवितुमर्हतीति चेन्न 'सदेव सोम्येदमग्र आसीदेकमेवाद्वितीयम्'[8] 'तत्सत्यम्'[9] इत्युपक्रमोपसंहारयोरखण्डाद्वैतवस्तुसत्यत्वावगमे विरोधप्राप्तिसंभावनायां वाचारम्भणेत्यादिवाक्येन विवर्तवादमाश्रित्य परिणामवादस्य

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१ २.६३
२ छा० उ० ६ १.४
३ तत्रैव ६.४.१
४ तत्रैव ६.८.४
५ तै० उ० २.६.१
६ तत्रैव २.७.१
७ छा० उ० ६.२.३
८ तत्रैव ६.२.१
९ तत्रैव ६.८.७

परमार्थत्वनिरासात् । न च 'तदनन्यत्वमारम्भणशब्दादिभ्यः'[1] इति सूत्रेण सूत्रकारो महर्षिर्व्यासोऽपि कार्यस्य कारणाभेदमाचक्षाणः कारणं च सत्यं तदभिन्नं कार्यमपि तथैवेति कार्यकारणयोस्तात्त्विकान्यथाभावं दर्शयन् परिणामवादमेव व्यवास्थापयदिति वाच्यम्, सूत्रकारेण 'येनाश्रुतं श्रुतम्'[2] इत्यादिना एकविज्ञाने सर्वविज्ञानप्रतिज्ञया सर्वात्मत्वविषयविषयकवाक्योपक्रममनुसृत्यानेन सूत्रेण विकारस्य मृषात्मत्वं प्रतिपादयता श्रुत्युक्तस्य विवर्तवादस्य सिद्धान्तितत्वात् । तच्चेत्थम्—सूत्रकारः कार्यस्य कारणानन्यत्वे आरम्भणशब्दादिपदेन वाचारम्भणेत्यादिश्रुत्यर्थमेव हेतुत्वेनोपस्थापयति श्रुतिश्च विकारस्य मृषात्मत्वं साधयति । मृषात्मता च परिणामवादे न संघटते परिणामस्याऽपि सत्यत्वात् किन्तु विवर्तवादे घटते विवर्तस्य मृषात्वात् । अतश्च सूत्रे तदनन्यत्वं न तदभिन्नत्वमपि तु पृथक्सत्त्वाभाव एवार्थः स च परिणामेऽसिद्धः, परिणामे स्वल्पभेदे सत्यपि कार्यकारणयोः पृथक्त्वस्यापि सत्त्वाद् विवर्तस्य न पृथक्सत्त्वम्, अतः कार्यकारणयोरंशतोऽविभागमाशङ्क्यांशतो प्रतीयमानस्य भेदस्य मृषात्वे विवर्तवाद एव सूत्रसम्मतोऽर्थः । ननु 'भोक्त्रापत्तेरविभागश्चेत् स्याल्लोकवत्'[3] सूत्रेण यथालोके समुद्रो वीचितरङ्गबुद्बुदादिविकाररूपेणानेकविधस्तथैव ब्रह्मापि परस्परविलक्षणचेतनाचेतनविचित्रप्रपञ्चात्मना बहुविधमिति प्रकटय्य सूत्रकारेण परिणामवादोऽपि स्वीकृत इति चेन्न 'तदनन्यत्वम्'[4] इति सूत्रे विवर्तवादस्य सिद्धान्तितत्वात् । न चोभावपि पक्षौ सिद्धान्तत्वेनाभिमताविति वाच्यम्, विरुद्धयोरुभयोः संमतत्वायोगात् अतः परस्परविरुद्धपक्षद्वयेऽन्यतरैकपक्षस्वीकारस्य युक्तत्वे प्राप्तेऽद्वैतविरोधिनः परिणामपक्षस्य व्यावृत्तयेऽद्वैतसिद्धान्तानुसारं पूर्वं विवर्तवादमङ्गीकृत्य विरोधः परिहृतः सूत्रकारेण । एवं सति 'लोकवत्'[5] सूत्रे काऽऽवश्यकता परिणामवादस्थापनस्येति न शंक्यम्, यतो हि संसारस्योत्पत्तावारम्भसंघातपरिणामविवर्तवादान् वदन्ति वादिनस्तत्राद्यौ चात्यन्तिकभेदाश्रयावारम्भसंघातपक्षौ श्रुतिप्रतिपादिताद्वैतसिद्धान्तविरोधित्वादुपेक्ष्य स्वानुकूलत्वेनेतरयोर्द्वयोः परिणामविवर्तयोः परिणामस्य विरोधित्वेऽपि विवर्तं सिद्धान्तयितुं पूर्वभूमिकारूपेण परिणामवादमपि संगृहीतवान् सूत्रकारः । अपि चारम्भसंघातवादोत्थितमद्वैतप्रतिकूलं कार्यकारणयोराश्रयभेदरूपं विरोधं परिहर्तुंकामः सूत्रकारः समुद्रतरङ्गादेरिव कार्यकारणयोरभेदेऽपि नामाकारादिरूपेणेषद्भेदेन लोके कार्यकारणभाव उपपद्यते नात्यन्तभेदेनेति स्वारस्यबलादागतं पराभिमतसिद्धं परिणामवादं स्वसिद्धान्तविवर्तवादेन सह 'स्याल्लोकवत्'[6] सूत्रेण संजग्राह न तु सिद्धान्तरूपेण । अथवा-परमतनिरासायैव परिणामवादोऽपक्वबुद्धिप्रतिबोधनार्थं संगृहीतवान् अभ्युपगमवादेन न तु सिद्धान्ततयेति । तद्यथा—परिणामविवर्तमध्येऽपि विवर्तवादात् पूर्वं जगत्कारणेऽद्वैते वेदान्तसमन्वयस्य भोक्तृभोग्यादिभेदग्राहिप्रत्य-

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१ ब्र० सू० २.१.१४

२ छा० उ० ६.१.३

३ ब्र० सू० २.३.१३

४ तत्रैव २.१.१४

५ तत्रैव २. ३. १३

६ तत्रैव २.३.१३

क्षादिप्रमाणविरोधशंकानिराकरणाय परसंमतं परिणामवादमभ्युपगम्य 'भोक्त्रापत्तेरविभागश्चेत् स्याल्लोकवत्'[1] इति सूत्रमवतार्य विरोधपरिहारे प्रवृत्तवान् सूत्रकारः । तदित्थम्—यद्यद्वैतमेव तत्त्वं तर्हि भोक्तृभोग्यादिविकारभेदे प्रत्यक्षानुभवविरोधाः, भोक्तृभोग्यादिविकारैक्ये सर्वसांकर्यापत्तिः, इति विरोधं 'भोक्त्रापत्तेरविभागश्चेत्' इति सूत्रांशेनोद्भाव्य 'स्याल्लोकवत्' इति भागेन सर्वस्य ब्रह्माऽभेदेपि न भोक्त्रादेः संकरो जलस्वरूपाऽभेदेऽपि तरङ्गादेरिव परिणामभेदोपत्तेरिति परिहारं कुर्वन् प्रावर्तत ।

ननु किं विवर्तवादेन सा विरोधशंका परिहर्तुमशक्या यत् परिणामवादमभ्युपगम्य निराकृतेति चेन्न विवर्तवादेनापि विज्ञजनं प्रति परिहर्तुं शक्यत्वे मन्दमतिं प्रति परिणामवादेन विरोधपरिहारस्य सुकरत्वात् । अपि च दृष्टलौकिकघटपटादिविभिन्नविषयकप्रवृत्त्यादिव्यवहारस्य परिरक्षणाय कर्मकाण्डावगताग्निहोत्राद्यनुष्ठानविधायकविध्युपयोगहेतवे शास्त्रोक्तब्राह्मणवधादिनिषेधविधायकोपयोगहेतवे च परिणामवादाभ्युपगमः । अस्यायमभिप्रायः—पूर्वमेव विवर्तवादेन भेदरूपस्य विरोधस्य परिहारे कर्तृकर्मफलभेदाभावादुपास्योपासकादिभेदनाशाच्च कर्मोपासनाद्यसंभवात् क्रियाविधायकशास्त्राणामुपासनाविधायकशास्त्राणां निषिद्धकर्मनिवारणपरकनिषेधशास्त्राणां च प्रामाण्याभावः प्रसज्येत । युक्तञ्चाद्वैतज्ञानेऽधिकारिसिद्धये कर्मविध्यादीनामुपयोगित्वम् अतः सोऽपि वादः सूत्रितः । यद्येवं तर्हि पूर्वोक्तत्वादपेक्षितत्वाच्च परिणामवाद एवात्र सिद्धान्त इति चेन्न नहि केवलं प्रागुक्तिमात्रेण कस्यचित् सिद्धान्तत्वात् । अद्वतशास्त्रेऽद्वैतोपपादकत्वाद् विवर्तवादस्यैव साक्षादभिमतत्वेऽपि परिणामवादमुखेन कार्यकारणयोरत्यन्तभेदनिरासेन पूर्वं परिणामवादमपेक्ष्य तत्पश्चात् परिणामवादसंमतं भेदं निराकुर्वता सूत्रकृता विवर्तस्य मुख्यत्वं सूचयता विवर्तोपायत्वात् परिणामस्य प्रथमोक्तत्वात् । यद्येवं विवर्तवाद एव मुख्यत्वेनाभिप्रेतस्तर्हि मुख्यं प्रथमं सूचयितुं युक्तः पश्चादमुख्यमिति चेन्न आरम्भसंघातवादनिराकरणे परिणामवादनिराकरणे चोभयत्र विवर्तवादस्य व्यापारे गौरवात्, परिणामपूर्वकत्वेनास्य विवर्तनिरूपणस्य परिणामनिरूपणसापेक्षत्वात् । प्रथमं परिणामवादे निरूपिते सति आरम्भणादिवचनेन विवर्तवादं वक्तुं शक्नोति नान्यथा कार्यकारणस्य स्वरूपस्याप्रतीतौ तस्य मिथ्यात्वप्रतिपत्त्ययोगात् ।

यथा लोके प्रासादमधिरोढुमिच्छुना पुरुषेण सोपानपरम्परयैव क्रमश आद्यपदस्थानानुसारं प्रासादभुवमधिरोढुं शक्यते, एवं शास्त्रेऽपि प्रथमं सृष्टिवाक्यैरीषद्भेदान्वितपरिणामप्रतिपादनेन जगद्ब्रह्मणोः कार्यकारणभावमुपपाद्यारम्भणाधिकरणे विवर्तसिद्ध्यर्थं परिणामेन प्रसक्तस्येषद्भेदस्य सत्यत्वं निषेधति । विवर्तसिद्धिस्तु कारणात् कार्यस्य भेदादिसत्यत्वनिषेधे एव स्यात् स च निषेधो ब्रह्मणि प्रपञ्चभेदप्रसङ्गे सत्येव भवति इति भेदप्रसञ्जकपरिणामवादस्य भेदनिषेधकविवर्तवादस्य च क्रमो युज्यते । अतः परिणामविवर्तवादयोर्दृष्टान्तसाम्यात् पौर्वापर्यभावादुपायोपेयभावादधरोत्तरभूमिभावाच्च वेदान्तशास्त्रे प्रथमं विवर्तवादस्य पूर्वभूमिकात्वेन प्रथमं परिणामवादे (जगत्कारणतया ब्रह्मसिद्ध्यर्थं कार्यकारणभावेन जगतो ब्रह्मपरिणामत्वे) निरूपिते, भेदाभेदसिद्धे सति विवर्तवादः (कूटस्थस्य ब्रह्मणो मृदादिवत् परिणामानुपपत्तिप्रतिभासात्तदुक्तः कार्य-

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१ तत्रैव २.३.१३

कारणभावो विवर्त एव) भेदस्य तात्त्विकत्वनिरसनादनायासेनायाति । ननु प्रथमश्रुतानुसारेण चरमश्रुतं नेयमिति न्यायात् 'एकेन मृत्पिण्डेन सर्वं मृन्मयम्'[1] इत्यादि प्राथमिकपरिणामोक्त्यनुसारेण वाचारम्भणमित्यादि विवर्तवाक्यं व्याख्येयमिति चेन्न 'कथं नु भगवः स आदेशो भवति' इति चोद्यपूर्वकं 'मृत्तिकेत्येव सत्यम्'[2] इत्यन्तेन परिणाममृषात्ववर्णनेन प्रतिज्ञाताद्वैतसाधनाद् विवर्तोपायत्वेन श्रुतिसूत्राभ्यां प्रथमं परिणामस्योक्तत्वान्नतु तात्पर्येण यथा लोके जनता साध्यं प्राप्तुं साधनं पूर्वमनुतिष्ठति तथैवात्र ज्ञेयम् ।

तदेवमभ्युपगमसिद्धान्तेन सांख्यादिशास्त्रसिद्धं परिणामवादमाश्रित्य सूत्रकारः श्रुतिश्च विवर्तप्रतिपादनाय पूर्वभूमौ स्थित्वा तमाह । नहि अभ्युपगमसिद्धान्तर्गततयाऽभ्युपगमे साक्षात् सिद्धान्तो भवितुमर्हति ।

ननु विवर्तोपि कारणगतरूपान्तरापत्तिरूपत्वात् परिणामप्रभेद एवेति चेन्नोभयोर्लक्षणभेदात् । परिणामलक्षणं हि एकस्य सावयवस्य कारणस्य पूर्वाकृतिपरित्यागपूर्वकभिन्नाकृतिग्रहणमुखेन तात्त्विकनानाकार्यरूपत्वम्, यथा पृथिव्याः सस्यसृष्टिः । विवर्तलक्षणन्तु एकस्य निर्विकारस्यात्यक्तपूर्वस्य कारणस्य पूर्वरूपापरित्यागपूर्वकभिन्नाकृतिग्रहणमुखेन स्वाभिन्नमिथ्यारूपान्तरदर्शकत्वम् ।

नन्वेवमुभयोः श्रुतिसिद्धत्वात् कथं विवर्त एव सिद्धान्त इति चेदुच्यते—'तदैक्षत बहु स्यां प्रजायेय'[2], 'तत्तेजोऽसृजत'[3] इत्यादिना स्वात्मन एव बहुरूपसृज्यशक्तिमत्त्वेन विचित्रप्रपञ्चात्मना परिणामं प्रतिपाद्य तदनन्तरं 'वाचारम्भणं विकारो नामधेयम्'[4] 'यदग्ने रोहितं रूपम्'[5] 'त्रीणि रूपाणीत्येव सत्यम्'[6] इत्यादिना परिणाममिथ्यात्वं ब्रुवाणा श्रुतिर्निर्विकारसन्मात्रस्यैव मृषाप्रपञ्चात्मना विवर्तमानत्वं व्यवस्थापति स्म । अर्थाद् विचित्रानेकसृज्यशक्तित्वेन ब्रह्मणोऽपि सावयत्वाङ्गीकारात्तस्मिन्नास्ति परिणामलक्षणयोगिता पुनर्वाचारम्भणगिरा सृज्यशक्तीनां **मायात्वस्यार्थत उक्तत्वाद् विशुद्धचिदेकरसस्यात्मनो या** मायाशक्तयस्ताभिर्विचित्ररूपान्तरापत्तिर्विवर्त एवेति साक्षादभिमतं श्रुतिर्दर्शयति ।

यदा चैवं सृष्टिप्रतिपादकच्छान्दोग्यश्रुतिपूर्वोत्तरवाक्यपर्यालोचनेन विवर्तवाद एवाभिमतो वस्तुगत्या ब्रह्मणः स्वतो निरवयवत्वेन परिणामलक्षणयोगित्वाभावात् तदा 'इन्द्रो मायाभिः पुरुरूप

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१ छा० उ० ६.१.४
२ तत्रैव
३ तदेव
४ तत्रैव ६.१.४
५ तत्रैव ६.४.१
६ तत्रैव

ईयते'[१] 'मायां तु प्रकृतिं विद्यात्'[२] 'अज्ञानेनावृतं ज्ञानम्'[३] 'संभवाम्यात्ममायया'[४] 'ज्ञानस्वरूपमत्यन्तं निर्मलं परमार्थतः । तदेवार्थस्वरूपेण भ्रान्तिदर्शनतः स्थितम्'[५] इत्यादि श्रुतिस्मृतिवचनजातमपि विवर्ताश्रयणे सति सन् घट इत्यादिप्रतीतिवलात् पूर्वमविचारदशायां परमार्थतयादृतस्य कार्यकारणरूपेण विभक्तस्य निखिलप्रपञ्चस्य वस्तुतत्त्वमर्दनपरं घटते न तु परिणामपक्षे । अतो विवर्त एव सिद्धान्तः पराभिमतो परिणामवादोऽभ्युपगममात्रेण सिद्धान्तकोटावभिनिविष्टः ।

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१ बृ० उ० ४.५.१९
२ श्वे० उ० ४.१०
३ गीता ५.१५
४ तत्रैव ४.६
५ विष्णु पु० १.४.४०

काव्य की आत्मा का प्रश्न और रस की स्थिति

राममूर्ति त्रिपाठी

भारतीय चिन्तकों की यह सरणि सी हो गई है कि सार तत्त्व के चिन्तन सन्दर्भ में वे शरीर और आत्मा का रूपक पकड़ लेते हैं। काव्य के सन्दर्भ में आत्मा का अभिप्राय उस सार तत्त्व से है जिसके सद्भाव से कवित्व का समुदय और असद्भाव से अनुदय हुआ करता है। औरों का तो पता नहीं, नाट्यशास्त्रकार ने जब यह कहा- "इतिवृत्तं तु नाट्यस्य शरीरं परिकीर्तितम्" तब निश्चय ही वे नाट्य में आत्मा की स्थिति मानते थे, बात करते थे। नाट्य का इतिवृत्त यदि शरीर है— तो रस निश्चय ही शरीरी या आत्मा के रूप में स्वीकृत किया गया है।

नाट्य के क्षेत्र में ही नहीं, श्रव्यकाव्य के क्षेत्र में भी गणेश त्र्यम्बक देशपाण्डे ने अपनी यह स्थापना दी है कि भारतीय काव्यशास्त्रियों ने एक स्वर से रस को ही काव्य की आत्मा स्वीकार किया है। स्थापना के पक्ष में उन्होंने प्रचुर तर्क दिये हैं पर मैं इससे सहमत नहीं हूं। कारण बहुत से दिये जा सकते हैं– पर यहां सबका उल्लेख सम्भव नहीं है। एक बात यह अवश्य है कि जब आचार्यगण स्पष्ट कहते हैं— "अलङ्कार एव काव्ये प्रधानम्", "रीतिरात्मा", "काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिः", "काव्यस्यात्मा स एवार्थः", "वक्रोक्तिः काव्यजीवितम्" तब मुख्यार्थबाध के अभाव में इन्हें लाक्षणिक कैसे मान लिया जाय? रीतिवादी यदि "ओजः कान्तिमती गौडीया" को अतत्व-भूत रीति-अनात्म तत्त्व कहता है— तो "दीप्तरसत्वं कान्तिः" की अवमानना नहीं है? और है तो रस की आत्मरूपता इन्हें किस प्रकार सह्य है? जब कुन्तक स्पष्ट कण्ठ से कहते हैं "शब्दार्थावलंकार्यौ", "वर्णनाविषयवस्तुनः शरीरमेवालंकार्यतामेवार्हति" शब्दार्थ काव्य का शरीर है और वही अलङ्कार्य है- तब कैसे कहा जाय कि उनकी दृष्टि में अलङ्कार्य रस है? जो आचार्य दो-दो जगह अवधारणार्थक एवकार का प्रयोग करता है- उसके निश्चय पर किस प्रकार संदेह किया जाय? वैसे कहने के लिये "औचित्यं रससिद्धस्य स्थिरं काव्यस्य जीवितम्" तथा 'काव्यस्यात्मा चमत्कृतिः' भी कहे गये हैं—पर इनमें दोनों ही रस के संदर्भ में एक साधन और दूसरा साध्य है अतः ये दोनों ही रस विरोधी नहीं हैं– इन्हें रस के प्रतिपक्ष में किस प्रकार रखा जाय? "औचित्योपनिबन्धस्तु रसस्योपनिषत् परा" तथा "रसे सारश्चमत्कारः सर्वत्राप्यनुभूयते" जैसी रसवादियों की स्वीकृतियाँ प्रमाण हैं।

निष्कर्ष यह कि काव्य में आत्मा के प्रश्न पर विवाद है। काव्य की आत्मा के सम्बन्ध में काव्यशास्त्रियों ने निर्माण की दृष्टि से तो सोचा ही है ग्रहण की दृष्टि से भी विचारा है। पहली दृष्टि से किये गये चिंतन के परिणामस्वरूप **अलङ्कार**, **गुण** और **वक्रता** के मतवाद आये हैं और दूसरी दृष्टि से होने वाले विचारों की दृष्टि से ध्वनि और रस के वाद उपजे हैं। कतिपय चिन्तकों की धारणा है कि अलङ्कारवादी ही अलङ्कार को सारतत्त्व नहीं मानते, रीतिवादी भी 'काव्यं ग्राह्यमलंकारात्', 'सौंदर्यमलङ्कारः' के द्वारा अलङ्कार की सारवत्ता में सहमति प्रकट करते हैं— साथ ही जब वक्रोक्तिवादी भी 'वक्रोक्ति' को काव्य जीवित कहकर 'वक्रोक्तिरलङ्कृतिः' कहता है तब वह भी अलङ्कार का महत्त्व मान लेता है। संक्षेप में कहा जाय तो ये तीनों ही अलङ्कारवादी हैं। इसी प्रकार जब ध्वनिवादी भी अंततः रस-ध्वनि को ही काव्य की आत्मा स्वीकार कर लेता है— तो वह भी एक प्रकार से रसवादी ही हो जाता है। इस प्रकार कुल मिलाकर दो ही मतवाद ठहरते हैं। किसी चिन्तक ने और आगे बढ़कर यह कहा कि विचार किया जाय तो अलङ्कार भी अंततः 'रस' का अङ्ग ही है और क्रोचे का सहारा ले तो कहां अङ्ग और कहां अङ्गी— जो कुछ है– वह एक (–रस) ही। इस प्रकार देशपाण्डे का मत अन्यथा पुनरुज्जीवित हो उठता है। लेकिन इस सब का उत्तर तो इतना ही पर्याप्त है कि यदि यह तत्त्वबोध आरम्भ में ही हो गया होता– और इसी भूमिका पर सब कुछ कहा गया होता— तो परस्पर खण्डन-मण्डन ही न होता। ये सब बातें जिस एकोन्मुखी समझ से की जा रही हैं, वही सबके— सब मतवादों के मूल में नहीं है। दूसरे अलङ्कारवादी, रीतिवादी तथा वक्रोक्तिवादी की 'अलंकार' सम्बन्धी धारणाएं भी एक नहीं हैं। अलङ्कारवादी अलङ्कार और गुण में अन्तर नहीं मानता, रीतिवादी मानता है— इसी प्रकार जब वक्रोक्तिवादी अलङ्कार्य को ही अलङ्करण अथवा दोनों को अपोद्धारबुद्ध्या दो मानता है और तत्त्वतः एक—तो क्या वह वही कहता है जो गुण और अलङ्कारवादी कहते हैं? कभी नहीं। इसी प्रकार जब ध्वनिवादी 'ध्वनित रस' को ही काव्यात्मा कहता है तब क्या वह उस रसवादी से अपने को भिन्न नहीं कहता जो भट्टनायक और महिम की भांति किसी भी स्थिति में रहने वाले 'रस' को काव्य की आत्मा कहता है ?

हां, कहना हो तो यह कह सकते हैं कि पूर्वी और पश्चिमी, प्राचीन और अर्वाचीन सभी आचार्य कला अथवा काव्य का केन्द्रीय तत्त्व 'सौन्दर्य' को मानते हैं और 'सौन्दर्य का निर्धारक-निकष है— आह्लाद और 'रस' आह्लाद ही तो है। अतः सारा काव्यचिन्तन 'रस' पर आकर केन्द्रित हो सकता है। विषय को बहुत विस्तृत फलक न देकर केवल भारतीय काव्यचिन्तन के परिवेश में कहें तो फिर भी कह सकते हैं कि काव्य की आत्मा के प्रश्न को लेकर भारतीय काव्यशास्त्रियों में मतभेद है। वह इस प्रकार है— अलंकारवादी आचार्य भामह सौन्दर्य तत्त्व मानते हुये भी जब "न कान्तमपि निर्भूषं विभाति वनिताननम्" कह उठता है तब वह 'सहज' नहीं 'आहार्य' सौन्दर्य को काव्य के लिये आवश्यक मानता है। इसी प्रकार जब रीतिवादी वामन तारुण्य से अपने 'गुण' को उपमित कर 'अलङ्कार' की तुलना में उसे प्राथमिकता देता है तब वह 'सहज' सौन्दर्य को प्राथमिक महत्त्व देता है। कुन्तक ने दोनों को आत्मसात् करते हुये कहा

"सहजाहार्यकविकौशलशालिनी (वक्रता)" यद्यपि वामन 'सहज' के साथ 'आहार्य' को भी स्वीकार करते हैं– फिर भी 'सौन्दर्य' को जहां अलङ्कार और रीतिवादी शब्दार्थ शरीर का आश्रित मानते हैं— वहां कुंतक शब्दार्थ को अलंकार्य कह कर भी अर्थ के जिस परिस्पन्दमय आन्तरिक स्वभाव को उससे अभिन्न कर देते हैं एक विशिष्ट काश्मीरी शैव दर्शन की भूमिका पर— वह अलङ्कारवादी और रीतिवादी से उनकी सौन्दर्य सम्बन्धी दृष्टि को भिन्न कर देता है। रसवादी और ध्वनिवादी तो अलङ्कार्य 'रस' को ही मानते हैं– अभिधा और अधिक से अधिक लक्षणा तक की सामर्थ्य से संवलित शब्द तथा अर्थ को वे शरीर ही मानते हैं– अलङ्कार्य शरीरी नहीं।

काव्य की आत्मा के प्रश्न पर सर्वाधिक उभर कर निकट आने वाले दो ही मतवाद अधिक ध्यान देने योग्य हैं— निर्माण की दृष्टि से विचार किये जाने के परिणामस्वरूप प्रसूत वादों में 'वक्रोक्तिवाद' और ग्रहण दृष्टि से प्रादुर्भूत 'रसध्वनिवाद'। इस संदर्भ में आनन्दवर्द्धन, कुन्तक और अभिनवगुप्त के विचार अधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण हैं। मैं इस ऐतिहासिक क्रम को मान कर चलता हूं कि पहले आनन्दवर्द्धन, फिर कुन्तक और तब अभिनव गुप्त। तीनों ही आचार्य अद्वयवादी काश्मीरी शैव दर्शन के अनुयायी, प्रवर्तक और पोषक हैं।

इसके पूर्व कि ग्रहण और निर्माण की दृष्टि से एक दूसरे के नज़दीक आने वाले रसध्वनि तथा वक्रोक्ति की आपेक्षिक महत्ता का निर्द्धारण करें— यह तो देख लें कि 'वक्रता' और 'रस' काव्य की आत्मा हो भी सकते हैं क्या ? कुन्तक की वक्रता है— वक्रत्वं कविव्यापारः— प्रसिद्ध-प्रस्थानव्यतिरेकी कविगतव्यापार और रसध्वनिवादी का रस है सहृदय-गत चर्व्यमाणात्मिका प्रतीतिविशेष। निष्कर्ष यह कि एक कविगत है और दूसरा सहृदयगत। यदि काव्य शब्दार्थमय है तो इन दोनों में से एक भी काव्यगत नहीं है। फिर भी काव्य की आत्मा से इन दोनों का क्या संबन्ध ?

वैसे इस प्रश्न पर अन्यत्र (वीणा) मैंने विचार किया है— जिसका सारांश यह है कि यदि काव्य की उपमा-जैसा कि अभिनवगुप्तपाद ने कहा भी है—बीज, वृक्ष और फलात्मक परिणति– से दी जाय, तो कहना पड़ेगा कि काव्य का अस्तित्व कवि के हृदय से लेकर शब्दात्मक प्रकाशन द्वारा सहृदयगत रसात्मक परिणति तक व्याप्त है। इस प्रकार काव्य का अस्तित्व यदि इतनी व्याप्ति के साथ मान लिया जाय तो उक्त समस्या का निवारण हो जायगा। समग्रता में काव्य का स्वरूप और उसकी व्याप्ति समझ लेने पर लक्षणा द्वारा उसके किसी खण्ड में उसकी स्थिति मानी जा सकती है। काव्य के इस व्यापक रूप में 'कवि-व्यापार' भी है और 'रसात्मक परिणति' भी। अतः निर्माण की दृष्टि से एक को और ग्रहण की दृष्टि से दूसरे को काव्य की अंतरात्मा कहा जा सकता है। वास्तव में ध्वनितरसवादी और वक्रोक्तिवादी दोनों ही इस तथ्य से सहमत हैं कि आह्लादमय दशा से ही काव्य निकलता है और आह्लाद ही में उसकी परिणति होती है। ठीक ही है जो अपने बीज भाव में जैसा होगा, परिणति में भी वह वैसा ही होगा।

'ध्वनि' और 'रस' का जैसा अमिट प्रभाव कुन्तक पर है वैसा ही अनिवार्य प्रभाव कुन्तक का अभिनव गुप्त पर भी है। कुन्तक की ही भांति अभिनव ने भी यह स्वीकार किया है कि

काव्यगत सौन्दर्य का मूल माध्यम है— वक्रता या वक्रोक्ति । अभिनव ने 'नाट्यमेव रसः' 'का अभिनवभारती में समर्थन किया था— उन्हें श्रव्यकाव्य पर रसात्मकता का वितान फैलाने में कठिनाई का अनुभव हुआ था—तभी कहा था कि जिस प्रकार नाट्य में लोक-धर्मी और नाट्य-धर्मी होते हैं उसी प्रकार काव्य में स्वभावोक्ति और वक्रोति होती है । नाट्य का लोकधर्मी और काव्य की स्वभावोक्ति-दोनों को कुन्तक और अभिनव-दोनों ही ने 'लोचन' और 'वक्रोक्ति-जीवित' में भित्ति स्थानीय माना है तथा नाट्यधर्मी और वक्रोक्ति को सौन्दर्याधायक माध्यम । नाट्यधर्मी और वक्रोक्ति द्वारा लोकधर्मी और स्वभावोक्ति को खचित चित्र द्वारा सुन्दर और सरस बनाया जाता है । इसीलिये कुन्तक ने कहा है कि यदि वर्णनीय पदार्थ स्वभावात्मा फलक ही अनुत्कृष्ट होगा— तो वक्रोक्ति उससे अभीष्ट प्रभाव उत्पन्न नहीं कर सकती । इसीलिए कुन्तक का अभिमत है कि यह वक्रता ही है— कवि-व्यापार है जो वर्णनीय पदार्थ स्वभाव को सुन्दर तथा सरस रूप में प्रस्तुत करता है । जो पदार्थ को सुन्दर तथा सरस रूप में प्रस्तुत न करे वह कवि-व्यापार ही नहीं है । कुन्तक मानते हैं कि कुछ पदार्थ तो ऐसे होते हैं, जो सहज सुन्दर होते हैं । कवि-व्यापार उस लीन सौन्दर्य को कुरेद कर ऊपर कर देता है । कुन्तक मानते हैं कि वक्रता का परम रहस्य 'स्वभावस्याञ्जसेन प्रकारेण परिपोषणम्' ही है । उत्कृष्ट स्वभाव वाले वर्णनीय पदार्थ में लीन सौन्दर्य को बिना किसी प्रकार की प्रौढोक्तिवश आलङ्कारिक लेप लगाये उभार देना चाहिए । वक्रता का उत्कृष्टतम रूप कुन्तक के मत से यही है । रसात्मकता ही इनके मत से उत्कृष्ट स्वभाव है । इस प्रकार एक ने 'वक्रता' के सन्दर्भ में रस का और दूसरे ने रस के सन्दर्भ से वक्रता की उपादेयता की बात समान बल से कही है। कुन्तक ने लोकोत्तर आह्लादकारी वैचित्र्य की सिद्धि में 'वक्रोक्ति' की और अभिनव गुप्त ने काव्योचित सौन्दर्य और तज्जन्य आह्लाद की सिद्धि में स्वभावोक्ति से भिन्न वक्रोक्ति की बात कही है । जिस प्रकार कवि-व्यापार वक्रता का उत्कृष्ट रूप रसादिमय स्वभाविक सौन्दर्य को सहज उभार देने में है उसी प्रकार आनन्दवर्द्धन का कवि-कर्म भी विभावादिसंयोजन में है ।

"व्यापारवदसाधारणं कारणं करणम्" वाले प्राचीन करण-स्वरूपवादी आचार्यों के मत से 'प्रतिभा' कवि-व्यापार ही है और शक्ति, व्युत्पत्ति और अभ्यास-मिलित रूप में करण या हेतु । पण्डितराज जगन्नाथ "फलाव्यवच्छिन्नं कारणं करणम्" वाले नव्यचिन्तकों के अनुयायी हैं । अतः उन्होंने सीधे प्रतिभा को ही करण कह दिया है । अस्तु, यह प्रतिभा भी एक व्यापार कवि-व्यापार ही है, जिसका स्वरूप है— "काव्यानुकूल शब्दार्थोपस्थितिः" । आनन्दवर्द्धन ने ग्रहण की दृष्टि से विचार करते हुये कहा है कि ग्राहक रसावेश में कवि की प्रतिभा का साक्षात्कार कर लेता है (अभिव्यनक्ति प्रतिभाविशेषम्) आचार्यों ने रस-प्रतीति को पानकरसन्यायेन एक सम्मिश्र प्रतीति कही है—जिसमें शब्द, अर्थ, उभयगत सौन्दर्य-व्यंजक उपकरण, विभावादि, चित् तथा आनन्दांश— सभी एक रस रहते हैं । यह रसात्मक स्थिति यदि कवि के मन में न होगी, तो ग्राहक में परिणत किस प्रकार होगी ? अतः कवि के हृदय में जो काव्योचित मानस दशा या अनुभूति होती है वह शब्दानुविद्ध होती हैं । सामान्यजन की जीवनानुभूति और कविजन की काव्यानुभूति में अंतर सही शब्द से अनुभूति का एकरस होना और न होना ही है । कवि में

वही अनुभूति सही शब्दों में उभरती है। आज के जो चिन्तक 'भाषिकसर्जना' अथवा 'सही शब्द की तलाश' की बात करते हैं— गहरे चिन्तन के धरातल पर वे उसी भारतीय काव्य-चिन्तन को पकड़ने का प्रयत्न करते हैं। आचार्य रामचन्द्र शुक्ल ने भी विभाव-संयोजन को ही कवि का मुख्य कर्म कहा है। इस प्रकार समूचा भारतीय चिन्तन आरम्भ से अब तक एक ही केन्द्रीय तत्त्व-काव्यानुभूति-सौन्दर्यानुभूति-आह्लादमय अनुभूति-रसानुभूति—के आसपास चक्कर काटता हैं।

इस प्रकार ग्रहण की दृष्टि से काव्य की आत्मा पर विचार करने वाले यदि समग्र रूप में रसवादी (रसवादी और ध्वनिवादी-दोनों) ही कहे जायें तब वक्रोक्तिवादी तथा रसवादी-दोनों की चिन्तन-धाराओं में अनेक समानताएं लक्षित होती हैं। इस साम्य या इन अनेक समानताओं के होते हुए भी अन्तर उनके तारतमिक महत्त्व— अवधारण में है। रसवादी या ध्वनित रसवादी सहृदयनिष्ठ परिणति को केन्द्र में रखकर विचार करते हैं और वक्रोक्तिवादी निर्माता कविगत अङ्करण प्रक्रिया पर अपने को केन्द्रित रख कर विचार करता हैं। वैसे काव्य की उत्कृष्टतम भूमि रसवत्ता को दोनों ही समान महत्त्व देते हैं। सहृदय-हृदयाह्लाद दोनों का ही— कवि-व्यापार इसी लक्ष्य की सिद्धि के लिये होता है— इसमें दोनों ही सहमत हैं। अभिप्राय यह कि काव्य की आत्मा के प्रश्न को लेकर आचार्यो ने काव्य वृक्ष के बीज भाव से आरंभ कर परिणति तक अपने काव्य चिन्तन को प्रसारित किया है। इसीलिये जिन लोगों का आक्षेप है कि भारतीय चिन्तन निर्माण की दृष्टि से कुछ नहीं है— चिन्त्य ही है।

काव्यात्मचिन्तन के इस सन्दर्भ में सर्वाधिक उल्लेखनीय हैं— ध्वनिवादी। इनकी दृष्टि सैद्धान्तिक ही नहीं, व्यावहारिक भी थी। व्यावहारिक दृष्टि से शून्यप्राय चिन्तकों की काव्यात्म-वादी विचार-धारा काव्यनामधारी समस्त कृतियों के साथ निवाही नहीं जा पाती। काव्य का समुच्छलन जिस मानस से होता है— उसमें काव्योपयोगी उपकरण विभिन्न तारतमिकताओं में एकोन्मुख हो सकते हैं। यह सम्भव नहीं है कि सर्वत्र कवि-मानस में रसात्मक एकता के अनुरूप एकोन्मुख काव्योपकरण संश्लिष्ट होकर सर्वदा उदित हों। इसलिये सर्वत्र बिना काव्यार्थबोध के रसात्मक प्रतिमान चरितार्थ करना रसान्धता है। अभिनवगुप्त ने भट्टनायक को इसीलिए रसान्ध कहा था। ध्वनिवादियों ने इसीलिये यह मानते हुये भी कि 'रसेनैव सर्वं जीवति काव्यम्', "यत्र तु रसादीनामविषयत्वं स काव्यपकारो न सम्भवत्येव"— रसात्मक प्रतिमान को न तो सर्वत्र लागू किया है और न तो उसका सर्वत्र व्यवहार ही काव्योचित सौन्दर्य के उन्मेष में कौन-सा तत्त्व उदग्र है— इसका अनुभव किये बिना, उदग्र तत्त्व में अन्य तत्त्व किस तारतमिकता से संश्लिष्ट हैं—यह जाने बिना न तो उस आलोच्य काव्य का विश्लेषण किया जा सकता है और न तो कोई प्रतिमान ही लागू किया जा सकता है।

रसवादी की तुलना में ध्वनिवादी यह नहीं मानता है कि रस चाहे किसी भी स्थिति में क्यों न हो— आत्म स्थानीय होता ही है। दर्पणकार, महिमभट्ट, भट्टनायक— तीनों ही थोड़े अन्तर के साथ यह स्वीकार करते हैं कि रस चाहे किसी भी स्थिति में हो काव्य की आत्मा है।

ध्वनिवादी भी कहते है कि विश्व में ऐसी कोई वस्तु नहीं है जो किसी प्रकार की चित्तवृत्ति न पैदा करे और चित्तवृत्ति रूप ही रस है— अतः रस-शून्य कोई काव्य हो नहीं सकता—क्योंकि वह वस्तु-शून्य नहीं होता और मान लिया कि यदि ऐसी कोई वस्तु है तो किस प्रकार की चित्त-वृत्ति नहीं उत्पन्न करती— प्रभाव नहीं उत्पन्न करती— तो कोई भी कवि वैसी वस्तु काव्य से ग्रहण ही क्यों करेगा ? फिर भी ध्वनिवादी रसमात्र को—चाहे किसी भी स्तर का क्यों न हो—काव्य की आत्मा नहीं मानते । फिर समस्या यह खड़ी होती है कि ध्वनिवादी किस स्तर पर रस को काव्य की आत्मा कहता है ? और जिस स्तर पर उसे आत्मा कहना चाहता है आत्मा शब्द का प्रयोग उस सीमित रूप के लिये सम्भव है क्या ?

वास्तव में ध्वनिवादी जब ध्वनित-रस को काव्य की आत्मा मानता है—पर अध्वनित स्थिति को 'रस' को नहीं— तब आत्मा कीं असर्वव्यापकता खटकती है । इस समस्या को हटाने के लिये एक ही रास्ता शेष है और वह यह कि जिस प्रकार आत्मा की दो भूमिकाएं हैं– निर्गुण और सगुण उसी प्रकार रस की भी दो स्थितियां हैं— एक निर्गुणवत् अव्यक्त और अकिञ्चित्कर तथा दूसरी व्यक्त और आनन्दकर। जिस प्रकार आत्मा समुचित अभिव्यंजकों के सहारे रसानुभूति के रूप में साकार होती है उसी प्रकार रस भी अनुरूप उपकरणों के सहारे प्रधानतः प्रकाशित होता है और इसी दूसरे रूप में वह सगुण ब्रह्म की भांति अपनी समग्र निहित सुन्दरता में प्रकाशित होता है । जिस कवि के हृदय में रसानुरूप सङ्घटना होगी— उसी से सरस काव्य की विस्फूर्ति होगी और जो तादृश मनःस्थिति का समुच्छलन होगा उसी की सहृदय में रसात्मक परिणति होंगी । अतः सर्वत्र रस की सम्भावना मूर्खता ही है ।

इस स्थिति में रस की चर्चा पुरानी और नई कविता के सन्दर्भ में की जाय तो कहा जा सकता है कि इसका सम्बन्ध नवीन और प्राचीन की अपेक्षा अनुरूप मनःस्थिति से है । न तो समस्त पुरानी रचना ही रसात्मकता का समुच्छलन है और न नयी कविता से इस दिशा में सिद्धान्ततः निराशा ही है । यह अवश्य है कि पुरानी मनःस्थिति में संवेगों का सन्तुलन जितना सहज और सम्भव था, नई मनःस्थिति में वह नहीं मिल रहा है । जहां मिल रहा है वहां की मनःस्थिति के नया होने में सन्देह किया जा रहा है । हां, सन्तुलन की और विकास-गामी विश्व-मनोवृत्ति को मानकर आशा अवश्य की जा सकती है कि काव्य में रसात्मकता की प्रतिष्ठा पुनः हो सकती है ।

T. GAṆAPATI SASTRI THE DISCOVERER OF THE BHĀSA PLAYS

N. P. Unni

The discovery of the plays attributed to Bhāsa could legitimately be claimed as the greatest literary event of the present century. It was given to Mahāmahopādhyāya T. Gaṇapati Sastri, the first Curator in charge of the publication of ancient manuscripts under the Government of Travancore to discover and publish the thirteen dramas ascribed to the pre-Kālidāsa dramatist Bhāsa. Till then, Bhāsa was a mere name. Such was the enthusiasm evinced by Sastri that within the short period of three years all the plays were published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series under the impressive caption "*Bhāsanāṭakacakra*". The epoch-making discovery sparked off a serious controversy. The claims of Gaṇapati Sastri became a moot point, but he met the arguments of the opponents with valid and cogent reasons.

Regarding the importance of the discovery Prof. M. Winternitz observed : "If it should finally be proved, that Bhāsa cannot be the author of these plays, they will yet always have to be counted among the most valuable treasures of Indian literature, and we have every reason to be thankful to Ganapati Sastri who has unearthed these treasures for us"[1]. Further the learned Professor has stated that he had a good many letters from Sastri, one more enthusiastic than the other when the discovery was made one after the other. He recalls his first meeting with Sastri as follows : "It was a great pleasure to me when early in November 1923, on my visit to Trivandrum, I could discuss the subject with the great Pandit.

1. M. Winternitz, The Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, A Souvenir of the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Dept. for the publication of Oriental Mss., Trivandrum, 1934, p. 43.

I well remember the stately figure of the Brahman who received me in his beautiful red robe, speaking Sanskrit clearly and distinctly so that it was not difficult for an European unused to speaking Sanskrit to understand him. He was also very enthusiastic about the new manuscripts of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* he had found, and he proudly pointed out to me many improvements of his text on the *editio princeps*, and showed me the proofs of his own great commentary".[1]

Life : Taruvai Gaṇapati Sastri was born in 1860 in the village of Taruvai in the Tirnelveli District as the son of Rāmasubrahmaṇya Iyer. It was in his family that the celebrated poet and rhetorician Appayya Dīkṣita was born. He married a pious lady called Sītāmbā. Gaṇapati Sastri was born as the son of this couple. In his *Aparṇāstava* he has referred to his native place on the banks of river Tāmraparṇī in the following lines :

गणपतिरिति कश्चिद् ब्राह्मणस्ताम्रपर्णी
तटजुषि तरुवानाम्न्यग्रहारेऽभिजातः ।।

In a colophon to his commentary of *Svapnavāsavadattā* he has mentioned his village as well as his parents thus :

ताम्रवर्णीतीरवर्ति–तरुवाग्रहाराभिजनस्य श्रीसीताम्बारामसुब्रह्मण्यार्यसूनोगणपतिशास्त्रिणः कृतिषु स्वप्नवासबदत्ताव्याख्यानं सम्पूर्णम् ।

His parents were poor and could not give him any proper education. He was given some basic education in Sanskrit under a teacher called Nilakantha Sastri. By the time the young man set out from his village to eke out some means for existence he had mastered some of the basic texts in Sanskrit. It is said that he reached Trivandrum, the capital of the benevolent Travancore kings on foot at the age of sixteen. Soon he found a residence in the village of Chalai. There he came into contact with Kadayam Subbiayya Dīkṣitar, a scholar well-versed in Sanskrit grammar. With his help the young scholar acquired proficiency in grammar and poetics. Another wellknown teacher of the period, Dharmādhikāri Karamanai Subrahmanya Sastri also taught him various Śāstraic treatises. Gaṇapati Sastri impressed his teachers and colleagues with his brilliance and keen observation. He worked his way up by sheer force of his scholarship, industry and character to an international reputation. All the time he was on the look out for a job.

In 1879 he joined the High Court of Travancore as a clerk and served for sometime. In 1889 the Trivandrum Sanskrit College was founded. Gaṇapati Sastri got the job of a teacher in the new institution. Soon he

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1. *Ibid*, p. 44

became the Headmaster and steadily rose to the coveted position of being the Principal of the only Sanskrit College in the State in the year 1899. Twenty years before in 1879 Viśākham Tirunāl Mahārājā had appointed him Keeper of the Palace Library and in this position he came into contact with rhe great scholars of the time. Kerala Varma Valiya Koyil Tampurān—the Kālidāsa of Kerala and Ilattūr Ramaswamy Sastri, a court poet of the Travancore rulers were the greatest among the contemporary scholars. Gaṇapati Sastri had an occasion to come into contact with them and this helped him much. Even after rising to the position of the Principal he continued to be in charge of the rich collection of palm leaf manuscripts preserved in the Palace Library. In 1908 the Government decided to establish a separate department for the publication of ancient manuscripts and Gaṇapati Sastri was the obvious choice to head the new department. He occupied this important position for a period of sixteen years. He was due to retire in 1915 at the age of fiftyfive. But his tenure of service was extended on an annual basis for a record period of ten years ! At last in 1925 he retired from service due to failing health and in the following year at the age of 67 he breathed his last on the 3rd April 1926.

Works : While yet seventeen he composed his first work, a Sanskrit play called *Mādhavivāsantiyam* for which Prince Viśākham Tirunāl presented a golden ring. In spite of his heavy pre-occupations he found time to enrich the muse and he has to his credit about 14 works as follows :

(1) *Mādhavivāsantiyam*—drama.

(2) *Aparṇāstava*—a stotra on Goddess Durgā with his own commentary.

(3) *Śrimūlacaritam*—a *kāvya* on the history of Travancore during the reign of his patron.

(4) *Bhāratānuvarṇanam*—a poem describing the cultural history of India with a foreword by Levi.

(5) *Tulāpuruṣadānam*—a poem dealing with the *Tulābhāra* ceremony of his patron.

(6) *Cakravartiniguṇamaṇimālā*—a poem in praise of Queen Victoria.

(7) *Arthacitramaṇimālā*—a work on poetics with illustrative stanzas on Viśākham Tirunāl Mahārājā.

(8) *Setuyātrāvarṇanam*—a prose work describing a pilgrimage to Rāmeśvaram.

(9) *Arthaśāstravyākhyā* styled *Śrimūlam* being an original commentary making use of an old Malayalam gloss on the work produced in 12th century.

(10) *Śākuntalapāramyavyākhyā*—a commentary on a treatise by Kerala Varma Valiya Koyil Tampurān,

(11) *Viśākhavijayaṭippaṇi*—a gloss on the historical *mahākāvya* by Kerala Varma on his patron.

(12) *Āṅgalasāmrājyaṭippaṇi*—a commentary on the historical *mahākāvya* by A. R. Rajaraja Varma.

(13) *Gandharvasallāpa*—a *kāvya.*

(14) *Svapnavāsavadattāvyākhyā*—a comprehensive commentary on the Bhāsa play discovered by him.

In addition to these he has published short notes on some of the Bhāsa plays re-edited by him. An English book called *Bhāsa's Plays—A Critical Study* is based on his introductions to the editions of *Svapnavāsavadattā* and *Pratimānāṭaka* in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. Herein he has dealt at length with his arguments and counter-arguments for assigning the authorship to Bhāsa. The work shows his unique talents as a researcher and editor par excellence. As a commentator his attainment is of a high order and his talent in this regard has come up for praise at the hands of the reputed orientalists of the period. The one he wrote on *Arthaśāstra* can be considered as a classic and is a significant contribution to the study of that text on Indian polity. Prof. Franklin Edgerton has observed : "Dr. Ganapati Sastri's edition of the *Kauṭiliya Arthaśāstra*, with commentary, is decidedly the best edition of that all-important work in existence; the printed text is superior, from the critical scholarly standpoint, to other editions, and commentary is of primary and very great importance for the interpretation of the very difficult text". As rejoinder to a scholar who questioned the authorship of Cāṇakya and maintained that the many objects and names mentioned in the work are unknown in the Maurya period and that Megasthanes had not mentioned them, Gaṇapati Sastri wrote the following lines in his commentary to establish his point :

यन्मौर्यमन्त्रिशास्त्रेऽस्मिन् द्रव्यं देशादि नाम वा ।
तत् ज्ञानं मौर्यकालेऽपि भारतीयैरिति स्थितिः ॥
अर्थः प्रामाणिकाचार्यग्रन्थेषु स्पष्टमीरितः ।
मेगस्तनीशमौनेन बाध्यतामिति वादवत् ॥
ऊहेन बाध्यतां सोऽर्थं इति वादेऽप्यसुन्दरे ।
अबाधितास्य शास्त्रस्य मौर्यमन्त्रिप्रणीतता ॥

As a poet he has impressed his patrons and colleagues. The following stanza from his *Aparṇāstava* states that the devotee of Goddess becomes the target of all covetable things in life.

अपर्णोमा सोमाभरणरमणी दैत्यदमनी—
त्यलघ्वी भक्तिर्यः सकृदपि गृणाति त्वदभिधाम् ।

तवैश्वर्याण्यष्टावहमहमिकाभाञ्जि वृणुते
मनुष्यार्हान् भोगान् प्रति गिरिसुते कैव गणना ॥

His style is grand and diction sweet and the *stotra* reminds one of *Saundaryalaharī* attributed to the great Śaṅkarācārya.

Editions : He was the founder Curator of the Trivandrum Manuscripts Library and the first Editor of the famous Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. Under his guidance the new series eclipsed similar ones in other parts of the world. In fact, he put Trivandrum on the map of Oriental research. It is observed : "Among Pandits who took to research few attained the eminence of Ganapati Sastri and among research scholars themselves few ever got that measure of recognition and honour that Sastri received during the course of his career".[1] During his tenure as Curator he brought out 87 publications in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series of which 68 were his own editorial efforts with useful introductions. More than this the discovery of the so-called Bhāsa plays made him world famous. It took the scholarly world by storm as it were. When opposition arose and gathered strength against his identification, he stoutly faced the criticism and answered them elaborately with valid and cogent reasonings. In this he was able to keep on his side advocates like A. B. Keith, M. Winternitz, Sten Konow, Lindenau, Jacobi, Belvalker, Jayaswal, Sukthankar, Kale, Sarup, Pusalker and others. Two other important works that he brought out deserve special mention. The Buddhist Tantric work *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* from which the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal extracted so much interesting historical information was one of his significant editorial efforts. The famous historian and research scholar extolled this publication in view of the fact that it embraces the Imperial History of India from 6C0 B. C, to 770 A. D. The work gives the history of India from the time of the Buddha upto the Mauryas. The *Samarāṅganasūtradhāra* of Bhoja edited by Gaṇapati Sastri for the Gaekwad's Oriental Series is yet another important contribution. The work is a store-house of wonderful information about ancient Indian arts, crafts and machines of domestic and military use. His editions of other works also deserve attention and they embrace a wide field of specialisation both literary and technical including Śāstras.

Some of the conclusions arrived at by Gaṇapati Sastri may have to be revised with the progress in research in the field of Indology. Fresh materials will be discovered from time to time demanding a re-evaluation. But that does not in any way diminish the magnificence of the contribution of the Trivandrum Curator. He stands unparalleled as a Colossus in the field of Indological research and Oriental learning inspiring generations to come.

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1. Dr. V. Raghavan, MM T. Gaṇapati Sastri, *Journal of Kerala University Manuscripts Library*, Vol. No. 2, pp. 37-41,

Recognition : Only very few scholars have attained so much recognition during their life-time than T. Gaṇapati Sastri. In fact, honours came to the great scholar unsought. At the age of seventeen he won his first laurel in the form of a golden ring from his patron who pleased with the poetic talent of the budding scholar. From then onwards it was a march from success to success. Many cultural institutions and academies recognised his abilities and honoured him befittingly. In 1918 he was invited to preside over the All India Sanskrit Conference at Allahabad. In the same year, the British Government honoured him with the prestigious title "*Mahāmahopādhyāya*" which was given only to a few outstanding scholars. A very rare function was organised in the year 1920 to honour him. Representatives of Oriental scholars from American Oriental Society, Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland and Societe Asiatique of France met in Paris to present an address to the great Indian scholar who has contributed significantly to Oriental studies. Among the signatories to this address were veteran Orientalists like Macdonnel, Keith, Pargiter, Thomas, Grierson, Barnett, Rapson, Emile Sanart, Sylvain Levi, Lois Finot, Jules Bloch, Bloomfield, Norman Brown and Lanman. They represented the cream of learning in Indic and Asiatic studies. Gaṇapati Sastri received the homage of the world of scholars in his humble home at Trivandrum when Dr. F. W. Thomas, one of the signatories, brought the address. Gaṇapati Sastri was now elected Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. He was probably the only Pandit that became an Honorary Fellow of that prestigious society in its history. In 1924 the Tübingen University of Germany honoured him with a Doctorate Degree. He was only the second Indian who, without a knowledge of an European language and a visit to Europe, was honoured with an Honorary Doctorate as a tribute to his unique achievements. The Prince of Wales gave Sastri a Medal on his visit to India. In his home town he was always held in high esteem.

Last, but not least, after twentythree years of his sad demise, his own institution posthumously commemorated him by unveiling a life-size portrait, in the year 1949. Under the auspices of the research association of the institution, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan unveiled the portrait in the presence of a large gathering. Any visitor to the institution that Gaṇapati Sastri nurtured and brought to international fame will be thrilled to see his imposing figure and will draw inspiration to work for the promotion of Oriental learning.

Gaṇapati Sastri has won recognition as a researcher, scholar, critic, poet and commentator. His rare insight, sheer perseverance and an innate love for learning have made him the greatest researcher the field has ever seen.

वैदर्भीयम् ऐतिहासिकं नगरम्-वत्सगुल्मम्

श्रीधर भास्कर वर्णेकर

संस्कृतसाहित्ये विदर्भप्रदेशस्य वैशिष्ट्यं कालिदास-दण्डि-राजशेखर-प्रभृतिभिः कविश्रेष्ठैः यथास्थानं तत्र तत्र समुपवर्णितम् उपलभ्यते । तथा हि कालिदास-कृतिषु प्रशस्यतमे रघुवंशे, अज-गन्धर्वयोः समागमप्रसङ्गे—

"एको ययौ चैत्ररथप्रदेशान् ।
सौराज्यरम्यानपरो विदर्भान् ।।"

इत्यस्मिन् श्लोकार्धे, विदर्भस्य यक्षराजोद्यानेन चैत्ररथेन तुल्यत्वं, सौराज्यरम्यत्वं च वर्णितम् ।

दण्डिना च दशकुमारचरितस्य अष्टमे उल्लासे विदर्भराजस्य कथा सविस्तरं वर्णिता । संस्कृतकविपरम्परायां यायावरकुलललामभूतस्य बालरामायण-कर्पूरमञ्जरी-काव्य-मीमांसादि-ग्रन्थरत्ननिर्मातुः, वाल्मीकि-भर्तृमेण्ठ-भवभूतीनाम् अवतारमानिनः श्रीराजशेखरस्य विदर्भविषये आसीत् खलु काऽपि परमा प्रीतिः बालरामायणीये दशमेऽङ्के पुष्पकविमानेन अयोध्यां प्रत्या-गच्छन्तं रामचन्द्रम् उद्दिश्य सुग्रीवः वदति, "भरताग्रज अयमग्रे महाराष्ट्रविषयः" तदा तद्दर्शनेन प्रीतो जानकीवल्लभः ।

यत्क्षेमं त्रिदिवाय वर्त्म, निगमस्याङ्गं च यत् सप्तमं
स्वादिष्टं च यदैक्षवादपि रसात्, चक्षुश्च यद् वाङ्मयम् ।
तद् यस्मिन् मधुरं प्रसादि रसवत् कान्तं च काव्यामृतं
सोऽयं सुभ्रु पुरो विदर्भविषयः सारस्वतीजन्मभूः ।।[1]

इत्यनेन श्लोकेन समुपश्लोकयति विदर्भस्य सारस्वत-श्रेष्ठत्वम् ।

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१. बाल०, १०.७४

तस्यैव बालरामायणस्य तार्तीयीकेऽङ्के क्रथकैशिकापरनाम्नः विदर्भस्य अधिपतेः राजधानीभूतं कुण्डिननगरम्,

"वाग्देवता वसति यत्र रसप्रसूतिः
लीलास्पदं भगवतो मदनस्य यच्च ।
प्रेङ्खद्विदग्धवनिताञ्चितराजमार्गं
तत् कुण्डिनं नगरमेष विभुर्बिभर्ति ।।[१]

इति श्लोके नितरां वर्णितं राजशेखरेण ।

विदर्भजनपदस्थिते वत्सगुल्मनगरे परमा खलु प्रीतिरासीद् राजशेखरस्य । तस्यासौ वत्सगुल्मनगरप्रीतिः काव्यमीमांसायां प्रथमाधिकरणस्य तृतीयाध्याये समुपवर्णिते साहित्यवधू-काव्यपुरुषयोः लाक्षणिके गान्धर्वविवाहाख्याने सम्यगभिव्यज्यते । संक्षेपतः सा विवाहकथा एवं निवेदिता राजशेखरेण—"पुरा पुत्रीयन्ती सरस्वती तुषारगिरौ तपस्यामास प्रीतेन मनसा तां विरिञ्चिः प्रोवाच पुत्रं ते सृजामि । अथैषा काव्यपुरुषं सुषुवे ।········ एकदा तु ब्रह्मर्षि-वृन्दारकयोः श्रुतिविवादे देवः स्वयम्भूः तामिमां निर्णेत्रीम् उद्दिदेश । उपश्रुतवृत्तान्तश्च मातरं सोऽनुवव्राज । सा हठाद् न्यवर्तयदेनम् । आत्मना तु प्रववृते । ततः काव्यपुरुषो रुषा निश्चक्राम । ततः तद्वशीकरणार्थं गौरी साहित्यविद्यावधूम् उत्पाद्य, " एष ते कथा धर्मपतिः पुरः प्रतिष्ठते । तदनुवर्तस्व एनं निवर्तय च इति आदिशत् । तौ च दम्पती छन्दतो भारतवर्षे सर्वत्र दिक्षु परिभ्रमन्तौ काव्यविद्यास्नातकैः कविजनैः नितरां संस्तूयमानौ अन्ततो देवस्य मनोजन्मनः क्रीडावासभूतं विदर्भदेशस्थितं वत्सगुल्मनाम नगरम् आगतौ । तत्र च सारस्वतेयः काव्यपुरुषः औमेयीं साहित्यवधूं गन्धर्ववत् परिणिनाय । गौरी-सरस्वती-कृपाशिषा तौ दम्पती कविमानसनिवासिनौ बभूवतुः ।

"एवं शृङ्गारासक्तमनसा परिभ्रमन्तौ इमौ दिव्यदम्पती शृङ्गारमयीं कैशिकीं वृत्तिं समग्रगुणगुम्फितां वैदर्भीं रीतिं च वत्सगुल्मे बत प्रवर्तयामासतुः" इति राजशेखरस्य निवेदनं तदीयां वत्सगुल्मनगरप्रीतिं साधु द्योतयति ।

कर्पूरमञ्जरी–नाम्नि प्राकृतसट्टके रूपलावण्यवती नायिका कर्पूरमञ्जरी विदर्भस्थस्य वच्छोमनगरस्य अधिपतेः शशिप्रभावल्लभस्य बल्लभराजस्य कन्या आसीद् इति दर्शयता राजशेखरेण, आविष्कृता काऽपि आत्मीयतामूला पक्षपातिता इव वत्सगुल्मनगरे ।

ऐतिह्यपण्डितैः विदर्भाधिपानां वाकाटकवंशीयानाम् अधिपतीनां बह्वस्ताम्रपटाः शिलालेखाश्च एतावता कालेन प्रकाशमानीताः । तेषु आद्यो विन्ध्यशक्तेस्ताम्रपटः वत्सगुल्मनगरादेव प्रदत्त आसीत् । अस्मिन् विष्णुवृद्धगोत्रीये वाकाटकराजवंशे प्रवरसेन-सर्वसेन-विन्ध्यसेन-देवसेन-हरिषेण इत्यादयो विदर्भाधिपतयः चतुर्थशताब्दीतः षष्ठशताब्दीपर्यन्तं वत्सगुल्मं नाम वच्छोमापरपर्यायं नगरं स्वविभवेन अलमकुर्वन् किल । उपलब्धेषु वाकाटकीय-ताम्रपटेषु देव-

१. तदेव, ३.५०

सेनस्य ताम्रपटः खलु अन्तिमो गण्यते । वाकाटकाधिपत्यकाले वत्सगुल्मं विख्यातं किल धर्मस्थानम् आसीत् । इति विन्ध्यशक्तीय-ताम्रपटनिर्देशतो ज्ञायते ।

वाकाटकाधिपानाम् अनन्तरं देवगिरिवासिनां यादवानाम् आधिपत्यम् आसीत् वत्सगुल्मनगरे । रामदेवयादवेन १२२४ तमे शाके संस्थापितं कण्ठेश्वर-महादेवस्य मन्दिरं वत्सगुल्मसमीपे एव विराजते । एतदनन्तरं निजामवंशस्य, नागपुरीयस्य भोसलवंशस्य ततश्च आङ्ग्लानाम् आधिपत्ये वत्सगुल्मं कथमपि अवर्तत किल् । द्विशतवर्षेभ्यः प्राक् भोसले-भूपालानां सेनाधिपतिः श्रीमान्-भवानीकालू-नामधेयः वंगप्रदेशविजयं समाप्य वत्सगुल्मं प्रत्यागतः । तदानीं पञ्चत्वं गतायाः कस्याश्चिद् राजपूतमहिलायाः अन्त्यक्रियार्थम् उत्खन्यमाने गर्ते, काचन शङ्खचक्र-गदा-पद्मधारिणी सकलसुलक्षणरमणीया कृष्णपाषाणघटिता श्रीजनार्दनस्य महती मूर्तिः लक्ष्मी-सरस्वतीगणेशादि–नानादैवत–मूर्तिभिः साकं खानकैः अधिगता । एतस्या जनार्दनमूर्तेः सुप्रतिष्ठार्थं रणविजयिना श्रीभवानीकालू-महोदयेन परमरमणीयं चतुष्कोणतडाग-स्तम्भादिसनाथं मन्दिरं वत्सगुल्मनगरे भूयसा धनव्ययेन विनिर्मापितम् । आधुनिके विदर्भप्रदेशे वत्सगुल्मस्थित-जनार्दनमन्दिरसदृशं परमदर्शनीयं सुन्दरं मन्दिरं नान्यदस्तीति निश्चितम् । निजामशासनाधिकारिणा मन्दिरस्य व्ययार्थं दशग्रामटिकाः प्रादीयन्त किल ।

वत्सगुल्ममाहात्म्यम् इत्याख्ये पौराणग्रन्थे :—

> चन्द्रेशाद् वायुदिग्भागे तीर्थमस्ति शुभावहम् ।
> जनार्दनाभिधं दिव्यं सद्यः प्रत्ययकारकम् ॥[1]

इत्यस्मिन् श्लोके वत्सगुल्मनगरस्य निर्देशः "जनार्दनतीर्थम्" इति नाम्ना उपलभ्यते । तत्र निदानम् इयं जनार्दनस्वरूपिणी विष्णुमूर्तिरेव इत्यत्र न मनागपि संशयः । इमामेव मूर्तिं श्रीबालाजिमूर्तिं, वेङ्कटेशमूर्तिं वा लोका मन्यन्ते ।

भारतीये ज्योतिःशास्त्रे, "लङ्कामेर्वोस्ततो मध्ये मध्यरेखां विनिर्ममुः" इति वचनम् उपलभ्यते । वत्सगुल्मनगरम् अस्यां पृथिवीमध्यरेखायाम् अवस्थितम् । तत्रापि रेखाकेन्द्रपरिज्ञानार्थं मध्यमेश्वराख्यं शिवलिङ्गम् अवर्तत । चिरात् किल मूर्तिविध्वंसकैः बर्बरैः समुत्सादितं तल्लिङ्गं पुनरपि वत्सगुल्मस्थैः शिवभक्तैः नूतनस्वरूपेण प्रतिष्ठापितम् ।

वाकाटकनृपतिभिः समुपासितं श्रीकरुणेश्वराख्यं शिवलिङ्गं वत्सगुल्मवासिनां कृते नगरदैवतम् अस्ति । तथा च सोपानपङ्क्तिसनाथैः दशघट्टैः अलङ्कृतं प्राचीनं पद्मतीर्थं वत्सगुल्मवासिनां प्रधानं तीर्थस्थानं वर्तते । पद्मतीर्थस्वामित्वनिमित्तं वत्सगुल्मवासिनां हिन्दु-मुसलमानानां परस्परं तीव्रः कलहः ई० १९२४ तः आरभ्य अष्टादशवर्षपर्यन्तं समपद्यत । अस्मिन् विवादे पद्मतीर्थं हिन्दूनामेव पुण्यतीर्थम् अस्तीति निर्णयः उच्चतमन्यायालयाध्यक्षैः आङ्ग्लदेशे

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१. वत्स० २०.७०

समुद्घोषितः। अस्मिन् न्यायालयप्रविष्टे विवादे पद्मपुराणान्तर्गतम् एकोनचत्वारिंशदध्यायं वत्सगुल्ममाहात्म्यं प्रमाणत्वेन सममन्यत। अस्मिन् वत्सगुल्ममाहात्म्ये,

शङ्खाकारमिदं क्षेत्रं प्राङ्मुखं पापनाशनम्।
वामावर्तं परं चाऽस्ति त्रिरावरणवेष्टितम्॥[१]

इति श्लोके अस्य पञ्चक्रोशायतस्य क्षेत्रस्य शङ्खाकारत्वं वर्णयित्वा, कण्टकतीर्थम्, कुण्डालयः तपोवनम्, औदुम्बरतीर्थम्, पाराशरतीर्थम्, वृद्धपाराशरतीर्थम्, ऋष्यशृङ्गतीर्थम् ब्रह्मकुण्डम् इत्यादीनि अष्टोत्तरशततीर्थस्थानानि वर्णितानि सन्ति। वत्सगुल्ममाहात्म्यस्य सम्यगध्ययनं कृत्वा विदर्भवासिभिः इतिहासपण्डितैः डॉ० यशवन्त खुशाल-देशपांडे-महाभागैः श्रीशंकर गोपाल-डबीर-महोदयानां साहाय्येन प्रकाशनं कारितम्। वत्सगुल्मक्षेत्रान्तःपातिनाम् अष्टोत्तरशततीर्थस्थानानां परमाद्भुतं माहात्म्यं काव्यात्मकतया अस्मिन् पौराणग्रन्थे समुपलभ्यते।

साम्प्रतम् इदं प्राचीनतमं तीर्थक्षेत्रं महाराष्ट्रराज्यान्तर्भूते अकोला जनपदे, 'वाशीम' इति अपभ्रष्टनाम्ना परिचितमस्ति लोकानाम्। प्रायो विवाहानन्तरं नवपरिणीतौ दम्पती श्रीबालाजिनाम्ना सुविख्यातस्य भगवतो जनार्दनस्य दर्शनार्थं वत्सगुल्मक्षेत्रं गच्छतः। पुराणवर्णितानि प्रायशः अन्यानि सर्वाणि अत्रत्यानि तीर्थस्थानानि चिरपारतन्त्र्यकाले विनष्टप्रायाणि विलोकयमानः पथिकः,

"सर्वं यस्य वशादगात् स्मृतिपथं
कालाय तस्मै नमः"

इत्येवं सखेदं वदति।

१. पद्म० २२.१००

POLITENESS IN INDIAN ENGLISH: AN EXPLORATION IN THE FUNCTIONS OF LANGUAGE*

Shivendra K. Verma

An attempt has been made in this paper to analyse politeness strategies in Indian English within the overall framework of a 'functional approach to language', which means "seeking to explain the nature of language in functional terms : seeing whether language itself has been shaped by use, and if so, in what ways — how the form of language has been determined by the functions it has evolved to serve."[1] The philosophy underlying this functional approach it that "language mediates between ourselves and the two components of our environment, the natural environment and the social environment; and it does so in such a way that each becomes a metaphor of the other. Every social group developes its own particular view of the world and of the society."[2] "In fact, every member of a language-using community appears in a network of institutionalized roles and selects role-worthy varieties of a language or languages, which are topically and situationally appropriate. Throughout the course of a day he changes his linguistic gears as many times as he enters into different personal and interpersonal relationship."[3]

It may be useful to explain the two key terms in the title: 'Indian English', and 'politeness'. By 'Indian English' we mean that variety of English which is used by a vast majority of educated people as an effective system of communication in India. The expression 'in India' represents a network of socio-cultural relations. 'English in India', therefore, represents

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* An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 'seminar on politeness hierarchy in Indian languages' organized by Osmania University (10-20 March, 1981).

1. Halliday, 1973, p. 7.
2. *Ibid.*, 1978, p. 162.
3. Verma, 1976, p. 153.

a network of relationship arising out of the functioning of English in the Indian setting--in the setting of Indian languages and Indian socio-cultural relations. It has to meet the demands that the local users make on it and serve functions which are specific to Indian culture. We are using the word 'culture' here in the sense of Gussman[1] to mean "a set of behaviour patterns that individuals brought up together recognize as the right and proper way of doing things. These behaviour patterns may be words, gestures, facial expressions; the knowledge of when to shake hands and when not to do so; all the various forms of greetings and the recognized responses to these forms; the method of giving and receiving orders and knowing which remarks are to be taken seriously and which are not. These and a whole host of others are essential elements in any culture, and they are as important to our composure as our religion or method of earning a living. They ensure that we feel at ease within our community." What we are trying to say here is that Indian English is what it is because of the functions it has to perform in the Indian setting (note the difference between this approach and the approach which maintains that language is as it is because the human mind is as it is.). The users of English in India have both a linguistic and a cultural accent. They are not only bilinguals but also biculturals. 'Bicultural' here is a complex concept ranging from English cultural at one end to Indian culture at the other and representing different degrees of mixture between the two ends. The interaction between the languages and cultures in contact plays a significant role in the modifications of the languages. "More than three centuries of unbroken and growing Indo-British contact could not but leave a pronounced mark on the English vocabulary and it is left in possession of a considerable number of Indian words, which have a singular cultural, philological, and literary interest."[2] Language change is a continuous process of adjustment between us who use language and the socio-cultural setting in which we use it.[3] Indian English is used as a vehicle of Indian culture to express culturally determined networks of activities that are typically Indian; for example, the social stratification in India, the caste systems, a complex web of personal and sociaetal faiths and beliefs, and a network of 'politeness markers'. It may be useful here to make a distinction between the roles of English as a foreign language and as a second language. "A foreign language is used for the purpose of absorbing the culture of another nation; a second language is used as an alternative way of expressing

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1. 1960, pp. 243-44.
2. Subba Rao, 1969, Edn., p. 6.
3. Verma, 1979, p. 1.

the culture of one's own''.[1] Using a language that is not one's own as an alternative way of expressing one's culture raises a number of very interesting issues. Mulk Raj Anand's English, for example, is moulded by the functions it has to serve.

As has already been said the focus in this paper is on one aspect of the cultural network: politeness strategies used in Indian English. Being polite is being courteous, civil, gracious, and deferential. One of the aspects of politeness is leaving a decision open, not imposing your mind, or views, or claims on anyone else[2]. Politeness depends on the relationship between the addresser and the addressee, that is, on their roles. 'Roles allow different degrees of individual discretion as to how they may be played; but always there are rules, written or unwritten, spoken, general or specific, pervasive or peripheral, that govern the behaviour of a person as a member of a socially significant category''[3]. Inter-personal and inter-group addresser-addressee relationship such as intimacy-distance, formality-informality, solidarity-non-solidarity, status, power, etc., and role-relations such as judge-petitioner, father-son, shopkeeper-customer, husband-wife, employer-employee, etc., create culture-specific functions, institutionalized in a society and recognised by its members. Languages externalize these roles in a variety of ways—by using honorific pronouns, adverbials, plurality, morphemes, and also by marking it in the verbal forms. There are certain domains in which expressions of politeness are obligatory (son addressing his father in the Indian setting). There are other domains (a friend addressing his friend) in which they are not obligatory. There are still other domains in which it is reciprocal. In urban Indian setting a new feature is becoming common (father-mother using polite forms in Hindi in addressing their sons and daughters). The hierarchy of politeness (representing different degrees of politeness and non-politeness) seems to cut cross the hierarchy of formality (representing different degrees of formality and informality), the hierarchy of power (showing that the addressee is subordinate, equal or superior to the addresser) and the hierarchy of solidarity (which distinguishes intimate relations from distant relations). By 'honorifics' Brown and Levinson[4] mean direct grammatical encondings of relative social status between participants, or between participants and persons or things referred to in the communicative

1. Christophersen, 1973, p. 30,
2. R. Lakoff, 1973, p. 56.
3. Robinson, 1972, p, 118,
4, 1978, p. 281,

event." In sociology status serves as a descriptive technical term. It refers 'to an attribute of a person or position which has general sociological significance in terms of rights and obligations, often qualified by the attribute from which the status is derived, e. g. age-status, sex-status, or occupation–status"[1].

We tend to use polite forms when we are talking to persons we do not know well or to persons senior to ourselves in terms of status (age, sex, occupation, social hierarchy). We must note here that polite forms (morphemes, words, phrases, sentences) are not always used to express courtesy and deference. They may be used in an ironical sense or to express anger or 'not to mean what you say'. The meaning of a 'polite form' depends on 'who you are talking to, when, where and in what context.' According to Leech and Svartvik[2] "Politeness is connected with tact or diplomacy. To be tactful is to avoid causing offence or distress to someone. Sometimes tact means disguising or covering up the truth. In the following sentences, g o n e and p a s s e d a w a y are ways of avoiding mentioning the unpleasant fact of Peter's fathers death :

Peter's father has gone at last.
Peter's father has passed away at last.

Here is a tactful imperative, said by Mr. Brown to his new typist, Miss Smith :

Would you like to type this letter for me ?

It may be Miss Smith's job to do what Mr. Brown tells her to do. But by disguising his order in the form of a question about Miss Smith's wishes, he may win her cooperation more readily."

Persian has a marked strategy to expresse deference. It is called Ta'arof. It is a generic term which denotes a variety of verbal and non-verbal deferential behaviours in Persian. Assadi[3] reports that "It is often both embarassing and surprising when a foreigner accepts the ta'arof. An Iranian acquaintance returning to the United States was met by an American friend at the airport. The American admired the Iranian's lambskin's coat. The Iranian responded by a ta'arof statement implying that the American was welcome to have the coat. The American thanked the Iranian and departed with it. Another Iranian interceded on behalf of the coat's owner and explained

1. Rohinson, 1972, p. 126.
2. 1975, p. 26.
3. 1980, p. 223.

to the American that the original offer was just a formality, not to be taken seriously. Henceforth the coat's owner was more cautious about ta'arof."

Indian English has a repertoire of politeness strategieso- it uses some of the devices used in English English and also the translation equivalents of devices used in Indian languages.

The following devices which are used in native varieties of English are also used in Indian English:

1. Polite formulas

I should be grateful if you would.....
I would appreciate it if you....
would you kindly.....
would you mind....

II. Polite requests, invitations, offers of service, and suggestions

May I invite you to lunch tomorrow ? (formal, polite)
Shall I get you a cup of coffee ?
Will you have another cup of coffee ?
Would you like to have another cup of coffee ?
Let's go, shall we ?

The following sets of examples show how the hierarchies of formality, indirectness, and politeness interact:

a) Shut the door. (order)
Shut the door, will you ? (familiar)
Please shut the door. (Polite)
Would you please shut the door ? (more polite)
Would you mind shutting the door ? (still more polite)

b) Martin Joos(1959, 1962) has referred to the following five levels of formality:

Frozen : Visitors shall make their way at once to the upper floor by way of the staircase.
Formal : Visitors should go up the stairs at once.
Consultative : Would you mind going upstairs, right away, please.
Casual : Time you all went upstairs, now.
Intimate : Up you go, chaps !

The choice of any particular form from these two hierarchies (a) and (b) will depend on addresser-addressee relationships involving 'familiarity', 'distance', 'tact', 'power', and 'solidarity'. "The essential aspect of the non-linguistic component (that is, the attitude) is the gardient between stiff, formal, cold, impersonal on the one hand and relaxed, informal, warm, friendly on the other."[1] In both the sets (a&b) the middle one is neutral (between highly formal and informal on the one hand and between non-polite and highly polite on the other).

III. Polite refusals

No, thanks, I have just had my lunch.
That's very kind/generous of you, but....

IV. Adverbials as markers of politeness

kindly
please

V. Consider the following data from Lakoff (1972)

You must have some of this cake.
You should have some of this cake.
You may have some of this cake.

"The occasion is one in which the hostess is offering her guests a cake that she herself has baked. Lakoff points out that these sentences are arranged in order of politeness that the first, the most polite, is very like a sentence in other languages in which honorifics are used. In such languages there are 'linguistic abasement' and the hostess would say 'Honourable Mrs. Snarf, have some of my humble pie', though in translation, of course, this sounds ludicrous. She argues that the sentence with *must* would be a much closer translation of a sentence from a language that uses honorifics than the literal translation 'Have some of the revolting cake'.[2]

Indian users of English have expressed their creativity in innovating a variety of strategies showing politeness in the context of Indian culture. "The telling", says Raja Rao, "has not been easy. One has to convey in a language that is not one's own the spirit that is one's own. One has to convey the various shades and omissions of a certain thought-movement that looks maltreated in an alien language" (Raja Rao: Foreward to *Kanthapura*). 'Hallo' in place of namaskar ji/ namaste ji/ namaskaramandi,

1. Quirk and Greenbaum, 1973, p. 7.
2. Palmer, 1979, p. 169.

sounds colourless. Talking about Narayan's English William Walsh[1] says that "Narayan's language is beautifully adapted to communicate a different, an Indian sensibility." Narayan maintains that "so far English has had a comparatively confined existence in our country, chiefly in the halls of learning, justice, or administration. Now the time is ripe for it to come to the dusty street, market place, and under the banyan tree. English must adopt the complexion of our life and assimilate its idiom.... Bharat English will respect the rule of law and maintain the dignity of grammar, but still have a swadeshi stamp about it unmistakably, like the Madras handloom check shirt or the Thirupathi doll[2]. Creative writing probably highlights the problems involved in the transportation of English to different culture more than any other use of English. The Nigerian novelist Chinua Achebe has put the matter well:

"For an African, writing in English is not without its serious setbacks. He often finds himself describing situations or modes of thought which have no direct equivalent in the English way of life. Caught in that situation he can do one of two things. He can try and contain what he wants to say within the limits of conventional English or he can try to push back those limits to accommodate his ideas. The first method produced competent, unispired and rather flat work. The second method can produce something new and valuable to the English language as well as to the material he is trying to put over."[3]

In the early days of the British rule in this country certain linguistic forms were prescribed for subordinates to use in addressing their superiors. These forms were also used in the native varieties of English, but in contemporary British and American English they have been replaced by new, unmarked forms. In India even today official registers of English tend to prefer old, heavily hierarchy-bound, 'your most obedient' type of expressions. One of the reasons for this is that the users of English in India are exposed to 'frozen' English preserved in old, literary texts and recommended by 'people in power' in the age group sixty and above. Consider the following strategies used in Indian Writing in English:

1. **The addresser belittling himself** (the addressee is much more important than the addresser)

   i. Most humbly and respectfully I beg to submit the following few lines for favour of your kind consideration.

1.a 1964, 128-129.

2. Narayan, 1974, p. 57.

3. 1964, Vol. 81.157-160.

ii. I need your esteemed help.
iii. With due respect I beg to inform you that ...
iv. I request your honour
v. Respected Sir/Madam (later extended to Respected Doctor Sahib, Professor Sahib, Sinha Sahib, Jha ji)
vi. For this act of your kindness I shall ever remain grateful to you.
vii. "I hope your honour will condescend to hear the tale of this poor creature."[1]
viii. Would you kindly grace my humble cottage with your august presence ?

It is clear that the addresser is being 'over' polite to the addressee. This appears to be a marked deposit left on English in India by our British rulers. Verbalization of respect, however, is not a new phenomenon in India. It has been a characteristic feature of Indian culture for ages. The formal markers of politeness in the expressions used above are: humbly and respectfully, beg, for favour of your kind consideration, esteemed help, due respect, your honour, respected Doctor Sahib/Professor Sahib, 'condescend', 'poor creature."

II. Suffixation of honorific morphemes drawn from Indian Languages

In non-official domains Indian English as a result of its interaction with Indian languages tends to exploit the possibilities of honorific morphemes used in Indian languages. Look at the use of the Hindi honorific morpheme 'ji' in the following expressions:

Helloji
Thank you ji
Babuji
Masterji
Sisterji
Vermaji
Guruji

Some of these items like Vermaji, guruji, babuji appear to have been borrowed from Hindi as honorific address forms. In the other items the head word or words are English and the honorific morpheme (ji) is borrowed from Hindi.

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1. Mark Twain's letters, p. 183.

III. Literal translation

Creative writers in India have used translation as a mechanism to convey politeness in Indian English. Consider the following :

a) May I know your good name ?

b) Babuji, Babuji, God will make you prosperous.[1]

c) The businessman shouted :

'Aré, come here ! Can't you see ? Blind one !..... Here'
The coolie did not hear because he was still far away. So the Seth shouted again, lifting his hands as though in a panic :
'Aré here, hurry, the train might go !'
'*Aya huzoor, aya....* !' the coolie said as he quickened his pace.[2]

d) 'Go and take the place before anyone else gets it'. 'To the police station—both of you' the policeman said to Dugdu and Ali.
'Aré *Sarkar,* not the fellow who is bleeding'
protested someone from the crowd. 'It the murderer who should be taken......'[3]

e) '*Bhaiya*, give me first,' said Bihari (To Chana Jor Garam wala)[4]

f) 'Bless *my home with the good dust of your feet*'[5]

g) 'O *Maharaj*, we are all lickers of your feet.'[6]

h) '*Government*, she knows nothing about drinks. She is hardly sixteen and completly innocent.'[7]

i) 'what honourable noun does your honour bear ?'[8]

j) 'Where does your wealth reside, Babu Saheb ?'

Here we have a mixed lot. We have words like ***huzoor, sarkar, babuji, bhaiya, maharaj*** borrowed from Hindi/Urdu/Punjabi and we have also literal translations of expressions in Hindi/Urdu/Punjabi/Bengali : ***the good dust of your feet, lickers of your feet, government, what honourable noun does your honour bear, where does your wealth reside.*** In every case the novelists have tried to present in English the equivalent of what the characters would have said in their

1. *The Untouchable.*
2. M. R. Anand. "*The Prince of Banaras*", p. 14.
3. M. R. Anand : '*Things Have a Way of Working out*', p. 37.
4. M. R. Anand : ' The Story of an Anna', p. 90.
5. B. Bhattacharya : *So Many Hungers*, p. 55.
6. B. Bhattacharya : *He Who Rides a Tiger*, p. 179.
7. Kushwant Singh, *Train to Pakistan*, p. 90,
8. *Ibid.*

mother tongues. Mulk Raj Anand has clearly stated that he 'found', while writing spontaneously that he was invariably translating dialogues from the original Punjabi into English. Some of Anand's and Kushwant Singh's expressions have such a marked local colour that they are not easily understood down south. Expressions like : "What's your good name ?", however, have a pan-Indian flavour.

IV. Code-Mixing and Code-Switching

Code-mixing and code-switching (English-Indian language) have also been used as strategies to express politeness :

a. Namasteji. The morning flight to Delhi is at 7.50. Aap aa jaaiye ; we'll do all that's possible to hel p you.
b. 'Bhai, I have deceived you.'[1]

Selection of these forms is not always a matter of individual choice. They are determined by socio-cultural rules of appropriateness. For example, in the presence of your father or mother you are not supposed to call your wife by her first name. Politeness demands that you should refer to her by using indirect mechanisms :

V. Indirect expressions :

Mohan's mother (Mohan is your son)
My Mrs.
My family

The following are unacceptable in our context of culture ?
'Hello Sinha ! How are you this morning ?' (A student to his teacher)
? 'what's your bad name, please ?
? 'O, Maneesha's mother, Asha ! Come here.' (A husband to his wife)

VI. Plurality as a marker of power, prestige and politeness

* They are a great man.

VII. Negatives (also belittling oneself)

I don't think Sir, you would like to visit a poor man's hut like mine.

VIII. Male-dominated culture

I and my wife will come (EE : My wife and I will come)

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1. M. K. Gandhi : *My Experiments with Truth.*

IX. Expressions marked by the use of 'Sir'

In certain public and private services 'Sir' is used in almost every expression to show 'politeness' and 'deference'. The following are some of the standard expressions used by the telephone operators in the Hyderabad automatic exchange system :

a. Ambulance Emergency, Sir.
b. Excuse me, Sir..... We will ring you back, Sir.
c. Alarm Service, Sir.
d. One moment, Sir.
e. We have noted down your request, Sir.
f. Information Service. Sir.
g. Sorry, Sir. We have no information, Sir.
h. Complaint, Sir.
Your complaint number is 23. We will take action, Sir.
i. Assistance, Sir,
j. Number is busy, Sir.
k. Number seems faulty, Sir.
We will take action, Sir.

X. Impersonalization serving basic politeness

There are two important devices: the passive and the impersonal modals.

Let it be done by you only.

These devices are designed to give special prominence to the addressee, which is a way of showing 'politeness'. In terms of syntax and semantics one can talk about the promotion of an object and the demotion or the deletion of the subject'[1]

XI. Phatic Communion :

"As long as there are words to exchange, phatic communion brings savage and civilised alike into the pleasant atmosphere of polite, social intercourse."[2]

1. Comrie, 1977, p. 58
2. Malinowski, 1923; Laver & Hutcheson, 1972, p. 152

'What honourable noun does your honour bear ?'
'My name is Iqbal'
'May your Iqbal (fame) ever increase ![1]
'Sardar Sahib, you are a big man and we are but small radishes from an unknown garden.'

One may feel tempted to dismiss all these expressions as Indianisms or bad translations and replace them by what is said in native-varieties of English. This can be done and has been tried out but the expressions appear colourless and lifeless in the Indian setting. A story quoted by Narasimhaiah[3], we hope, will bring out this point clearly: "A British superior officer was laboriously correcting a letter of an Indian officer, by name of Mukherjee, had drafted for sending to a brother Indian official. But Mukherjee intervened: 'Your honour puts yourself to such trouble correcting my English and doubtless the final letter will be much better literature, but it will go from me Mukherjee to him Bannerjee and the Bannerjee will understand it a great deal better as I Mukherjee write it than as your honour corrects it."

One important generalization that can be made on the basis of the form and function of the politeness markers referred to above is that the interpretation of an utterance is not always fully determined by the rules of a competent grammar alone. Utterances are interpreted by a network of heterogeneous linguistic and socio-cultural processes which interact to provide a full interpretation of a given utterance in context.

1. Kushwant Singh : *Train to Pakistan.*
2. Kushwant Singh : *I shall not Hear the Nightingales*, p. 27,
3. 1969, p. 14.

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तान्त्रिक वाङ्मय : काल और रचनाधर्मित्व

रमाशंकर मिश्र

वैदिक वाङ्मय के समान तान्त्रिक वाङ्मय भी बोधात्मक तथा वागात्मक है। तान्त्रिक वाङ्मय के आविर्भावक देव परम शिव ज्ञान और क्रिया नामक दो शक्तियों के समष्टिरूप हैं। ज्ञानशक्ति पर और अपर भेद से दो प्रकार की है। पर-ज्ञान बोधरूप तथा अपर-ज्ञान वाग्रूप है। यही वागात्मक ज्ञान ही शास्त्र के रूप में प्रतिष्ठित है।[1] 'सात्वत-संहिता' के अनुसार परज्ञान को शिव की साक्षात् शक्ति तथा अपर ज्ञान को 'तन्त्र' कहा गया है। शिव ही स्वयं सभी पदार्थजात में इच्छावशात् प्रकाश-विमर्श रूप क्रिया के प्रसार से युक्त होकर अनिरुद्ध के माध्यम से स्फुरित होता है—

> आत्मैव सर्वभावेषु स्फुरन्निर्वृतचिद्विभुः ।
> अनिरुद्धेच्छाप्रसरः प्रसरद्दृक्क्रियः शिवः ।[2]

सर्वप्रथम परम कारणरूप निष्कल शिव से बोधरूप ज्ञान का नादात्मक प्रसार होता है। यही नादात्मक प्रसार ही शास्त्र रूप में अवतरित होता है। नादरूप में प्रसृत इस ज्ञान की पांच धारायें हैं—पूर्व, दक्षिण, पश्चिम, उत्तर और ऊर्ध्व। ये धारायें आम्नाय के नाम से प्रसिद्ध हैं। इसी शृङ्खला में एक और धारा का उल्लेख मिलता है—अधः, जिसे सम्मिलित करने पर 'षडाम्नाय' की परम्परा विकसित होती है।

सम्पूर्ण तान्त्रिक वाङ्मय का मूल स्रोत विष्णु, शिव और शक्ति—इन देवताओं से सम्बद्ध हुआ माना जाता है। इसीलिये तान्त्रिक वाङ्मय तीन भागों में विभक्त हुआ देखा जाता है—वैष्णव, शैव और शाक्त। उत्तरोत्तर शनैः शनैः इन तीनों के अनेक उपविभाग होते गये तथा उन सबके परस्पर सांकर्य से असंख्य तन्त्रों का विकास हुआ। शैव और शाक्त आगम मूलतः

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१. तान्त्रिक वाङ्मय में शाक्त दृष्टि, पृ० ४४

२. शिवदृष्टि, १.२

परम शिव के पाँच मुखों से आविर्भूत हुये माने जाते हैं। शिव के ईशान, तत्पुरुष, सद्योजात, वामदेव और अघोर नामक पाँच मुखों से सर्वप्रथम सिद्ध, आनन्द, इच्छा, ज्ञान और क्रिया नामक पांच शक्तियाँ उत्पन्न होती हैं। उक्त पांच मुखों के संघटन से दश भेद, अठारह भेदाभेद तथा चौंसठ अभेद दशाओं की उत्पत्ति बताई जाती है। इन्हीं दशाओं की संख्या के क्रम में दश शैवागम, अठारह रुद्रागम और चौंसठ भैरवागमों का आविर्भाव माना जाता है। भेद दशा के अधिष्ठातृ देव शिव, भेदाभेद के रुद्र तथा अभेद दशा के भैरव हैं।

शास्त्र का अवतरण परा, पश्यन्ती, मध्यमा और वैखरी वाणियों से शनैः शनैः प्रसृत होता है। परावाक् शुद्ध बोध रूपा है। अनन्त शास्त्र इसी में अन्तर्भूत रहते हैं। पश्यन्ती अवस्था में वाच्य-वाचक-भाव-रहित 'अहं' का विमर्शन अन्तर्हृदय में होता है। मध्यमा की भूमि में समस्त शास्त्र वाच्य-वाचक-भाव के रूप में अस्फुट अवस्था में उल्लसित होते हैं। सम्प्रति परमेश्वर स्वयं सदाशिव-नाम से गुरु-रूप में तथा ईश्वर-नाम से शिष्य-रूप में आविर्भूत होते हैं। इसी समय सदाशिव चिद्, आनन्द, इच्छा, ज्ञान और क्रिया नामक पाँच शक्तियों को पञ्चमुखों के रूप में प्रकट करते हैं। यहीं भेद, भेदाभेद तथा अभेद दशाओं का आविर्भाव होता है। यह सब अस्फुट अवस्था ही है। इसके बाद वैखरी वाक् के द्वारा वही अस्फुट अवस्था वाच्य-वाचक-भावरूप शास्त्र के रूप में प्रतिष्ठित होती है।[1]

तान्त्रिक वाङ्मय का सर्वप्राचीन साहित्य 'आगमों' के रूप में प्राप्त होता है। इसके अतिरिक्त यामल, अर्णव, डामर, उड्डाल, उड्डीश, कल्प, उपसंख्या, संहिता, तत्त्व, उपसंहिता, कक्षपुटी, अमृत, दर्पण, अवतार, सागर, कल्पका, विमर्शिनी, चूडामणि, चिन्तामणि, पाञ्चरात्र, अवतारणक, सूक्त, सूत्र, उपसंज्ञा, कल्पद्रुम, कामधेनु, सभाव, अर्णवक, मत, अष्टक, आम्नाय, दर्शन पर्याय आदि अनेक रूपों में तान्त्रिक साहित्य का विस्तार देखा जाता है। दशभेद-प्रधान शिवागम इस प्रकार हैं—कामिक, योगज, चिन्त्य, मुकुट, अंशुमत्, दीप्त, अजित, सूक्ष्म, सहस्र और सुप्रभेद। इसी प्रकार शिव की भेदाभेद दशाओं के आधार पर रुद्रागमों की अठारह संख्या बताई जाती है—विजय, निःश्वास, मद्गीत, पारमेश्वर, मुखबिम्ब, सिद्ध, सन्तान, नारसिंह, चन्द्रांशु, वीरभद्र, आग्नेय, स्वयम्भू, विसर, रौरव, विमल, किरण, ललित तथा सौमेय। शिव की अभेद प्रधान चौंसठ दशायें मानी जाती हैं, जिनके आधार चौंसठ प्रकार के भैरवागमों का आविर्भाव होता है—

१. भैरवाष्टक—स्वच्छन्द, रुरु, चण्ड, क्रोध, उन्मत्त, असितांग, महोच्छूष्म तथा कंकालीश।
२. यामलाष्टक— ब्रह्म, विष्णु, श्री, रुद्र, आथर्वण, रुरु, वेताल तथा स्वच्छन्द।
३. मताख्याष्टक—रक्ताख्य, लम्पटाख्य, लक्ष्मी, मत, चालिका, पिंगल, उत्फुल्लक तथा विश्वाद्य।

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१. तान्त्रिक वाङ्मय में शाक्त दृष्टि, पृ० ४५-४६

४. मंगलाष्टक—भैरवी, पिचु तन्त्र, समुद्भव, ब्राह्मी कला, विजया, चन्द्राख्या, मंगला तथा सर्वमंगला ।

५. चक्राष्टक—मन्त्र, वर्ण, शक्ति, कला, विन्दु, नाद, गुह्य तथा ख चक्र ।

६. शिखाष्टक—भैरवी, वीणा ,वीणामणि, सम्मोह, डामर, आथर्वक, कबन्ध तथा शिरश्च्छेद ।

७. वहुरूपाष्टक—अन्धक, रुरुभेद, अनाख्य, मलसंज्ञक, वर्णकण्ठ, विडंग, ज्वालिन तथा मातृरोदन ।

८. वागीशाष्टक—भैरवी, चित्रिका, हंसाख्य, कादम्बिका, हृल्लेखा, चन्द्रलेखा विद्युल्लेखा तथा विद्युन्मान ।

उक्त विभाजन के अतिरिक्त शाक्त और वैष्णवागमों की संख्या अनेकशः दिखाई पड़ती है । यहाँ हमारा वर्ण्य विषय तन्त्रों का काल और उनका रचनाधर्मित्व है । इसलिये विवेच्य विषय पर ही चर्चा करना समीचीन है ।

नेपाल दरवार लाइब्रेरी में सुरक्षित निःश्वास संहिता गुप्त स्क्रिप्ट (गुप्त लिपि) में लिखी हुई ८ वीं शती की प्रतीत होती है ।[१] ८ वीं शती या इसके भी पूर्व जिन तन्त्रों की प्रामाणिकता स्वीकार की जानी चाहिये, उनके नाम इस प्रकार हैं—विजय, निःश्वास, स्वायम्भुवमत, वाथुल, वीरभद्र, रौरव, माकुट, विरस (वीरेश), चन्द्रहास (चन्द्र), ज्ञान, मुखबिम्बक, प्रोद्गीत, ललित, सिद्धि, सन्तान, सर्वोद्गीत, किरण और पारमेश्वर ।[२] कम्बुज में प्राप्त Sdok Kak Thom के अभिलेख में शिरश्च्छेद, विनाशिख (वीणाशिख), सम्मोहन तथा नयोत्तर नामक चार तान्त्रिक ग्रन्थों का संकेत किया गया है । जिनका समय ७ वीं और ८ वीं शती तो मानना ही चाहिये ।[३] इस विवरण को देने का तात्पर्य यह है कि कुछ तान्त्रिक साहित्य को ७ वीं शती के बाद नहीं ले जाना चाहिये ।

रूढिवादी विचारधारा तन्त्रों की दैवी उत्पत्ति स्वीकार करती है किन्तु सभी रूढिवादी आमूल रूप से इस मान्यता को स्वीकार नहीं कर सके । इसलिये तन्त्र साहित्य की अति प्राचीनता में संदेह उत्पन्न हो जाता है । ऐसा स्वीकार किया जाता है कि किसी भी प्रारम्भिक ग्रन्थ में एक विशेष वर्ग या सम्प्रदाय के रूप में तान्त्रिक साहित्य का उल्लेख नहीं प्राप्त होता है । कूर्मपुराण में तन्त्रों की उत्पत्ति का स्पष्ट विवेचन मिलता है । इसके अतिरिक्त बृहत्पराशर, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर पुराण तथा याज्ञवल्क्य संहिता की टीका योगियाज्ञवल्क्य में पाशुपत और पाञ्चरात्र सम्प्रदायों का उल्लेख किया गया है ।[४] इस प्रकार कुछ पुराणों में आये सन्दर्भों से तन्त्रों

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१. स्टडीज इन द तन्त्राज, वालूम १, पृ० ३-४

२. वही, पृ० ५

३. स्टडीज़ इन दि तन्त्राज़, भाग १, पृ० २२

४. तन्त्राज़ : स्टडीज़ आन देयर रेलीजन एण्ड लिट्रेचर, पृ० १९

और पुराणों की सहप्राचीनता के विषय में स्पष्ट रूप से कुछ नहीं कहा जा सकता, क्योंकि कुछ तान्त्रिक ग्रन्थों में भी कतिपय पुराणों का समष्टि और व्यष्टि रूप में उल्लेख हुआ है—

अष्टादशपुराणानि साङ्गं वेत्ति यो नरः ।

× × ×

पुराणानि च सर्वाणि मयैवोक्तानि पार्वति ।[1]

मार्कण्डेयपुराण के देवीमाहात्म्यप्रकरण में वर्णित नियमों का सन्दर्भ कात्यायनी तथा वाराही तन्त्रों से जोड़ा जाता है । इस विवरण से हम इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचते हैं कि तन्त्र और पुराण का परस्पर उल्लेख होने से कुछ सीमा तक दोनों को समकालीन माना जा सकता है । तन्त्रों की भाषा भी इसी तथ्य की पुष्टि करती है । यदि इस तथ्य को स्वीकार किया जा सके तो कुछ तन्त्रों को ईसा की प्रथम शताब्दी तक ले जाया जा सकता है, जब कि कुछ तन्त्र ऐसे भी हैं जो १८ वीं और १९ वीं शताब्दी से सम्बद्ध माने जाते हैं ।[2] तन्त्रों के विकास में एक दीर्घ समय लगा है, इसलिये उन्हें एक विशेष काल में नहीं रखा जा सकता ।

ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि जब इष्ट प्राप्ति के साधन-भूत वैदिक कर्म काण्ड पर्याप्त श्रम-साध्य समझे जाने लगे तथा औपनिषदिक ज्ञान भी सामान्य मनुष्य की बुद्धि के परे हो गया तब पुराणों ने ही भक्तियोग के मार्ग को प्रशस्त किया, किन्तु यह सब सद्यःफलप्राप्ति का साधन नहीं बन सका । इस विषम स्थिति में तन्त्रों का विकास हुआ जिनमें वैदिक यज्ञ, बलि, औपनिषदिक अद्वैत-चिन्तन पुराणों की भक्ति-परम्परा, पतञ्जलि का योग तथा अथर्ववेद के मन्त्रों का समष्टि रूप एक साथ देखा गया ।[3] कहा जाता है कि सत्ययुग में प्राणी वैदिक कर्मकाण्ड का आचरण करते थे । त्रेता युग में वह कर्मकाण्ड श्रमसाध्य[4] लगने के कारण प्राणियों की आध्यात्मिक जिज्ञासा की पूर्ति के लिये उपनिषदों का आविर्भाव हुआ । द्वापर युग में औपनिषदिक चिन्तन का ग्रहण मनुष्य के लिये कठिन हो गया । परिणामस्वरूप पुराणों और संहिताओं का आविर्भाव हुआ जिससे प्राणियों की चिन्तन-पिपासा को सन्तुष्ट किया गया । कलियुग में चिन्तन-धारा अधोगति को प्राप्त हो गई ।[5] इस समय वेद, उपनिषद्, स्मृति, पुराणादि की शक्ति मानव-कल्याण के लिये क्षीण दिखाई पड़ी । इस परिस्थिति में भगवान् शिव ने स्वयं प्राणियों की मुक्ति के लिये तान्त्रिक पूजा-पद्धति का आविर्भाव किया—

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१. निर्वाणतन्त्र, नवम पटल, पृ० १८
२. तन्त्राज : स्टडीज़ आन देयर रेलीजन एण्ड लिट्रेचर, पृ० १८
३. तन्त्राज़ : देयर फिलोसोफी एण्ड अकल्ट सीक्रेट्स, पृ० ३
४. महानिर्वाण तन्त्र, १.३०-३१
५. वही, १.३७-४९

न वेदाः प्रभवस्तत्र स्मृतीनां स्मरणं कुतः ।
नानेतिहासयुक्तानां नानामार्गप्रदर्शिनाम् ।।
बहुलानां पुराणानां विनाशो भविता विभो !
तदा लोका भविष्यन्ति धर्मकर्मवहिर्मुखाः ।।
मत्कथालापमात्रञ्च न तेषां मनसि क्वचित् ।
त्वया कृतानि तन्त्राणि जीवोद्धारणहेतवे ।।[1]

इस परम्परा से यह सिद्ध होता है कि तन्त्रों का लिखितरूप जब सामने आया उससे बहुत समय पूर्व उनका अस्तित्व आचरण या चर्या में अवश्य रहा होगा।

प्रत्येक साहित्य के समय का निश्चय बाह्य और अन्तः साक्ष्य के आधार पर किया जाता है। सम्प्रत्ति गुप्तकालीन लिपियों में बहुत से तान्त्रिक ग्रन्थों की पाण्डुलिपियाँ उपलब्ध होती हैं। सर्वज्ञानोत्तर तन्त्र, जो कुछ तन्त्रों का परवर्ती माना जाता है, की एक पाण्डुलिपि 'गुप्त-लिपि' में नेपाल दरबार लाइब्रेरी में उपलब्ध है। इसी प्रकार गुप्तलिपि में ही कुब्जिका तन्त्र की एक पाण्डुलिपि एशियाटिक सोसाइटी आफ बंगाल में सुरक्षित है।[2] नेपाल दरबार लाइब्रेरी में ही परवर्ती गुप्तलिपि में निःश्वाससंहिता की एक हस्तलिखित प्रति उपलब्ध है जो ८ वीं शती की प्रतीत होती है।[3] इसी प्रकार सौर-संहिता की एक पाण्डुलिपि १० वीं शताब्दी, किरणतन्त्र की ९२४ ई० तथा जयाख्य-संहिता की ११८७ ई० में तैयार की गई लगती है।[4] पल्लवराजा राजसिंह वर्मा के समय में उसके 'कैलासनाथ मन्दिर अभिलेख' से दक्षिण के कुछ शिवागमों का संकेत प्राप्त होता है जिसका समय छठी शती माना जाता है। पी० सी० बागची के द्वारा किये गये कम्बुज के तान्त्रिक ग्रन्थों के सर्वेक्षण से ज्ञात होता है कि कम्बोडिया के Sdok Kak Thom अभिलेख में देवराज नामक रहस्यमय सम्प्रदाय के साथ कुछ तान्त्रिक ग्रन्थों का संकेत मिलता है जो राजा जयवर्मा द्वितीय के शासन-काल (८०२ ई०) से सम्बद्ध हैं।[5]

बौद्ध तन्त्र भी पर्याप्त प्राचीन माने जाते हैं। 'बौद्धधारिणी' को तन्त्रों का पुरोगामिनी माना जाता है। 'सुरंगम-सूत्र', जिसका वाचन फाह्यान ने अपनी सुरक्षा के लिये किया था, में बौद्धधारिणी की प्रायः सम्पूर्ण सूची प्राप्त होती है। ५ वीं शती में फाह्यान ने इस पुस्तक को अपने अधिकार में श्रद्धापूर्वक सुरक्षित रखा था। इस आधार पर 'बील' इस पुस्तक का समय ईसा की प्रथम शताब्दी के बाद का नहीं मानता है।[6] इस प्रकार ईसा की प्रथम शताब्दी

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१. वही, १.३८, ३९, ५०
२. तन्त्राज़ : स्टडीज़ आन देयर रेलीजन एण्ड लिट्रेचर, पृ० २०
३. स्टडीज़ इन द तन्त्राज़, भाग १, पृ० ९३
४. तन्त्राज़ : स्टडीज़ आन देयर०, पृ० २० की पाद टिप्पणी
५. स्टडीज़ इन द तन्त्राज़, भाग १, पृ० १
६. तन्त्राज़ : स्टडीज़ आन देयर०, पृ, २१

के आस-पास बौद्ध तन्त्रों का समय अनुमानित है। ह्वेनसांग धारिणी और विद्याधरपिटक को महासांघिक का समकालीन (ईसा की प्रथम और द्वितीय शताब्दी) मानता है जो मन्त्रयान से सम्बद्ध है।[1] इसके अतिरिक्त महायानी साहित्य महावस्तु का अवदान, चतुश्शतक-स्तोत्र, मैत्रेयव्याकरण, अवदान-शतक आदि ग्रन्थों का समय द्वितीय शताब्दी स्वीकार किया जाता है।[2]

यह भी पता चलता है कि उत्तरी भारत का अमोघवज्र नामक एक ब्राह्मण श्रमण चीन में ७४६ ई० से ७७१ ई० तक रहा जिसने उष्णीशचक्रवर्तितन्त्र, गरुणगर्भकतन्त्र तथा वज्र-कुमारतन्त्र को सम्मिलित कर ७७ ग्रन्थों का अनुवाद किया। तारनाथ ने भी कुछ बौद्ध तन्त्रों के समय पर प्रकाश डाला है। उनके अनुसार बसुबन्धु के अग्रज असंग ने ऐसे बौद्ध तन्त्रों का संकेत किया है जो धर्मकीर्ति के समय (६०० ई० से ६१५ ई०) से सम्बद्ध बताये जाते हैं। ७ वीं से ११ वीं शती के बीच बहुत से शैव और वैष्णव आगमों का विकास देखा जाता है जो पूर्ववर्ती साहित्य से प्रभावित हैं। कुलाचार के आविर्भावक आचार्य मत्स्येन्द्रनाथ द्वारा प्रस्तुत 'महाकौलज्ञान-विनिर्णय' नामक ग्रन्थ की एक पाण्डुलिपि परवर्ती गुप्तलिपि में उप-लब्ध होती है। नाथ-परम्परा का प्रारम्भ ८ वीं शती से माना जाता है।[3]

कुछ तान्त्रिक ग्रन्थों को बहुत ही आधुनिक कहा जा सकता है। विश्वसार का गूढावतार खण्ड यह सूचित करता है कि चैतन्य विष्णु के रूप में अवतरित हुये। इसी तन्त्र में बंगाल के एक महान् वैष्णव उपदेशक नित्यानन्द का उल्लेख मिलता है। ऊर्ध्वाम्नाय-संहिता में श्रीचैतन्य की गणना विष्णु के दश अवतारों में बुद्ध के स्थान पर की गई है। ब्रह्मयामल और कृष्णयामल से सम्बद्ध उपखण्डों में चैतन्य का वर्णन हुआ है। इन ग्रन्थों की पाण्डुलिपियां एशियाटिक सोसाइटी तथा बंगीय साहित्य परिषद्, कलकत्ता में उपलब्ध हैं। मेरुतन्त्र में 'अंग्रेजी' तथा 'लन्दन' का उल्लेख मिलता है—

इंरेजा नवषट्पञ्च लण्ड्जाश्चापि भाविनः।[4]

शाबर तन्त्रों में तो मन्त्रों में संस्कृत भाषा के साथ बोल-चाल की भाषा के शब्दों का प्रयोग मिलता है—

ओं अंगाली बंगाली अताल पताल गर्द गर्द अदार कदार फट् फट् उत्कट ओं हुं हुं स्वाहा।[5]

उक्त मन्त्र नेत्रबाधा को दूर करता है। रविवार या मंगलवार को २१ बार मन्त्र पढ़-कर कुश से झाड़ना चाहिये। महानिर्वाण तन्त्र की रचना का सम्बन्ध राजाराममोहन राय के गुरु हरिहरानन्दनाथ से स्थापित किया जाता है। यद्यपि यह संदेह का विषय है, किन्तु इतना

१. वही।
२. तान्त्रिक बौद्ध साधना और साहित्य, पृ० ३४
३. तन्त्राज़ : स्टडीज़ आन देयर०, पृ० २३
४. वही, पृ० २३ पर उद्धृत
५. बृहत्साबर मन्त्र, पृ० २७

तो निश्चित ही है कि उक्त तन्त्र के टीकाकार हरिहरानन्दभारती हैं। मूल तथा टीका एक साथ प्रकाशित हैं जिसकी पाण्डुलिपियाँ कलकत्ता में आदि ब्रह्मसमाज के पुस्तकालय तथा राजा राममोहन राय के पुस्तकालय में उपलब्ध हैं। सम्प्रति बहुत से तन्त्र-ग्रन्थ ऐसे हैं जो आधुनिक विद्वानों के द्वारा लिखे गये हैं, लेकिन उनका नामकरण प्राचीन ग्रन्थों के नाम पर है किन्तु वर्ण्य विषय सर्वथा भिन्न हैं। उदाहरणार्थ—रुद्रयामल तन्त्र[1], गुप्तसाधनतन्त्र[2], रावणकृत उड्डीशतन्त्र[3], श्रीयन्त्रदीपिका[4], श्रीबगलामुखीरहस्यम्[5] आदि। इसके अतिरिक्त कुछ ऐसे भी तांत्रिकग्रन्थ हैं जिसमें लेखक स्वयं उस ग्रन्थ के प्रणयन का कारण स्पष्ट करता है। इस प्रसङ्ग में ईशानशिवगुरुदेवमिश्र की ईशान शिवगुरुदेवपद्धति उल्लेखनीय है—

विस्तृतानि विशिष्टानि तन्त्राणि विविधान्यहम्।
यावत्सामर्थ्यमालोच्य करिष्ये तन्त्रपद्धतिम्॥[6]

आज २० वीं शती में भी शिवसूत्र, स्वर सूत्र, कौलसूत्र प्रभृति ग्रन्थों के समान तन्त्र-साधना से सम्बद्ध ग्रन्थों का प्रणयन हो रहा है। इस परम्परा में स्वामी प्रत्यगात्मानन्द सरस्वती का 'जपसूत्रम्' विशेष उल्लेखनीय है। यह ग्रन्थ चार अध्यायों में विभक्त है तथा प्रत्येक अध्याय में चार पाद हैं। इसमें कुल ५०० सूत्र तथा २००० कारिकायें हैं।[7] उक्त सर्वेक्षण से यह स्पष्ट रूप से कहा जा सकता है कि तन्त्रों का लिपिबद्ध रूप ईसा की द्वितीय शताब्दी के आस-पास से प्रारम्भ हुआ होगा, यद्यपि यह भी सम्भव है कि तान्त्रिक धर्म और दर्शन के बीज वैदिक काल में या उससे भी पूर्व रहे हों।

जब हम तान्त्रिक वाङ्मय के रचनाधर्मित्व पर दृष्टिपात करते हैं तो हममें यह विश्वास प्रतिष्ठित किया जाता है कि वेदों के ही समान तन्त्रों का भी दैवी अभिहितत्व है। साक्षात् भगवान् शिव के मुख से आया हुआ शास्त्र ही 'आगम' कहा जाता है। तान्त्रिक वाङ्मय का आर्षत्व इसी से स्पष्ट है कि यह शास्त्र शिव-पार्वती, उमा-महेश्वर, भैरव-भैरवी आदि के कथोपकथन से अवतरित होता है। इस तथ्य में सन्देह वहाँ उत्पन्न होने लगता है जहां हम यह देखते हैं कि १९ वीं और २० वीं शती में भी उन्हीं देवी-देवताओं के नाम से उसी वार्तालाप-शैली में आधुनिक विद्वानों के द्वारा रचित कुछ तन्त्र उपलब्ध होते हैं। प्राचीन तन्त्रों के रचना-धर्मित्व के विषय में हमें बहुत ही कम जानकारी प्राप्त होती है। प्रतीत होता है कि उन ग्रन्थों

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१. पं प्रयागसूनु पं० रामचरणनन्दराम शर्मा रचित, श्री वेंकटेश्वर प्रेस बम्बई से प्रकाशित
२. सम्पादक—श्री भद्रशील शर्मा, कल्याणमन्दिर प्रयाग से प्रकाशित
३. गोवर्धन पुस्तकालय, मथुरा से प्रकाशित।
४. लक्ष्मीनारायण त्रिपाठी रचित, दैवज्ञ भवन, राजगढ़ नरसिंहगढ़ (म० प्र०)
५. श्रीपीताम्बरपीठाधीश्वर द्वारा प्रणीत, श्रीपीताम्बर संस्कृत परिषद्, दतिया से प्रकाशित।
६. ईशानशिवगुरुदेवपद्धति, १.३
७. जपसूत्रम्, भूमिका, पृ० २९

की पवित्रता बताने के लिये ही उनकी दैवी उत्पत्ति स्वीकार की गई है।[1] यह भी सम्भव है कि कुछ विद्वानों ने सनत्कुमार, दत्तात्रेय, अष्टावक्र, भारद्वाज आदि ऋषियों के नामों के साथ अपने नाम को जोड़कर ग्रन्थों की रचना कर डाली हो। ध्यातव्य है कि योग सम्प्रदाय के जनक दत्तात्रेय षडभिचार प्रयोग से सम्बन्ध रखते हुये 'दत्तात्रेय तन्त्र' में दिखाई पड़ते हैं।[2]

ऐसी मान्यता है कि शिवसूत्रों का दर्शन स्वयं भगवान् शिव ने वसुगुप्त को कैलास पर्वत पर स्वप्न में कराया था।[3] इसी प्रकार 'श्रीमतोत्तर-तन्त्र' का आविर्भाव शिव के द्वारा पार्वती के लिये किया गया बताया जाता है जिसका अवतरण पृथिवी तल पर श्रीकण्ठनाथ के द्वारा किया गया था। यह तो स्पष्ट ही किया जा चुका है कि 'महाकौलज्ञानविनिर्णय' नामक ग्रन्थ के प्रणेता मत्स्येन्द्रनाथ थे। 'ब्रह्मयामल' का 'योगविजयस्तवराज' अंश पिप्पलाद मुनि के द्वारा स्वर्ग से अवतरित किया गया बताया जाता है, यद्यपि यह मूलतः शिव के द्वारा पार्वती के प्रति कहा गया है। 'महेश्वरी-तन्त्र' को शिव के द्वारा शिवगिरि नामक एक साधक के प्रति प्रकट किया गया बताया जाता है। इस प्रकार बहुत से ऐसे तान्त्रिक ग्रन्थ हैं जिनकी मानवीय रचनाधर्मिता स्पष्ट है। 'पूर्वाम्नाय' की एक पाण्डुलिपि नेपाल दरबार लाइब्रेरी में उपलब्ध है जिसकी पुष्पिका में उसे रत्नदेव के द्वारा प्रणीत कहा गया है। इसी प्रकार 'जयाख्य संहितां' को चन्द्रदत्त के द्वारा, 'पारदयोगशास्त्रम्' को शिवरामयोगीन्द्र के द्वारा तथा 'ताराविलासोदय' को वासुदेव कवि कंकण के द्वारा रचित माना जाता है। कूर्मपुराण के अनुसार 'सात्वत अंशु' एक ऐसे शास्त्र का रचयिता था जो निम्नवर्णों में प्रचलित था। इसी को बाद में 'सात्वत-तन्त्र' के नाम से जाना गया। वेदोत्तम ने इस तथ्य को स्वीकार किया है कि जिन तन्त्रों को महेश्वर से सम्बद्ध किया जाता है, वह महेश्वर भगवान् रूप नहीं, अपितु मनुष्य ही है।[4] इसी प्रकार का आरोप वैष्णवों के प्रति भी लगाया जाता है कि वसुदेव नामक किसी व्यक्ति ने वैष्णव तन्त्रों की रचना की—

वासुदेवाभिधानेन केनचिद् विप्रलिप्सुना ।
प्रणीतं प्रस्तुतं तन्त्रमिति निश्चिनुमो वयम् ।।[5]

उक्त विवरण से यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि तान्त्रिक वाङ्मय के अवतरण और विकास की एक दीर्घ परम्परा रही है जो ईसा की अधिक से अधिक दो शताब्दी पूर्व से लेकर १८ वीं शती तक निरन्तर प्रवाहित होती चली आई है। कुछ तन्त्र तो वस्तुतः प्राचीन हैं किन्तु कुछ की आधुनिकता को अस्वीकार नहीं किया जा सकता है।

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१. तन्त्राज़ : स्टडीज़ आन देयर रेलीजन०, पृ० २५
२. दत्तात्रेय-तन्त्रम्, १.१—१८
३. काश्मीर शैविज्म—जे० सी० चटर्जी, पृ० २७ की पाद टिप्पणी
४. तन्त्राज़ : स्टडीज़ आन देयर ०, पृ० २७ की पादटिप्पणी
५. आगमप्रामाण्यम्, पृ० २५

SVĀTMOPALABDHI-ŚATAKAM
OF
SILHAṆA

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INTRODUCTION

The *'Svātmopalabdhi-Śatakam'* preserved in the Mss. section of the Library of the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow and bearing No. 159/2395 in the printed Catalogue of manuscripts is a work of one Silhaṇa, a Śaiva savant. Who this Silhaṇa was ? What was his age ? Where did he hail from ? What other contributions did he make to the spiritual philosophy of Śaiviśm ? These are some of the questions that cannot be solved at this stage for paucity of sufficient material such as other manuscripts of the work, cross references of Silhaṇa in Śaiva philosophical works, manuscripts of other works of Silhaṇa, if any, and so on. Be it as it may, the work, though small in size, is significant in substance.

The name 'Silhaṇa' may help the conjecture that the author of the work hailed from Kashmir. The impact of speculations of *Pāśupata* system and the *Pratyabhijñā* system of philosophy of Kashmir is clearly perceptible on the work as some of the terms used in the verses suggest. *'Svātmopalabdhi'* and *'Svātmapratyabhijñā'* have the same sense i. e. the sense of the realisation or the recognition of the Self as the self-shining and self-seeing universal transcendental consciousness.

स्वात्मोपलब्धिशतकम्

श्रीसिल्हणविरचितम्

A century of verses on Self-realisation.

ॐ स्वस्ति ।

Let the auspicious beginning be made.

ॐ नमः श्रीपरादेव्यै ।

Homage to the Goddess Transcendental.

ॐ अन्तर्विलसितानन्तशक्तित्रितयगर्भिणे ।
निरस्तसर्वकृत्याय स्वभावमहसे नमः ॥१॥

Homage to the self-shining self-containing within Itself the three-fold energies of innumerable manifestations and yet devoid of all stir of actions. 1

नमः स्वानुभवग्राह्यप्रकाशानन्दमूर्तये ।
सर्वमूर्त्यन्तरास्थाय नित्याय परमात्मने ॥२॥

Homage to the Overself, the self-luminous blissful Consciousness, realisable in one's rapt contemplation, immanent in diverse forms and yet eternal and transcendental. 2

उन्मेषमात्रसम्पन्नजगन्निर्माणकेलये ।
नमः स्वतन्त्रतोदारपारमैश्वर्यशालिने ॥३॥

Homage to the One Great Being glorious in the fulness of Its freedom and indulgent in the play of universal creation at the mere rise of Its sweet will. 3

परापरेण रूपेण स्थावरेषु चरेषु च ।
एकोऽप्यनेकतां यातो भूतग्रामेषु यश्चरन् ॥४॥

Indeed, the Great Being it is that being One appears to be many in the world of objects as It reveals Itself in forms transcendental as well as immanent in the movable and immovable beings of the world.4

गोपयन् महिमानं स्वं मायाशक्तितिरोहितः ।
प्राणपुर्यष्टकाविष्टो मितमातृत्वसंश्रितः ॥५॥

Hiding Its innate grandeur for Its real nature being concealed by the power of Māyā and being confined by Prāṇa, the life-breath and Puryaṣṭaka—the five-fold subtle elements, the mind, the intellect and the ego-sense—It allows Itself to be characterized by knowledge that has limits.5

स्थूलभूतशरीरस्थः कर्मपञ्जरयन्त्रितः ।
सुखदुःखादिभोक्ताऽसौ भवे विपरिवर्तते ॥६॥

Living in the body composed of gross elements and resting accordingly in the cage constituted by the Karmas, it enjoys pleasure and suffers pains and that is how it moves endlessly in the ring of becoming.6

ततः स्नेहादिभिर्भावैर्मोहितः परिकल्पितैः ।
विस्मृत्य निजमात्मानमनात्मनि निमज्जति ॥७॥

Forgetting its own self for being beguiled by imaginary feelings of love and hate and the like, it drowns itself in the sea of the not-self.7

मिथ्याभिमानमूढस्य रागोपहतचेतसः ।
कोऽस्मीति चित्परामर्शो मनागपि न जायते ॥८॥

Swollen by egocentric pride and prejudice all false and coloured by covetousness in its heart of hearts, it has never the recognition of its real self as the self-shining universal Consciousness.8

अनात्मन्यात्मसंवेदलक्षणोऽयमतात्त्विकः ।
अविद्याध्यासितस्यास्य बन्ध इत्युपचर्यते ॥९॥

The perception of the self in the not-self being imaginary, it has what is figuratively called 'Bandha' (bondage) since the super–imposition of nescience on it makes it cabinned, cribbed and confined.9

स तेनापहृतस्फारसर्वज्ञत्वादिवैभवः ।
इयत्तामात्रनिष्ठेन संकोचेनाभिभूयते ॥१०॥

Thus, having been deprived of its vast riches of Omniscience, Omnipotence and Omnipresence by this bondage of nescience, it suffers confinement in respect of the conditioning of its unbounded existence by limiting adjuncts.10

ममेदमित्यसंबद्धैर्भावैर्व्यामिश्रयंस्तनुम् ।
पतत्यगाधसंयोगवियोगैर्विषयार्णवे ॥११॥

Having no discrimination of its real being as distinct from ephemeral objects unrelated with it and yet arousing the sense of their relatedness it falls headlong in the sea of self-gratification tugged to and fro by attachment to the desirable and detachment from the undesirable.11

पशुत्वे वर्तमानोऽपि भावैर्भावैर्मुहुर्मुहुः ।
उद्भवस्थितिसंहारान् करोति निजशक्तिभिः ॥१२॥

Even when living in such a state of animality characterised by the diversities of 'this' and 'that', it indulges, possessed as it is with its powers and possibilities, in the play of creation and preservation and destruction of what is called the worldly life. 12

मायाविद्याकलाकालरागनैयत्यमोहितः (मुद्रितः) ।
आविर्भावतिरोभावैर्विदधाति गतागतम् ॥१३॥

Covered over with the five-fold cloak of Māyā, Vidyā, Kalā, Kāla and Niyati, it suffers the somersault of entrance in and exit from the Life's scene prompted by appearance and disappearance of nescience clinging to It. 13

विकल्पाकुलितस्यापि वाह्यवृत्तिजुषोऽपि वा ।
पदे पदे झटित्यस्य चिद्व्यक्तिर्नोपजायते ॥१४॥

Muddled as it is by myriad constructs of mind and coloured as it is by faculties of external cognition, it does not experience, as it should, at every step and at every instant, the fullest possibilities of its innate nature of Consciousness. 14

जडस्वभावा अप्येते बाह्या घटपटादयः ।
प्रकाशरूपतां यान्ति तदन्तः प्रतिबिम्बिताः ॥१५॥

All the external inert objects such as the jar and the cloth and so on casting their reflections in the mirror of its self-shining being regain their real nature that is composed of luminous Consciousness. 15

हृदयात्सर्वभूतानामग्नीषोमात्मकः सदा ।
प्राणापानावधश्चोर्ध्वं प्रेरयन्नवतिष्ठते ॥१६॥

The self, composed as it were, of the nature of fire and moon, while remaining unruffled in its own self disturbs to life-breath of all living beings by directing Prāṇa and Apāna to move higher and lower respectively. 16

स्फुरत्कुण्डलिनीगर्भनादमुद्रान्तरोत्थिता ।
तत्प्राणितैव पञ्चाशद्वर्णा चरति मातृका ॥१७॥

It is through rejuvenation received from it that the Mātṛkā (the alphabets) of fifty sounds has its being arising from the Eternal Sound reposed in the 'Kuṇḍalinī' energized in its lively splendour. 17

तन्मरीचिचयोदारस्फारविस्फारितो जडः ।
चेष्टते विषयेष्वन्तर्बहिःकरणविस्तरः ॥१८॥

All sense organs, internal and external, ultimately unconscious in themselves, move out to grasp objects of sensation only after their possibilities have been magnified and their inertia removed by its luminosity, its self-resplendant consciousness. 18

यदोपलभते बाह्यान् विषयान् करणक्रमात् ।
………………तदा जाग्रदवस्थास्थोऽयमुच्यते ॥१९॥

When it receives external objects brought before it by the agency of the organs of sensation, it is said to be in the state of awakening. 19

इन्द्रियैरिन्द्रियार्थैश्च विनैवानुभवोऽस्य यः ।
प्राक्तनज्ञानसंस्कारात्स्वप्न इत्यभिधीयते ॥२०॥

Its awareness, without sense-organs and the sensum brought into being by the latent impressions of cognitions of objects previously acquired, is verily called its state of dreaming. 20

यदा त्रितयमप्येतदिन्द्रियार्थानुभूतिकम् ।
न संस्पृशति संलीनस्तदा सौषुप्तभाग्भवेत् ॥२१॥

And when retiring within itself it is not affected by the three states characterized by sense–experience of objects It is said to rest in the state of deep sleep. 21

विकल्पैरपरामृष्टा संवित्तिरेव केवला ।
तत्तूर्यं तत्पराशान्तं तुर्यातीतो निगद्यते ॥२२॥

But, Its ultimate state, the fourth state to be sure, that amounts to pure Consciousness unruffled by mental construction is the transcendental state, the state of perfect peace and poise. 22

इत्येताभिरवस्थाभिरभिमानमदोद्धुरः ।
……………शैलूष इव नृत्यति ॥२३॥

Puffed up with egoistic pride, while living in these states and poses it indulges, like an actor, in dancing on the stage of worldly life. 23

विस्मृतस्वात्मविभवं कदाचित् पारमेश्वरी ।
शक्तिस्तमनुगृह्णाति निरपेक्षा……… ॥२४॥

But, then comes a time when the power of the Overself comes into action independent of any external agency and showers Its favours on it (the self) that has become forgetful of its intrinsic status of the 'Self'. 24

यथार्ककरसंपर्काद्विकसत्येव पङ्कजम् ।
भास्करस्य न सापेक्षा नार्थित्वं कमलस्य वा ।।२५।।

The sun does not need the lotus to bloom nor does the lotus beg the sun to let it bloom. But, the lotus comes into bloom as soon as the rays of the rising sun touch it.25

तथैव निरपेक्षिण्या स्वरसोदितया विभोः ।
मोहनिद्राप्रसुप्तोऽपि पशुः शक्त्या प्रबोध्यते ।।२६।।

In the same way it is that the Paśu, the soul in bondage, lulled into sleep of self forgetfulness is awakened by the power ef grace of the Pati, the Lord, operating on its own accord, absolutely independent of any Causality.26

यथा कलुषमप्यम्भस्सद्यो याति प्रसन्नताम् ।
कतकस्पर्शसंयोगाच्छक्त्या स्पृष्टस्तथा पशुः ।।२७।।

Just as the dirty water touched by the purifying agency of the Kataka regains its pristine purity, so does the Paśu, the fettered soul regains its fulness of freedom by the touch of the power of Divine grace.27

तया प्रबोधितस्यास्य कोऽपि मोहविषापहः ।
विवेकः समुदेत्यन्तर्हेयोपादेयलक्षणः ।।२८।।

After the soul is thus awakened by the power of Divine grace, there dawns on it the discriminating knowledge that sifts the good from the bad and cures its lust for worldly life.28

कुतोऽहमागतः कोऽहमवसाने भवानि किम् ।
जन्ममृत्यू कथं कस्य भवतो वा न तौ कथम् ।।२९।।

Where have I come from ? Who am I? What will I become at long last ? Whom do birth and death affect ? Or do they really affect none ?—such is the form that discrimination takes.29

उपायाः के कथं हानिस्त्रिविधस्यास्य कर्मणः ।
किं ज्ञेयं ज्ञायते केन कश्च तस्योपदेशकः ।।३०।।

What are the means ? How do they bring about the end of the bondage of the three-fold actions ? What is exactly the knowable ? How is this knowable known ? And who is the teacher to teach all this ?—Such is the form that discrimination takes.30

शरीरं किं शरीरे कः को भोक्ता सुखदुःखयोः ।
किं विदित्वा निवर्तेते आवर्तनविवर्तने ।।३१

What is the body ? Who is it that becomes embodied ? Who is it that feels pleasure and pain ? What knowledge is it and of what that brings about the cessation of birth and death ?— this is the form that discrimination takes.31

इति सारतरज्ञानचर्वणैककुतूहली············ ।
चित्तस्य सहजोदारो विचारः कुरुते पदम् ॥३२॥

And in this way it is that the innate thought comes into being intent on relishing such deliberations of steadfast sound concepts.32

विमुक्तव्यवहारस्य भोगेभ्यो विरतस्य च ।
स्वल्पसंतोषशीलस्य वैराग्यमुपजायते ॥३३॥

After the self is thus relieved of the stress and strain of life, after it has accordingly renounced all enjoyments by the senses and after it has launched upon the life of simple, sweet self-contentment, there arises in it what is called utter aversion to all worldly enjoyment.33

निसर्गभङ्गुरत्वेन भावानां परिभावयन् ।
अनित्यतां न तैस्साकं सङ्गित्वमधिगच्छति ॥३४॥

Thus it is that the self-meditating within itself over the mutability of the objects of sense-gratification for the very reason of their being prone to death and decay severes all its contacts with and attachments towards them.34

तीव्रसंसारकान्तारपरिभ्रान्तिकदर्थितः ।
वाञ्छति प्रशमस्निग्धच्छायां यस्य मनोमृगः ॥३५॥

The mind of the being or the self suffering the torments of wanderings like a deer in the awful wild of worldly life, hankers at long last after the cool shade of peace and tranquility of the Inner Being.35

आपातरमणीयेषु पदार्थेषु प्रियेष्वपि ।
प्रायो वियोगधर्मित्वान्न श्लिष्यति कदाचन ॥३६॥

The self, for its attribute of aloofness from matter does not cling to the objects of endearment that appear to be delectable only at first sight.36

उत्सेको विभवैर्नास्य निविडैरपि जायते ।
मुहुरायाति निर्वेदं भोगेषु क्षणभङ्गिषु ॥३७॥

Even huge accumulations of worldly wealth fail to make the self-swollen with conceit. Even in the relish of pleasures of life it becomes disconsolate for it knows them to be but ephemeral.37

इन्दीवरदलश्रेणीविभ्रमैर्मुनिमोहनैः ।
कटाक्षैः पक्ष्मलाक्षीणामस्य नाक्षिप्यते मनः ॥३८॥

Never it happens that its mind gets detracted by the sidelong looks of ladies that look as lovely as the tremulous leaves of blue lotuses and possess the power to entice even the hearts of saints and sages.38

अभिमानं समुत्सृत्य विनयावनतः सदा ।
साधुसङ्गप्रसङ्गेन विनोदयति मानसम् ॥३९॥

Having given up self-conceit and always humble in heart, it (the self) beguiles its mind in the company of man of piety and virtues.39

अनिन्द्यामपराधीनामुचितामकदर्थिताम् ।
प्राणसंधारणामात्रां निजवृत्तिं समीहते ॥४०॥

The self (i. e. the man with self–realisation) desires only such means of living as may serve to keep the vital airs in order, may not be despicable and dependent on others, may befit his status and may never meet the disapproval of the wise.40

आपन्नदर्शनादेव प्रयाति करुणार्द्रताम् ।
चिन्तयत्यप्रियं प्राज्ञो मनसाऽपि न कस्यचित् ॥४१॥

Such a self (a man with self-realisation) becomes all compassion at the mere sight of one in distress and wise as it is, it never harbours in heart any ill-will against any living being.41

प्रसृतस्यापि कोपस्य वशं याति न जातुचित् ।
तदासीनवदध्यास्ते स्वजनोपचितं गृहम् ॥४२॥

Never does such a self (a man with self-knowledge) become subject to the onset of anger and it always likes to live in company of blood–relations in home, in sitting posture of self-contemplation.42

उच्चाटित इवोद्भ्रान्त इवापगतधीरिव ।
अपकृत्येष्ववद्येषु न कदाचित् प्रवर्तते ॥४३॥

The self (the man with self-realisation) never indulges in acts despicable and deemed to be misdeeds and appears as if it were mentally distracted or thwarted or bereft of intellect.43

सच्छास्त्रश्रवणोद्भूतप्रबोधविशदाशयः ।
बुद्ध्याऽवबुध्यते पश्यन् सदसद्वस्तु निश्चयम् ॥४४॥

Such a man is said to have known Reality since he has the definite knowledge of the real as distinct from the unreal and since his heat has become purified with wisdom gained from the study of and meditation upon the scriptures of divine truth.44

दुःखैकायतने निन्द्ये सायाभ्रक्षणभङ्गुरे ।
जन्ममृत्युजराग्रस्ते हर्षशोकभयाकुले ॥४५॥
संयोगविप्रयोगाङ्के रागद्वेषकदर्थिते ।
क्षुत्पिपासापरिक्षीणे कामक्रोधोपतापिते ॥४६॥
विकल्पकल्पनाजालकलिते मलिने जडे ।
मानावमाननाम्लाने शङ्काशङ्कुशताचिते ॥४७॥
आशापाशैकनियते ततोऽसौ पाञ्चभौतिके ।
निरुपादेयताहेयशरीरे विचिकित्सते ॥४८॥

And then it is that such a man developes aversion towards his psycho-physical organism that is but the abode of pain, an object of detestation and evanescent like the evening cloud and is subject to birth, decay and death; that is brimful with delight and despondence and dread; that is marked by meetings and partings of dear and near ones; that is tarnished with attachment and aversion; that is impoverished with hunger and thirst; that is afflicted with lust and hot temper; that is composed of nothing but airy imaginations; that is impure and insensate; that is disfigured by the feelings of self-respect and disrespect; that is pierced through the nails of doubts and disillusionments; that hangs on the strings of hope and disappointments; and that is finally nothing but detestable for being utterly useless.45-48.

....

तथाऽस्य स्वात्मसत्तायां प्रतीतिरुपजायते ॥४९॥

Text of first line corrupt.49

अस्यैव सहजोदारचिच्चमत्कारसुन्दरः ।
अनियन्त्रितसच्छक्तिप्रसरः पारमेश्वरः ॥५०॥

It is the innate energy of the self-effulgent consciousness of the self, verily the energy of the Overself that shines supreme unimpeded by any agency.50

स्फुरंश्चराचरस्फारनानाकारपरिग्रहः ।
परमात्मा निराकारो निर्विकारः परात्परः ॥५१॥

The self, for sooth, is the transcendental Overself, immutable, formless and ever manifesting itself in diverse forms of animate and inanimate beings populating the world.51

....

प्रतिभादर्शसंक्रान्तविचित्रभुवनत्रयः ॥५२॥

Text of first line corrupt.52

परामृतरसास्वादनिर्भरानन्दभङ्गुरः ।
.... ॥५३॥

Text of second line corrupt.53

कवलीकृतदिग्देशकालाकारादिकल्पनः ।
सर्वतः प्रसरत्स्फारस्वभावभरभास्वरः ॥५४॥

It is in the very nature of the Self that it devours all mental constructs of space and time and names and forms and shines in Its all-embracing self-radiant being of pure consciousness.54

अनादिरव्ययो व्यापी कलनातीतगोचरः ।
निर्विकल्पो निराभासो निष्प्रपञ्चो निरञ्जनः ॥५५॥

This Self, the pure stainless consciousness to be sure, it is that is beginningless and endléss, all-pervasive and unimaginable, devoid of all distinctions and denominations and beyond all universal flux and fluctuation.55

निर्गुणो निष्क्रियश्शान्तो निरातङ्को निरामयः ।
नित्यो निराशो निर्नामा निराह्वानविसर्जनः ॥५६॥

The Self has no attributes, has no actions and It is calmness incarnate. It is unstirred by any commotion and unaffected by any imperfection. Eternal, independent and nameless, It is beÿond the reach of our invocations.56

स्वसंवेदनसंवेद्यस्सदसद्भाववर्जितः ।
स्वप्रकाशः पराकाशः प्रशान्तविशदाशयः ॥५७॥

Realisable in self-contemplation and beyond all attributes of existence and non–existence, the Self is a self-shining space transcendental. It is the unruffled universal mind to be sure.57

अनादित्वात् पुराणोऽयमजत्वादविनश्वरः ।
भासकः स्वप्रकाशत्वाद् व्यापकत्वाच्च सर्वगः ॥५८॥

The Self is age–old as It has no beginning. It knows no death as It has no birth. It is universal illumination as it is self-illumined. And it is all–pervading as it is all-encompassing.58

स्वतन्त्रो निरपेक्षत्वाच्छक्तिसत्त्वात्तथेश्वरः ।
निष्क्रियः कृतकृत्यत्वादचिन्त्यत्वाद् दुरासदः ॥५९॥

It is absolutely independent as it needs none to aid and assist It. It is the supreme Lord as It possesses infinite power. It has nothing to achieve as It is all accomplishment. It is beyond any body's reach as none can even think about It.59

निःस्पृहः परिपूर्णत्वादजडत्वात्प्रबोधकः ।
निर्विकल्पोऽमनस्कत्वादमूर्तत्वान्निराशयः ॥६०॥

It has no desire to fulfil since It is universal fulfilment. It is the giver of light and learning as It is omniscient. It is pure consciousness without the tinge of determination since It has no mind. And It has no latent impressions as It has no body to encase them.60

निराभासः प्रशान्तत्वात् सूक्ष्मत्वात्कलनोज्झितः ।
सर्वानुग्रहधर्मित्वात्.................................. ॥६१॥

Text of the last of the feet of the verse corrupt.61

अनाख्यो वागतीतत्वात् स्वतन्त्रत्वादयन्त्रितः ।
दुर्विज्ञेयो रहस्यत्वाद् हृदयस्थोऽपि दूरगः ॥६२॥

It defies all descriptions as It is all beyond the reach of speech. It knows no obstruction as It is all independent. It is the mystery of mysteries as It is unthinkable. It is in our heart of hearts and yet far, far away from us.62

....

निष्कामत्वादसङ्कल्पो नित्यसत्त्वादसंशयः ॥६३॥

Text of first line corrupt.63

अद्वयो विश्वरूपत्वादनन्तत्वात्तथाऽव्ययः ।
प्रमाणैरपरिच्छिन्नः स्वसिद्धत्वात्तथा विभुः ॥६४॥

It is One as the whole universe is Its form. It is immortal as It has no end. It is undefined by all means of knowledge. It is self-evident and so It is all-pervasive.64

एवं रूपाऽपरिज्ञानाद्बन्धदो मोक्षदोऽन्यथा ।
परमात्मेति तत्प्राप्तौ यतते सततोत्सुकः ॥६५॥

This Great Being it is that when unrecognized gives bondage and after recognition gives freedom. It is but meet, therefore, that the spiritual aspirant should always endeavour to realise and recognize It.65

विकल्पजालनिर्मुक्तो विरागः शुद्धवासनः ।
....॥६६॥

Text of second line corrupt.66

....

.........................पयसीव यथा पयः ॥६७॥

Text of first three feet of the verse corrupt.67

स्वरूपानुप्रविष्टोऽसावानन्दैकघनः क्षणम् ।
देहभावं समुत्सृज्य .... ॥६८॥

Text of the last foot of the verse corrupt.68

नोपायोपेयभावोऽत्र न भावो न च भावना ।
नोदयास्तमने यत्र धाम्नि तस्मिन् विलीयते ॥६९॥

The self, after the disintegration of its body loses its identity in the Over-self, the Light of lights that knows no rising and setting, that is beyond all means-cum-ends relationships and beyond the reach of all thinking and eontemplating.69

....
....नन्दनिर्भरः ॥७०॥

Text corrupt.70

अनुभूताऽपि या व्यक्तं गिरा वक्तुं न युज्यते ।
तां कामप्यात्मसंवेद्यां भजते चिच्चमत्कृतिम् ॥७१॥

The self experiences the outburst of the relish of self-shining consciousness that even when experienced can not brooke verbal expression as it is simply subject to its own realisation.71

यत्र स्थितौ न निर्वेदमुपयाति कदाचन ।
प्रलीनकालकलनस्तन्मयत्वं प्रपद्यते ॥७२॥

The seeker of the Self while resting in the ecstatic effervascence of consciousness feels no pangs of aversion and becoming one with It transcends time.72

गुरुशास्त्रानुभवजैर्निश्चितं प्रत्ययस्त्रिभिः ।
परिज्ञायाऽत्मनाऽत्मानं जीवन्मुक्तो विजृम्भते ॥७३॥

The spiritual seeker lives the life of a liberated soul while living in his physical body since he has realised his real Self through the three-fold ways of spiritual knowledge namely, the precepts of the spiritual teacher, the texts of the spiritual sciences and personal spiritual realisations.73

न मे बन्धो न मे मोक्षः स्वस्वरूपस्य विद्यते ।
....पुनः पुनः ॥७४॥

Text of the second line corrupt.74

सुखदुःखैकसदनं शरीरं पाञ्चभौतिकम् ।
जायते कर्म संयोगात् पुनरेव विनश्यति ॥७५॥

One who knows the self knows that his psycho-physical organism is nothing but the abode of pleasure and pain and that it comes into being by the operation of the forces of deeds done in the past lives and that it meets dissolution again in the end.75

शरीराद् व्यतिरिक्तोऽयमात्मा येनोपलभ्यते ।
तज्ज्ञानं सदसंदिग्धमज्ञानं यदतोऽन्यथा ॥७६॥

Real knowledge that knows no doubts or disillusionments is the knowledge that helps realise the self as quite distinct from the body, its material abode. All other knowledge is nothing but ignorance.76

....

....प्रकाश्यते ॥७७॥

Text corrupt.77

सोऽयमात्मपरिज्ञानशमिताशेषसंशयः ।
शरीरस्थोऽपि तद्धर्मैर्न लिप्येत् कर्मभोगजैः ॥७८॥

The spiritual aspirant whose doubts and disillusionments have been dispelled by Self-realisation while living in the body does not get affected by its attributes brought into being by the fruition of past deeds.78

रागादिरूपरागो मे शुद्धस्य स्फटिकादिवत् ।
सक्तश्च व्यतिरिक्तश्च शरीरेऽहं जलार्कवत् ॥७९॥

The affection of the 'I' by the sensual attachments is like the affection of the pure crystal by the reflections of the coloured flower against it. So is the 'I' in the body like the sun in the water affected by it and at the same time essentially unaffected.79

मय्यन्तरखिलं विश्वमण्डोदरमयूरवत् ।
देहस्थितोऽप्यलक्ष्योऽहं कुसुमाद्यधिवासवत् ॥८०॥

The spiritual seeker realises that the whole universe is within the 'I' like the peacock within the egg and also that the 'I' inhabiting the body is imperceptible like the fragrance inhabiting the flower and the musk and so on.80

....

स्वप्रकाशो न मणिवत् कर्ता नो कुम्भकारवत् ॥८१॥

Text of the first two feet of the verse corrupt.81

स्वसंवेद्यो न मुखवत् सूक्ष्मो न परमाणुवत् ।
वीतरागो न मुनिवत् साश्चर्यो नेन्द्रजालवत् ॥८२॥

The 'I' indeed is self-realisable but unlike one's face; it is infinitissimally small but unlike an atom; it is unaffected by worldly attachments but unlike a saint and it is a wonder of wonders but unlike a magic show.82

मुनिभिर्नियमक्षुण्णैस्तपस्यद्भिः परंतपः ।
अविज्ञातरहस्योऽयं कल्पकोटिशतैरपि ॥८३॥

The Self has such a mystery that even great seers tired with observance of all moral and spiritual codes of conduct and practising all great penances during hundreds upon hundreds of aeons have not been able to unravel. 83

....
......................विद्वद्भिरयमेवोपगम्यते ॥८४॥

Text corrupt.84

....
हृदयस्थोऽप्ययं कैश्चित् क्वचिदन्यत्र मृग्यते ॥८५॥

Text of the first line corrupt.85

....
.....................................विकल्प्यते ॥८६॥

Text corrupt.86

आत्मा न कश्चिदेवाऽत्र परमार्थेन विद्यते ।
विकारो भूतसंयोगाज्जायते चेतनामयः ॥८७॥

The Cārvakas, the materialists, may opine that really speaking there is no abiding 'I' as the conscious self or the 'I' is nothing but a resultant of the admixture of material elements.87

भूतात्मके शरीरेऽस्मिन् याते कस्मात् प्रलीनताम् ।
ततो न किञ्चिदायातं चार्वाकाः प्रतिपेदिरे ॥८८॥

They argue that had it not been so, how is it that after the material body is dissolved, there is nothing that remains as the indissoluble 'I'.88

....
....कापिलाः ॥८९॥

Text corrupt. 89

क्षणिकज्ञानसंतानवादिनः सौगताश्च ये ।
आत्मा न कश्चिदस्तीति जगुस्ते शून्यबुद्धयः ॥९०॥

The Buddhists, who uphold the theory that the self is nothing but the series of moments of consciousness and who say that nothing like the abiding conscious self exists are likewise mentally blank.90

कर्मप्रयोजितान्येव चेष्टन्ते करणानि यत् ।
अतः प्रयोजकस्तेषां कश्चिदात्माऽनुमीयते ॥९१॥

The Naiyāyikas also do not know the real truth about the self as they ever that it is the organs of sensation urged by past deeds that really do all things and that the 'Self' is an inferred entity as there must be a prompter of the sense organs.91

....
......................पक्षे नैयायिकाः स्थिताः ॥९२॥

Text corrupt.92

....
........................प्रोक्तो मीमांसकैरयम् ॥९३॥

Text corrupt.93

....
......................सिद्धोऽप्येष प्रमीयते ॥९४॥

Text corrupt.94

....
......................प्रामाण्यं स्थापयेत कः ॥९५॥

Text corrupt.95

विमर्शोऽनुभवो शप्तिरहन्ता..............स्मृतिः ।
पूर्वापरानुसन्धानं कस्य स्यादीश्वरं विना ॥९६॥

Unless there be the Self what is it that may be said to have self-insight, awareness, cognition, ego-sense, recollection and recognition that vouchesafes for the identity of the thing being perceived to be the same as that perceived before.96

तस्मादनादिसंसिद्धो विश्वशक्त्युपवृंहितः ।
केन शक्तो निराकर्तुं विभुः स्वप्रसरोदयः ॥९७॥

Hence, who is there who can negate the Self, the all-pervasive light of consciousness as eternally proved and as energized by the universal omnipotent 'Overself'.97

विकल्पनिवहत्यागात् सर्वाहम्भावभावनात् ।
स्वानुभूत्येकशीलत्वात् प्राप्यते परमं पदम् ॥९८॥

The spiritual seeker reaches his ultimate report after forsaking all mental constructs as imaginary and realising thereafter his self, the Overself to be sure, pervading the whole universe and known only by self-realisation. 98

परानन्दैकविश्रामान्मध्यमार्गावलम्बनात् ।
सर्ववृत्युपसंहारात् परमात्मोपलभ्यते ॥९९॥

So, the Overself is attainable by bringing the self to rest in its state of transcendental ecstasy, which amounts to following the 'Middle Path' and by annulling all the propensities of the mind.99

इत्याप्तशिवसद्भावभावगर्भस्य सूनुना ।
शतकं सिल्हणेनेदं कृतं स्वात्मोपलब्धये ॥१००॥

Thus comes to its end the century of verses dedicated to Self-realisation as composed by Silhaṇa, the son of Bhāvagarbha who had realised his oneness with Lord Śiva, the Overself.100

इत्याप्तशिवसद्भावः कश्चित् सिद्धमुखोदितः ।
लोकानुकम्पया चक्रे विमर्शोदयमात्मनः ॥१०१॥

This century of verses amounting to the rise of self-shining and self-seeing transcendental consciousness has been composed for the spiritual welfare of humanity by some one (Silhaṇa to be sure) at the behest of a Siddha, after the realisation of his own identity with Lord Śiva, the Overself.101

इत्याचार्यसिल्हणकृतं स्वात्मोपलब्धिशतकं समाप्तम् ।

Here ends the century of verses on Self-realisation composed by Ācārya Silhaṇa.

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घोषणा–पत्र

समाचारपत्र-रजिस्ट्रीकरण (केन्द्रीय) नियमावली, १९५६ के नियम ८ (१) के अधीन प्रकाशितव्य स्वामित्व-सम्बन्धी तथा अन्य ब्योरे ।

(प्रारूप—चार)

१.	प्रकाशन का स्थान—		अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद्, महात्मा गाँधी मार्ग, हज़रतगंज, लखनऊ—२२६००१
२.	प्रकाशन की कालिकता—		षाण्मासिक
३.	मुद्रक	(१)	नाम—श्री विश्व मोहन
		(२)	राष्ट्रिकता—भारतीय
		(३)	पता—प्नार मुद्रक, ११७, नज़ीराबाद, लखनऊ-२२६००१
४.	प्रकाशक	(१)	नाम—श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह
		(२)	राष्ट्रिकता—भारतीय
		(३)	पता–बी० ९८९, सेक्टर ए०, महानगर,लखनऊ-२२६००६
५.	सम्पादक	(१)	नाम—डा० जगदम्बा प्रसाद सिनहा
		(२)	राष्ट्रिकता—भारतीय
		(३)	पता—सी० १, युनिर्वसिटी फ्लैट्स, गोकरननाथ, रोड, लखनऊ—२२६००७
६.	स्वामी का नाम और पता—		अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद् महात्मा गाँधी मार्ग, हज़रतगंज, लखनऊ—२२६००१ (इसमें कोई हिस्सेदार नहीं है)

मैं, गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह, एतद्द्वारा घोषित करता हूं कि ऊपर दिये हुए ब्योरे मेरे पूर्णतम ज्ञान और विश्वास के अनुसार सत्य हैं ।

(ह०) गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह
प्रकाशक
(अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद
लखनऊ की ओर से)


दिव्या गीर्वाणभारती
अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद्, लखनऊ

